A GENERAL HISTORY OF MUSIC

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A classic of musical history, from the Greeks to 1789

by Charles Burney

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A GENERAL HISTORY OF MUSIC

by Charles Burney

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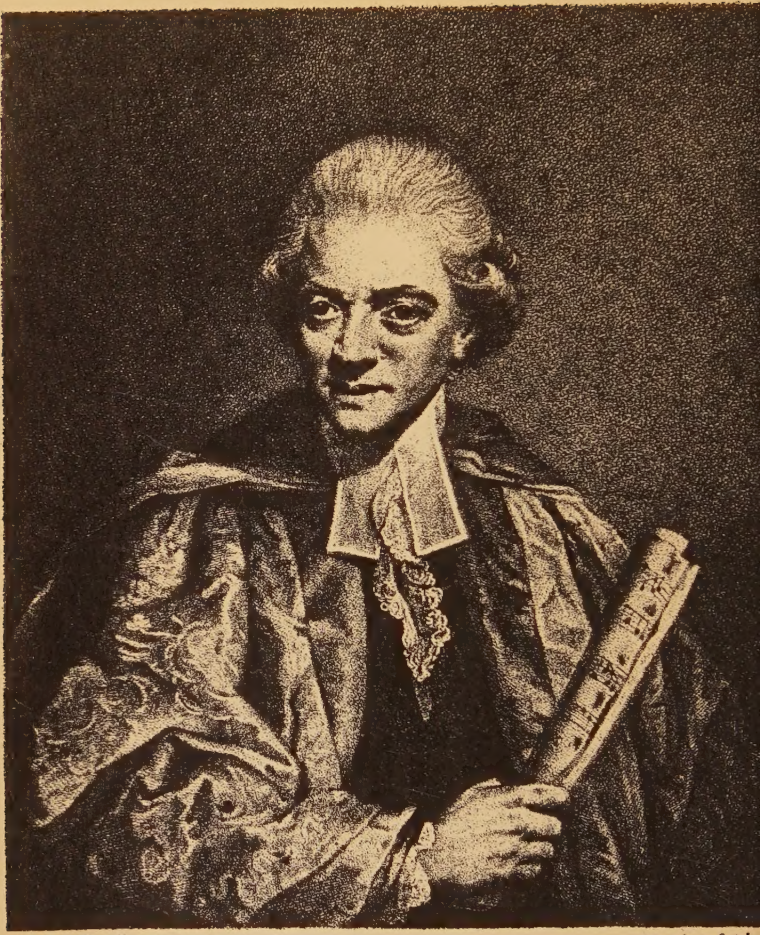

Sir Joshua Reynolds pinxt

F Bartolozzi Sculpt

CHARLES BURNEY MUS: DOCT: OXON.
F·R·S .

Publiſhd as the Act directs April 1st 1784

A
GENERAL HISTORY OF MUSIC

From the Earliest Ages to the
Present Period
(1789)

by

CHARLES BURNEY

Mus.D., F.R.S.

VOLUME THE FIRST
WITH CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES
by
FRANK MERCER

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INTRODUCTION

IN preparing this edition of Burney's "General History of Music," my aim has been to make the work more valuable to the general reader; that is, the class of reader for whom the "History" was intended. I have not attempted to bring it "up to date" in the sense of any tampering with the text, or softening or altering the opinions held by the author. Too many critics praise or censure Burney's work (and, indeed, all Histories) in accordance with the treatment, sympathetic or otherwise, meted out to their own particular period. Burney's History is not a period History—it is a General History, and it is an intensely personal one. I do not intend to embark upon a defence of Burney's opinions; they were his own, and they cannot be dismissed lightly; but I must draw attention to one thing that is frequently overlooked by many, and that is the necessity of appreciating the 18th century meaning of words such as barbarous and licentious, etc. The age of Burney was an age of frank speaking, and one must not ignore this fact when reading works of that period. Burney often uses words which have, since his day, received a more special meaning, and if this is kept in mind many of his so-called "savage and harsh strictures" will not appear unfair.

In the present edition, Burney's text and notes (with the original spelling) have been given in full and unaltered with the following exceptions:

(1) The transcription of the musical tract by Tunsted in the second book has been punctuated correctly.

(2) A more correct version of Cutell's tract in Book 2 has been substituted.

(3) The titles of the early English Psalters have been given in more detail.

All the dates and corrections enclosed in square brackets [ ] are additions for which I am responsible.

The work has been re-indexed, and I trust that the new index will be found more useful than the original one.

The musical examples are also complete with the exception of a very dull example of a degree exercise, which will be found in Vol. III, p. 351, of the original edition. One or two examples of the difficulties to be found in Virginal music have been curtailed, but enough remains to show the nature of the difficulty. In his musical examples, Burney employs almost every variety of *clef*. I think that the only one I have not discovered is the old French violin clef. The unusual ones have been altered to modern usage, but I have retained the tenor and alto *C* clefs.

The question of the examples of Tudor music has given me considerable trouble. Burney not only alters that peculiar feature of the technique of the period, the so-called *false relation* or augmented octave, but in some cases his scansion of the words has made him change a semibreve into a dotted minim and a crotchet. All cases of wrong notes have been altered, but in the majority of cases I have allowed his arrangement of the words to stand.

For the sake of convenience Burney's volumes are called Books, so that Book 1 is Burney's Volume I, etc. When *volume* is mentioned it refers to the present edition.

My own notes are indicated by asterisks, and in selecting those inserted, from the large number I had prepared, I have been influenced by what might be most useful to the non-specialist.

If I endeavoured to thank publicly all those who have given information and help in the preparation of this edition, my introduction would be extended to an inordinate length, but I must give my thanks to Dr. Percy Scholes for sending me a proof copy of his valuable book, " The Puritans and Music "; to Miss Burney, of Wandsworth, for permission to copy and include letters from her collection of Burney MSS; to Richard Border, Esq., for the letter from Burney to Lady Banks; to Raymond Conrad, Esq., for information about the Troubadours; to the officials at the British Museum and the Music Library of the University of London; to G. Ceci for permission to photograph his copy of *" A musical evening at Dr. Burney's "*; to the Education Department of the Columbia Graphophone Company, Ltd., for the loan of records; and, above all, to my wife, without whose constant help my work in connection with the publication could not have been accomplished.

1935. FRANK MERCER.

Abbreviations Used in the Editor's Notes

The usual abbreviations in connection with dates. Please note the *c* letter before a date refers to one date only. Thus, for example, in *c.* 1500-57 the *circa* refers to 1500, and *not* to 1557. If both dates should be uncertain, the following would be used: *c.* 1500-*c.* 57.

Add. MSS.	Additional manuscript.
Bib. Nat.	Bibliothèque National Paris.
B. & H.	Breitkopf & Härtel.
B.M.	British Museum.
Davey	History of English Music (1921).
D.T.O.	Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Osterreich.
D.D.T.	Denkmäler der Deutscher Tonkunst.
E.M.S.	English Madrigal School.
Grove's	Grove's Dictionary of Music & Musicians (3rd edition unless otherwise stated).
Harl	Harlean Manuscripts.
L.M.M.F.	Les Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance (H. Expert) Française
O.E.E.	Old English Edition (Arkwright).
Ox.H.M.	Oxford History of Music (latest edition unless otherwise stated)
Proske. M.D.	Musica Divina.
Q.L.	Eitner. Quellen-Lexikon.
Torchi. A.M.I.	L'Arte Musicale in Italia.
V.V.N.M.	Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis.

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TO THE QUEEN

[CHARLOTTE]

MADAM,

THE condescension with which your Majesty has been pleased to permit your name to stand before the following History, may justly reconcile the author to his favourite study, and convince him, that whatever may be said by the professors of severer wisdom, the hours which he has bestowed upon Music have been neither dishonourably, nor unprofitably spent.

THE science of musical sounds, though it may have been depreciated, as appealing only to the ear, and affording nothing more than a momentary and fugitive delight, may be with justice considered as the art that unites corporal with intellectual pleasure, by a species of enjoyment which gratifies sense, without weakening reason; and which, therefore, the Great may cultivate without debasement, and the Good enjoy without depravation.

THOSE who have most diligently contemplated the state of man, have found it beset with vexations, which can neither be repelled by splendour, nor eluded by obscurity; to the necessity of combating these intrusions of discontent, the ministers of pleasure were indebted for that kind reception, which they have perhaps too indiscriminately obtained. Pleasure and innocence ought never to be separated; yet we seldom find them otherwise than at variance, except when Music brings them together.

To those who know that Music is among your Majesty's recreations, it is not necessary to display its purity, or assert its dignity. May it long amuse your leisure, not as a relief from evil, but as an augmentation of good; not as a diversion from care, but as a variation of felicity. Such, Madam, is my sincerest wish in which I can, however, boast no peculiarity of reverence or zeal for the virtues of your Majesty are universally confessed; and however the inhabitants of the British empire may differ in their opinions upon other questions, they all behold your excellences with the same eye, and, celebrate them with the same voice; and to that name which one nation is echoing to another, nothing can be added by the respectful admiration, and humble gratitude of,

Madam,
your Majesty's,
most obedient
and most devoted Servant,

CHARLES BURNEY.

PREFACE

THE feeble beginnings of whatever afterwards becomes great or eminent, are interesting to mankind. To artists, therefore, and to real lovers of art, nothing relative to the object of their employment or pleasure is indifferent.

Sir Francis Bacon recommends histories of art upon the principle of utility, as well as amusement ; and collecting into one view the progress of an art seems likely to enlarge the knowledge, and stimulate the emulation of artists, who may, by this means, be taken out of the beaten track of habit and common practice, to which their ideas are usually confined.

The love of lengthened tones and modulated sounds, different from those of speech, and regulated by a stated measure, seems a passion implanted in human nature throughout the globe ; for we hear of no people, however wild and savage in other particulars, who have not music of some kind or other, with which we may suppose them to be greatly delighted, by their constant use of it upon occasions the most opposite: in the temple, and the theatre ; at funerals, and at weddings ; to give dignity and solemnity to festivals, and to excite mirth, chearfulness, and activity, in the frolicsome dance. Music, indeed, like vegetation, flourishes differently in different climates ; and in proportion to the culture and encouragement it receives ; yet, to love such music as our ears are accustomed to, is an instinct so generally subsisting in our nature, that it appears less wonderful it should have been in the highest estimation at all times, and in every place, than that it should hitherto never have had its progressive improvements and revolutions deduced through a regular history, by any English writer.

Indeed, though time has spared us a few ancient histories of empires, republics, and individuals, yet no models of a *History*, either *of Music*, or of any other *art* or *science*, are come down to us, out of the many that antiquity produced. Plutarch's Dialogue on Music approaches the nearest to history ; but, though it abounds with particulars relative to the subject, it is so short and defective, that it rather excites than gratifies curiosity.

Some of the writings of Aristotle and Aristoxenus that are lost, though they were not express histories of music, would, nevertheless, had they been preserved, have satisfied our doubts concerning several parts of ancient music, which are now left to conjecture.

" Aristotle, the disciple of Plato," says Plutarch, " regarded melody as something noble, great, and divine." Now, as this passage is not to be found in the remaining works of Aristotle, it is imagined that Plutarch took it either from his *Treatise on Music* (*a*), or the second book of his Poetics, where he treated of the Flute and Cithara, both which works are lost. And yet Kircher, [1602-80] in his *Musurgia* (*b*),* speaking of the ancient writers on Music, whose works he had consulted among the manuscripts in the Jesuit's College Library at Rome, names Aristotle;** but I sought in vain for the Treatise which he had written expressly on Music, nor could I find there any work by that philosopher relative to the subject, except his Acoustics (*c*).

Almost all the ancient philosophers, especially the Pythagoreans, Platonists, and Peripatetics, wrote treatises on Music, which are now lost. Meursius, in his notes on Aristoxenus, enumerates, among others, the following ancient writers on music, of whom we have nothing left but the name: Agenor, of Mytilene, mentioned by Aristoxenus (*d*), from whom sprung a sect of musicians called *Agenorians ;* as from Eratocles, the *Eratocleans ;* from Epigonus, the *Epigonians,* and from Damon, who taught Socrates music, the *Damonians* (*e*).

But of all the ancient musical writers, the name of no one is come down to us, of whose works I was in greater want than those of the younger Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who flourished, according to Suidas, under the emperor Adrian, and who wrote twenty-six books of the *History of Musicians*, in which he celebrated not only the great performers on the Flute and Cithara, but those who had risen to eminence by every species of poetry. He was, likewise, author of five books, written in defence of Music, and chiefly in refutation of what is alledged against it in Plato's Republic. Aristides Quintilianus (*f*) has, also, endeavoured to soften the severity of some animadversions against Music in the writings of Cicero (*g*) ; but though time has spared the defence of this author, yet it does not indemnify us for the loss of that which Dionysius junior left behind him ; as testimonies are still remaining of his having been a much more able writer than Arist. Quintilianus (*h*).

But though all the musical histories of the ancients are lost, yet almost every country in Europe that has cultivated the polite arts, has, since the revival of learning, produced a history of Music, except our own. Italy can boast of two works under that title ;

(*a*) 'Υπερ Μουσικης. (*b*) *Tom. i. p.* 545. (*c*) Περι ακουσων. (*d*) *Lib. ii. p.* 36.

(*e*) The list of Greek writers on the subject of Music, whose works are lost, amounts, in Fabricius to near thirty.

(*f*) *P.* 69, *et seq.* (*g*) *In Politic.*

(*h*) *Vide Fabricium, Bib. Græc.* lib. iii. p. 10.

* The most famous of the many works of this versatile writer is the *Musurgia Universalis Sive Ars Magna Consoni Et Dissoni* (2 *vols., Rome,* 1650), which contains much valuable information. The second volume deals with Greek music but is untrustworthy in many respects.

** Made many references to music in his writings. These have been collected and published by Von Jans (*Musici Scriptores Graeci*, 1895). Aristotle was born 384 B.C. and died 322 B.C., It is held by some authorities that the *Problemata Sect.* 19, which is often mentioned in this volume dates from the first or second century A.D. and was probably written at Alexandria.

one written in the latter end of the last century by Bontempi (*i*), and that of Padre Martini, in this (*k*). France has likewise two, one by Bonet (*l*), and one by M. de Blainville (*m*); and Germany has not only produced two histories of Music in its own language, by Gaspar Printz (*n*), and M. Marpurg (*o*) ; but one in Latin, lately published in two volumes, 4to. by the prince abbot of St. Blasius (*p*). Unluckily, those of P. Martini,* and M. Marpurg, are not yet finished ; and that of the learned abbot only concerns church music ; so that though much has been done, much is still left for diligence to do (*q*) ; and however I may respect the learning, and admire the industry and abilities of some of these writers, yet I saw the wants of English musical readers through such a different medium, that I have seldom imitated their arrangements, and never servilely copied their opinions. Printed materials lie open to us all ; and as I spared no expense or pains either in acquiring or consulting them, the merely citing the same passages from them, cannot convict me of plagiarism. With respect likewise to manuscript information, and inedited materials from foreign countries, few modern writers have perhaps expended more money and time, undergone greater fatigue, or more impaired their health in the search of them, than myself.

And yet, though all will readily allow, *in general,* that perfection is not to be expected in the works of man; it is evident that, in *particular cases,* little tenderness is shewn to imperfection in the most difficult and laborious undertakings.

If I might presume to hope, however, for any unusual indulgence from the public with respect to this work, it must be from the peculiarity of my circumstances during the time it was in hand; for it may with the utmost truth be said, that it was composed in moments stolen from sleep, from reflection, and from an occupation which required all my attention, during more than twelve hours a day, for a great part of the year.

(*i*) *Historia Musica.* In Perugia, fol. 1695.

(*k*) *Storia della Musica,* 4to. In Bologna, 1757, and 1770, and [1781].

(*l*) *Histoire de la Musique, et de ses Effets.* 2 *Tom.* 12mo. Par. 1715, and Amst. 1726.

(*m*) *Histoire generale, critique et philologique de la Musique.* à Paris. 1767.

(*n*) Historische Beschreibung der Edlen Sing=und Klingkunst, in 4to, gedrukt, zu Dreßden 1690.

(*o*) Kritische einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsatze der alten und neuen MUSIK 4to. Berlin. 1759.

(*p*) *De Cantu et Musica Sacra a prima Ecclesiæ ætate usque ad presens tempus.* Typis San. Blasianis. 1774.

(*q*) The history of Music by M. Bonet is written upon a very narrow plan ; for the second volume contains nothing more than exclusive eulogiums of Lulli, and illiberal censures of every species of Italian music. And though the work of M. de Blainville is nominally a *General History of Music,* yet, notwithstanding the splendid promises in the title, the whole *historical, critical,* and *philological* parts of this work, are comprised in less than half a thin quarto ; the rest of the volume being filled with a treatise on composition. The Musical Dictionary of M. Rousseau, without promising any thing more than an explanation of terms peculiar to the theory and practice of Music, affords not only more amusement, but more *historical information* relative to the art, than perhaps any book of the size that is extant.

* An important figure in the musical life of the eighteenth century. He was born at Bologna in 1706 and died in 1784. Apart from his compositions he was a prolific writer on musical matters. The third volume of his history was published in 1781 and this proved to be the last, as he died before he could complete the fourth. Martini had an enormous library which Burney estimated to contain about 17,000 volumes.

If it be asked, why I entered on so arduous a task, knowing the disadvantages I must labour under, my answer is, that it was neither with a view to rival others, nor to expose the defects of former attempts, but merely to fill up, as well as I was able, a chasm in English literature. I knew that a history of Music was wanted by my countrymen, and was utterly ignorant that any one else had undertaken to supply it; yet, to confess the truth, I did, at first imagine, though I have been long convinced of my mistake, that, with many years practice and experience in musical matters, some reading, and the possession of a great number of books on the subject, I should have been able to compile such a history as was wanted, at my leisure hours, without great labour or expence.

But, after I had embarked, the further I sailed, the greater seemed my distance from the port: doubts of my own abilities, and respect for the public, abated my confidence; my ideas of what would be required at my hands were enlarged beyond my powers of fulfilling them, especially in the narrow limits of two volumes, and in the little time I had allowed myself, which was made still less by sickness.

A work like this, in which it is necessary to give authorities for every fact that is asserted, advances infinitely slower, with all the diligence that can be bestowed upon it, than one of mere imagination, or one consisting of recent circumstances, within the knowledge and memory of the writer. The difference in point of time and labour is as great as in building a house with scarce materials produced in remote regions of the world, or with bricks made upon the spot, and timber from a neighbouring wood; and I have frequently spent more time in ascertaining a date, or seeking a short, and, in itself, a trivial passage, than would have been requisite to fill many pages with conjecture and declamation.

However, after reading, or at least consulting, an almost innumerable quantity of old and scarce books on the subject, of which the dulness and pedantry were almost petrific, and among which, where I hoped to find the most information, I found but little, and where I expected but little, I was seldom disappointed; at length, wearied and disgusted at the small success of my researches, I shut my books, and began to examine myself as to my musical principles; hoping that the good I had met with in the course of my reading was by this time digested, and incorporated in my own ideas; and that the many years I had spent in practice, theory, and meditation, might entitle me to some freedom of thought, unshackled by the trammels of authority.

Concerning the music of the Greeks and Romans, about which the learned talk so much, it is impossible to speak with certainty; however, the chief part of what I have to say with respect to its theory and practice, is thrown into a *Preliminary Dissertation*, in order that the narrative might not be interrupted by discussions concerning dark and disputable points, which will be generally uninteresting even to musical readers; and in which it is very doubtful, whether I shall be able either to amuse or satisfy the learned.

It is, indeed, with great and almost hopeless diffidence, that I enter upon this part of my work; as I can hardly animate myself with the expectation of succeeding in enquiries which have foiled the most learned men of the two or three last centuries. But it has been remarked by Tartini, in speaking of ancient music, that doubt, difficulty, and obscurity, should not be imputed to the author, but to the subject, since they are in its very essence: for what, besides conjecture, is now left us, concerning things so transient as sound, and so evanescent as taste?

The land of conjecture, however, is so extensive and unappropriated, that every new cultivator has a right to break up fresh ground, or to seize upon any spot that has long lain fallow, without the sanction of a grant from anyone who may arrogate to himself the sovereignty of the whole, or of any neglected part of it. But though no one has an exclusive right to these imaginary regions, yet the public has a just power of censuring the methods of improvement adopted by any new inhabitant, and of condemning such productions as may be deemed unfit for use.

The opinions of mankind seldom agree, concerning the most common and obvious things; and consequently will be still less likely to coincide about others, that are reducible to no standard of truth or excellence, but are subject to the lawless controul of every individual who shall think fit to condemn them, either with, or without understanding them.

Dr. Johnson has well said, that " those who think they have done much, see but little to do;" and with respect to ancient music, I believe those who have taken the greatest pains to investigate the subject, are least satisfied with the success of their labours.

What the ancient music really was, it is not easy to determine; the whole is now become a matter of faith; but of this we are certain, that it was something with which mankind was extremely delighted: for not only the poets, but the historians and philosophers of the best ages of Greece and Rome, are as diffuse in its praises, as of those arts concerning which sufficient remains are come down to us, to evince the truth of their panegyrics. And so great was the sensibility of the ancient Greeks, and so accentuated and refined their language, that they seem to have been, in both respects, to the rest of the world, what the modern Italians are at present; for of these last, the language itself is music, and their ears are so polished and accustomed to sweet sounds, that they are rendered fastidious judges of melody, both by habit and education.

But as to the superior or inferior degree of excellence in the ancient music, compared with the modern, it is now as impossible tc determine, as it is *to hear both sides*.

Indeed it is so entirely lost, that the study of it is become as unprofitable as learning a dead language, in which there are no books ; and yet this study has given rise to so much pedantry, and to such an ambition in modern musical authors, to be thought well versed in the writings of the ancients upon music, that their treatises are rendered both disgusting and unintelligible by it. *Words* only are come down to us without *things*. We have so few remains of ancient Music by which to illustrate its rules, that we cannot, as in Painting, Poetry, Sculpture, or Architecture, judge of it, or profit by examples ; and to several of these terms which are crammed into our books, we are utterly unable to affix any precise or useful meaning. To write, therefore, in favour of ancient music now, is like the emperor Julian's defending paganism, when mankind had given it up as indefensible, and had attached themselves to another religion.

However, it is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance for modern music that the ancient is lost, as it might not have suited the genius of our language, and might have tied us down to precedent ; as the writers of modern Latin never dare hazard a single thought or expression without classical authority.

The subject itself of ancient music is so dark, and writers concerning it are so discordant in their opinions, that every intelligent reader who finds *how little there is to be known*, has reason to lament that there still remains so much to be said. Indeed, I should have been glad to have waived all discussion about it: for, to say the truth, the study of ancient music is now become the business of an Antiquary more than of a Musician. But in every history of music extant, in other languages, the practice had been so constant for the author to make a display of what he knew, and what he did *not* know concerning ancient music, that it seemed absolutely necessary for me to say something about it, if it were only to prove, that if I have not been more successful in my enquiries than my predecessors, I have not been less diligent. And it appeared likewise necessary, before I attempted a history of ancient Greek music, to endeavour to investigate its properties, or at least to tell the little I knew of it, and ingenuously to confess my ignorance and doubts about the rest.

Indeed it was once my intention to begin my history with the invention of the *present musical scale* and counterpoint ; for

> " What can we reason, but from what we know? "

But it was impossible to read a great number of books upon the subject, without meeting with conjectures, and it was not easy to peruse these, without forming others of my own. If those which I have hazarded should throw any light upon the subject, it will enable my readers to travel through the dark maze of enquiry with more facility, and consequently less disgust ; and if I fail in my researches, and leave both the subject and them where I found them, as the expectation which I encourage is but small, so it is hoped will be their disappointment. For with respect to all I have to say, I must confess that the Spanish motto, adopted by Francis le Vayer, is wholly applicable.

De las cosas mas seguras
La mas seguras es dudar (*r*).

In wading through innumerable volumes, with promising titles, and submitting to the drudgery *of all such reading as was never read,* I frequently found that those who were most diffuse upon the subject, knew least of the matter ; and that technical jargon, and unintelligible pedantry so loaded each page, that not an eligible thought could be found, in exploring thousands of them. Indeed my researches were sometimes so unsuccessful, that I seemed to resemble a wretch in the street, raking the kennels for an old rusty nail. However, the ardour of enquiry was now and then revived by congenial ideas, and by gleams of light emitted from penetration and intelligence ; and these will be gratefully acknowledged, whenever they afford assistance.

There are already more profound books on the subject of ancient, as well as modern Music, than have ever been read ; it was time to try to treat it in such a manner as was likely to engage the attention of those that are unable, or unwilling, to read treatises written, for the most part, by persons who were more ambitious of appearing learned themselves, than of making others so. Indeed, I have long since found it necessary to read with caution the splendid assertions of writers concerning music, till I was convinced of their knowledge of the subject ; for I have frequently detected ancients as well as moderns, whose fame sets them almost above censure, of utter ignorance in this particular, while they have thought it necessary to *talk about it*. Apuleius, Pausanias, and Athenæus, among the ancients, were certainly musicians ; but it is not so evident that Cicero, Horace, and others, who have interspersed many passages concerning Music in their works, understood the subject any more than our Addison, Pope, and Swift. Among these, the two first have written odes on St. Cecilia's day, in which they manifest the *entire separation* of Music and Poetry, and shew the possibility of writing well on what is neither felt nor understood. For Pope, who received not the least pleasure from Music himself, by the help of his friends, was enabled to describe its power with all the rapture and sublimity of a great genius, *music-mad*. This appears not only in his Ode of St. Cecilia, but in speaking of Handel, in the Dunciad.

Music and its admirers were ever contemned by him and Swift ; but, having neither taste nor judgment in this art, they were surely unqualified to censure it. Few conquerors ever aimed at *universal monarchy,* compared with the number of authors who have wished to be thought possessed of *universal knowledge ;* and yet these great writers, who discover, in what is within their competence, a vigour of mind, and elevation of genius, which inclines mankind to regard them as beings of a superior order, whenever they hope by the power

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(*r*) The most secure of all secure things, is to doubt.

of thinking to supply the place of knowledge, discover an imbecillity, which degrades them into common characters.

I will not, however, over-rate musical sensations so far as to say, with the poet, that the man who cannot enjoy them *" is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils " ;* there being, perhaps, among mankind, as many persons of bad hearts that are possessed of a love and genius for music, as there are of good, that have neither talents nor feeling for it: but I will venture to say, that it has been admired and cultivated by great and eminent persons at all times and in every country, where arts have been cherished ; and though there may be no particular connection between correctness of ear, and rectitude of mind, yet, without the least hyperbole it may be said, that, *cæteris paribus,* the man who is capable of being affected by sweet sounds, is a being *more perfectly organized,* than he who is insensible to, or offended by them.

But, as the Constable in Much ado about Nothing says, " these are gifts which God gives," and lovers of music should be content with their own superior happiness, and not take offence at others for enjoying less pleasure than themselves. However, it is no uncommon thing for the rich to treat the poor with as much insolence, as if it were a crime not to be born to a great estate; yet, on the other hand, to be proud of beggary and want, is too ridiculous for censure.

With respect to the present work, there may, perhaps, be many readers who wish and expect to find in it a deep and well digested treatise on the theory and practice of music: whilst others, less eager after such information, will be seeking for mere amusement in the narrative. I wish it had been in my plan and power fully to satisfy either party; but a history is neither a body of laws, nor a novel. I have blended together theory and practice, facts and explanations, incidents, causes, consequences, conjectures, and confessions of ignorance, just as the subject produced them. Many new materials concerning the art of Music in the remote times of which this volume treats, can hardly be expected. The collecting into one point the most interesting circumstances relative to its practice and professors; its connection with religion; with war; with the stage ; with public festivals, and private amusements, have principally employed me: and as the historian of a great and powerful empire marks its limits and resources; its acquisitions and losses; its enemies and allies; I have endeavoured to point out the boundaries of music, and its influence on our passions; its early subservience to poetry, its setting up a separate interest, and afterwards aiming at independence; the heroes who have fought its battles, and the victories they have obtained.

If the titles of my chapters should appear too general and miscellaneous, and the divisions and sections of my work too few; if method and minute exactness in the distribution of its several subjects and parts should seem wanting; the whole is, perhaps, the more likely to be read for these deficiences; for a history, of which the contents are symmetrically digested, separated by chapters, and sub-divided into sections, may be easily consulted, but is no more likely to be read throughout, than a dictionary.

My subject has been so often deformed by unskilful writers, that many readers, even among those who love and understand music, are afraid of it. My wish, therefore, is not to be approached with awe and reverence for my depth and erudition, but to bring on a familiar acquaintance with them, by talking in common language of what has hitherto worn the face of gloom and mystery, and been too much " sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;" and though the mixing biographical anecdotes, in order to engage attention, may by some be condemned, as below the dignity of science, yet I would rather be pronounced trivial than tiresome; for Music being, at best, but an amusement, its history merits not, in reading, the labour of intense application, which should be reserved for more grave and important concerns.

I have never, from a vain display of erudition, loaded my page with Greek; on the contrary, unless some disputable point seemed to render it necessary, or the passage was both remarkable and short, I have industriously avoided it, by referring my learned readers to the original text. The modesty of citation may, however, be carried to excess; for quotations of remarkable passages are very amusing and satisfactory to learned readers, and often prevent suspicions of misrepresentation. There is no pedantry in a margin; and the ancients are perhaps never so entertaining as in the fragment way of quotation. As I pretend not to such a profound and critical knowledge in the Greek language as to depend entirely upon myself, in obscure and contested passages, I have, when such occurred, generally had recourse to the labours of the best translators and commentators, or the counsel of a learned friend. And here, in order to satisfy the sentiments of friendship, as well as those of gratitude, I must publicly acknowledge my obligations to the zeal, intelligence, taste, and erudition of the reverend Mr. Twining ; a gentleman whose least merit is being perfectly acquainted with every branch of theoretical and practical music.

As ancient Greek Music had its *technical terms,* as well as the modern Italian, with which many excellent scholars and translators from that language, for want of an acquaintance with Music, and Greek musical writers, have been utter strangers, I may venture to observe that I have tried, and I hope not always without success, to trace these terms in ancient authors, in order to discover their original acceptation.

It would be a false, and perhaps offensive modesty, if I were here to trouble the reader with apologies for the length and frequency of quotations from the Iliad and Odyssey, and other ancient poets besides Homer; as it will be shewn, that history has no other materials to work upon in times of high antiquity, than those poems, which have always been regarded as historical; prose compositions having been utterly unknown in Greece for 300 years after most of them were written (*s*).

I have never had recourse to conjecture, when facts were to be found. In the historical and biographical parts, I have asserted nothing without vouchers; and I have made the ancients tell their own story as often as was possible, without disputing with them the knowledge of their own history, as many moderns have done; for I cannot help supposing them to have been full as well acquainted with their own affairs 2,000 years ago, as we are at present. An ancient Greek might, with almost equal propriety, have pretended to foretell what we *should be,* at the distance of 2,000 years, as we determine now what they then *were*.

Indeed it was my intention, when I first entered upon this work, to trace the genealogy of Music in a *right line,* without either meddling with the collateral branches of the family, or violating the reverence of antiquity. I wished and determined to proportion my labour to my powers, and I was unawares seduced into a course of reading and conjecture, upon matters beyond the reach of human ken, by the chief subject of my enquiries being so extensively diffused through all the regions of literature, and all the ages of the world. I found ancient Music so intimately connected with Poetry, Mythology, Government, Manners, and Science in general, that wholly to separate it from them, seemed to me like taking a single figure out of a group, in an historical picture; or a single character out of a drama, of which the propriety depends upon the dialogue and the incidents. If, therefore, a number of figures appear in the back-ground, I hope they will give *relief,* and somewhat keep off the dryness and fatigue which a single subject in a long work, or a single figure, if often repeated, though in different points of view, is apt to produce.

(*s*) Cadmus Milesius, whom antiquity allowed to have been the inventor of history *in prose,* flourished, according to Sir Isaac Newton, 550 years B.C. and Herodotus, the oldest Greek historian whose writings are preserved, died 484 years before the same æra.

DEFINITIONS

Ancient writers upon science usually began with definitions; and as it is possible that this work may fall into the hands of persons wholly unacquainted with the elements of Music, a few preliminary explanations of such difficulties as are most likely to occur to them, may somewhat facilitate the perusal of the technical parts of my enquiries.

Music is an innocent luxury, unnecessary, indeed, to our existence, but a great improvement and gratification of the sense of hearing. It consists, at present, of Melody, Time, Consonance, and Dissonance.

By Melody is implied a series of sounds more fixed, and generally more lengthened, than those of common speech; arranged with grace, and, with respect to Time, of proportional lengths, such as the mind can easily measure, and the voice express. These sounds are regulated by a scale, consisting of tones and semitones; but admit a variety of arrangement as unbounded as imagination.

Consonance is derived from a coincidence of two or more sounds, which being heard together, by their agreement and union, afford to ears capable of judging and feeling, a delight of a most grateful kind. The combination and succession of Concords or Sounds in Consonance, constitute Harmony; as the selection and texture of Single Sounds produce Melody.

Dissonance is the want of that agreeable union between two or more sounds, which constitutes Consonance: in musical composition it is occasioned by the suspension or anticipation of some sound before, or after, it becomes a Concord. It is the Dolce piccante of Music, and operates on the ear as a poignant sauce on the palate: it is a zest, without which the auditory sense would be as much cloyed as the appetite, if it had nothing to feed on but sweets.

Of musical tones the most grateful to the ear are such as are produced by the vocal organ. And, next to singing, the most pleasing kinds are those which approach the nearest to vocal ; such as can be sustained, swelled, and diminished, at pleasure. Of these, the first in rank are such as the most excellent performers produce from the Violin, Flute, and Hautbois. If it were to be asked what instrument is capable of affording the greatest effects? I should answer, the Organ ; which can not only imitate a number of other instruments, but is so comprehensive as to possess the power of a numerous orchestra. It is, however, very remote from perfection, as it wants expression, and a more perfect intonation.

With respect to excellence of Style and Composition, it may perhaps be said that to practised ears the most pleasing Music is such as has the merit of novelty, added to refinement, and ingenious contrivance ; and to the ignorant, such as is most familiar and common.

Other terms used in Modern Music, as well as those peculiar to the Ancient, are generally defined, the first time they occur, in the course of the work.

DISSERTATION ON THE MUSIC OF THE ANCIENTS

Section I

Of the Notation or Tablature of Ancient Music, including its Scales, Intervals, Systems and Diagrams

THE music of the ancients, according to Euclid, Alypius,* and Martianus Capella,** was divided into seven constituent parts: these were *Sounds, Intervals, Systems, Genera, Modes, Mutations,* and *Melopœia,* or the composition of melody. To these divisions, which comprehended only what was denominated Harmonics, or the Science of Music, strictly so called, were added five other requisites, no less essential for a musician to know, than the preceding seven: and these were, *Rhythm,* or the regulation of cadences in all kinds of movement; *Metre,* or the measure of verses ; *Organic,* or the instrumental art ; *Hypocritic,* or gesture ; and *Poetic,* or the composition of verses. And still to these divisions, Aristides Quintilianus, and some other musical writers, add *Odicum,* or *the Art of Singing;* which, indeed, seems of more importance to Music, than either the *Organic* or *Hypocritic art.* In order to communicate to my readers all the information I am able, upon so dark and difficult a subject, I shall consider the music of the ancient Greeks under such heads only as absolutely concern Music, according to our acceptation of the word ; for it is plain that several of its ancient divisions more immediately belonged to Poetry. Indeed these two arts were at first so intimately connected, and so dependant on each other, that rules for poetry were, in general, rules for music; and the properties and effects of both were so much confounded together, that it is extremely difficult to disentangle them.

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* Probably flourished about 300 B.C. at Alexandria. His *Introduction to Music* which was reprinted by Meibomius in 1652 contains very valuable information on the subject of Greek musical notation. It is, however, only a part of the original work, the remainder having been lost.

** Born at Carthage, probably in the fifth century A.D. He wrote a work in nine volumes, of which the seventh contains an essay on music. Kopp, of Frankfort, published the text in 1836.

Leaving therefore, for the present, all other distinctions, divisions, and subdivisions, with which ancient musical treatises abound, I shall proceed to fulfil the title of this section.

In the study of Modern Music, the first objects of enquiry are the names by which the several sounds in the scale are expressed ; and, if we regard music as a language, the Scale or Gammut may be called its Alphabet.

Plutarch says, that it is not sufficient for a musician to know what kind of music should be set to any particular poem ; he should likewise know how to write it down in all the *Genera* (*b*), that is to say, in the *Diatonic* or natural scale, consisting of tones and semitones as at present ; in the *Chromatic,* in which the scale was divided into semitones, and minor thirds ; and in the *Enharmonic* genus, moving by quarter tones, and major thirds, as will be explained hereafter.

It does not appear from history, that the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, or any ancient people, who cultivated the arts, except the Greeks and Romans, had *musical characters*; and these had no other symbols of sound than the letters of their alphabet, which likewise served them for arithmetical numbers and chronological dates.

As the notation of the Greeks was imagined in the infancy of the art of music, when the flute had but few holes, and the lyre but few strings, the simplicity of expressing the octave of any sound by the same sign, as in modern music, was not thought of; the most ancient and constant boundary of musical tones having been the *Diatesseron,* or fourth, the extremes of which interval were fixed, though the intermediate sounds were mutable : and in the manner of tuning these consisted the difference of intervals in the several genera (*c*).

The Greek scale, in the time of Aristoxenus, the oldest writer upon music, whose works are come down to us (*d*), extended to two octaves, and was called *Systema perfectum, maximum immutatum;* the great, the perfect, the immutable system; because its extremities formed a perfect consonance, including all the simple, double, direct, and inverted concords, with all the particular systems; and it was the opinion of the ancients that this disdiapason, or double octave, was the greatest interval which could be received in melody.

This whole system was composed of five *tetrachords,* or different series of four sounds, and one note added at the bottom of the scale to complete the double octave; whence the string which pro-

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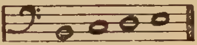
(*b*) De Musica.
(*c*) See Sect. II.
(*d*) He flourished three hundred and forty years before Christ.

duced this sound was called *προσλαμβανομενος*, *Proslambanomenos*, or note subjoined to the scale ; for though this was constantly the lowest sound in all the modes, it was not included in the tetrachords (*e*).

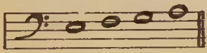
All these sounds had different denominations in the system, like our *Gammut*, A *re*, B *mi*, C *fa ut*, &c., besides two different characters, one vocal, and the other instrumental, appropriated to each sound in the several modes and genera, for the purpose of writing down melodies.

That the fourth was a favourite and important interval in the music of the ancients, is plain from the great system of two octaves having been composed of five of these tetrachords, in the same manner as the scale of Guido is of different hexachords.

The first tetrachord is called by the Greek musicians *Hypaton*, or principal; the sounds of which are denominated:

1. *Hypate hypaton*, principal of principals;
2. *Parypate hypaton*, next the principal;
3. *Lichanos hypaton*, or index of principals ; from its having been played with the index or fore-finger. This third sound of the first tetrachord in the Diatonic genus, was likewise called *Hypaton Diatonos*.
4. *Hypate meson*, or principal of the middle or mean tetrachord ; for this sound not only served as the last or highest note of the first tetrachord, but as the first or lowest of the second; whence these two tetrachords were called conjoint, or connected. These four denominations of the sounds in the first tetrachord may be compared with the terms B *mi*, C *fa ut*, D *sol re*, and E *la mi*, in the Guido scale ; or with the sounds 

The sounds of the *Meson*, or middle tetrachord, were placed in the following order:

Hypate Meson, or principal of the mean tetrachord ;
Parypate Meson, next to the middle principal;
Lichanos Meson;
Mese, or middle, as this sound completes the second tetrachord, and is the centre of the whole system. The sounds of this tetrachord correspond with those which in the base of the scale of Guido, are called E *la mi*, F *fa ut*, G *sol re ut*, and A *la mi re*, which are equivalent to 

The *Mese* in ancient music was of equal importance with the key note in modern music: being an octave above the *Proslambanomenos*, which was the lowest sound of the ancient modes, and a kind of key note to them all.

(*e*) How this great system, from three or four sounds only, was extended to a double octave, and by whom, will be related in the course of the history.

Euclid calls *Mese* the sound by which all other sounds are regulated. And Aristotle, in his XXXVIth problem, sect. 19, says that all the tones of a scale are accommodated, or tuned, to the *Mese.* The same author likewise tells us, problem XX. that all melody, whether it moves above or below the *Mese,* has a natural tendency to that sound.

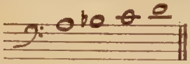
The third tetrachord,* beginning by the last note of the second, was thence called *Synemmenon,* the *united,* or *conjunct* tetrachord; the sounds of which proceed in the following order:

Mese ;

Trite Synemmenon, or third string of this tetrachord from the top ;

Paranete Synemmenon, penultima of this tetrachord ;

Nete Synemmenon, last of the *Synemmenon* tetrachord ; the four sounds of which correspond with those in the centre of our gammut, that are called A *la mi re,* B *fa,* C *sol fa ut,* and D *la sol re,*

or  (*f*)

The fourth tetrachord, ascending, is called *Diezeugmenon,* disjunct, or separated, as it begins at B natural, which is not a note in common with any one in the other tetrachords. But though this system of four sounds is only an octave higher than that of the first tetrachord, and though the next is but a replicate of the second, I shall present them to the reader, as the several sounds of which they are composed have in the Greek music different denominations.

The first sound of the second octave, or series of eight sounds in the ancient great system, is *Mese,* and the first of the fourth tetrachord begins with the note.

Paramese, near the *Mese,* or middle sound ; the next is called *Trite Diezeugmenon,* or third string of this tetrachord from the top: then follows the *Paranete Diezeugmenon* ; and lastly, the

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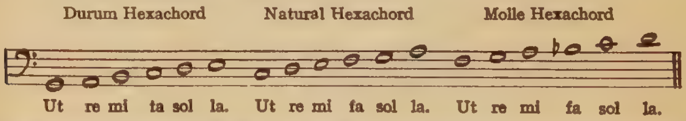
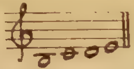
f) After ascending regularly thus far, up to D, by three conjoint tetrachords, the fourth tetrachord in the great system is begun by *descending* a minor third to B natural, the octave above the first sound of the lowest tetrachord. Something of this *dodging* kind is to be found in the scale of Guido, divided into hexachords : for, after ascending six notes regularly in the *durum hexachord,* it is necessary to descend a major third, if we would begin the *natural hexachord* ; and when the natural hexachord is completed, if we would begin at the *Molle,* it can only be done by a leap of a third below. This will best appear by an example in notes :



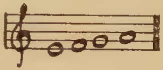
It appears from the Greek tetrachords, as well as from this example, that neither the ancients nor the early moderns admitted the *sharp seventh* of a key into their scales.

* The system of tetrachords described by Burney was known as the "Perfect Immutable System," and is the combination of the "Greater Perfect" and the "Lesser Perfect" systems. The Greater System consisted of the four tetrachords, Hypaton, Meson, Diezeugmenon and Hyperbolaion, in which the Meson and Diezeugmenon tetrachords were disjunct. The Lesser System comprised the three tetrachords, Hypaton, Meson and Synemmenon ; the Meson and Synemmenon tetrachords being conjunct. As the interva lbetween the two lowest notes of a tetrachord had to be a semitone, the second note of Tetrachordon Synemmenon (Trite Synemmenon) had to be flattened.

Nete Diezeugmenon, or final sound of this tetrachord, which includes the sounds B *mi,* C *sol fa ut,* D *la sol re,* and E *la mi,* in the middle of the Guido scale, or 

The last sound of the fourth tetrachord is the first of the fifth, which is called the *Hyperbolæon,* or supreme tetrachord ; the sounds of which ascend in the following order:

Nete Diezeugmenon, last of the diezeugmenon tetrachord;
Trite Hyperbolæon, third string of the hyperbolæon tetrachord ;
Paranete Hyperbolæon, penultima of the supreme tetrachord;
Nete Hyperbolæon, last of the supreme, or highest tetrachord, and of the great system, or diagram.

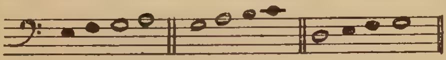
This last tetrachord being added to the scale long after its first formation, was called *Hyperbolæon,* from its sounds being more acute than the rest, and beyond the common bounds of the scale ; in the same manner, as, with us, the notes above D in the treble are said to be *in alt.* This tetrachord includes the sounds E *la mi,* F *fa ut,* G *sol re ut,* and A *la mi re,* or  *

The ancients used likewise four different monosyllables ending with different vowels, by way of *solmisation,* for the exercise of the voice in singing; like our *mi, fa, sol, la.* These were, for the first note of each tetrachord, τᾶ, for the second τῆ, for the third τῶ and for the fourth, if it did not serve as the first of the adjoining and relative tetrachord, τὲ ; but if it began a new tetrachord, it was called by the first name, τᾶ.

The repetition of these monosyllables is a further proof that the *fourth* in the ancient music served as a boundary to a system of four sounds, in the same manner as a hexachord did in the Guido scale, and as an octave does for eight sounds in the more modern practice.

Any interval between the terms of which one or more sounds intervened, was by the ancients called a *System*: EG, for example, constituted a system of a third minor ; EA, of a fourth ; EB, of a fifth, &c.

These smaller systems were of different species ; thus there were three kinds of tetrachords, that differed in melody by the position of the semitone, which was sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end, and sometimes in the middle: as in the following example, where the black notes are semitones, and the white, tones.**



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* The tetrachords and scales formed from them were considered as descending sequences of notes, but the idea of a tonic or final as we understand it was probably introduced at a much later date

** Burney only cites the melodic variations of the Diatonic Tetrachord. Similar variations were made in the Chromatic and Enharmonic forms.

As the Greeks used all the four and twenty letters of their alphabet for musical characters, or symbols of sound ; and as their most extensive system or scale did not exceed two octaves, or fifteen sounds, it should seem as if their simple alphabet was more than sufficient to express them ; for their music being at first only a notation of their poetry, the rhythm, or air, must have been determined by the metre of the verses, without the assistance of signs of proportion peculiar to music. But supposing it was necessary for them to have different characters to express the different feet of the verse, it is certain that vocal music was in no want of them; and instrumental being chiefly vocal music played by instruments, had likewise no need of them, when the words were written, or the player knew them by heart.

However, in order to multiply these characters, the letters of their alphabet were sometimes written in capitals, and sometimes small ; some were entire, some mutilated, some doubled, and some lengthened ; and besides these distinctions in the form of the letters, they had others of situation, sometimes turning them to the right, sometimes to the left ; sometimes inverting, and sometimes placing them horizontally ; for instance, the letter *Gamma,* by these expedients, served to express seven different sounds: Γ L ⅂ ╒ ╕ ╨ ╘. Some of the letters were also barred, or accented, in order to change their symbolical import; and these still not sufficing, they made the common grave and acute accents serve as specific musical notes.

It is a matter that has been long disputed among the learned, whether *Accents* were originally *Musical Characters,* or marks of *Prosody.* It is in vain to set about determining a question concerning which the proofs on both sides are so numerous (*g*). But as music had characters different from accents so early as the time of Terpander, to whom the invention is given by the Oxford Marbles,* which place this event about six hundred and seventy years before

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(*g*) See Gally and Spelman *against accents,* and Primatt and Forster in *defence* of them. Mr. West is firmly of opinion " that accents were originally *musical notes,* set over words to direct the several *tones* and inflexions of the voice, requisite to give the whole sentence its proper harmony and cadence." Pind. vol. ii. And the abbé du Bos, who frequently by a peremptory decision cuts the knot of such difficulties as he is unable to untie, asserts, without sufficient proof, that as poets originally set their own verses, they placed for this purpose a figure, or *accent,* over each syllable. So that, according to this writer, we are at present, not only in possession of the *poetry* of Homer, Pindar, Anacreon, and Sappho, but their *music.*—Why then do we complain of the total loss of Greek music ? See Reflex. Critique, c. iii. p. 85.

* A collection of works of art made by Thomas Howard, the second Earl of Arundel (*c.* 1585–1646). The marbles and a considerable number of statues were donated to Oxford University in 1667 and are usually known as the Arundel Marbles. One of the chief items of the collection is the famous Parian Chronicle, a marble slab said to have been carved about 263 B.C. in the island of Paros. The slab records events in Greek history from 1582 B.C. to 354 B.C.

The following extract from Evelyn's Diary (Sept. 19, 1667) is of interest :—" To London, with Mr. Henry Howard, of Norfolk, of whom I obtained the gift of his Arundelian Marbles, those celebrated and famous inscriptions Greek and Latin, gathered with so much cost and industry from Greece, by his illustrious grandfather, the magnificent Earl of Arundel, my noble friend whilst he lived. When I saw these precious monuments miserably neglected, and scattered up and down about the garden, and other parts of Arundel House, and how exceedingly the corrosive air of London impaired them, I procured him to bestow them on the University of Oxford. This he was pleased to grant me; and gave me the key of the gallery, with leave to mark all those stones, urns, altars, &c., and whatever I found had inscriptions on them, that were not statues. This I did; and getting them removed and piled together, with those which were encrusted in the garden walls, I sent immediately letters to the Vice-Chancellor of what I had procured, and that if they esteemed it a service to the University (of which I had been a member), they should take order for their transportation."

Christ ; and as accents for prosody are likewise proved to be of high antiquity, it seems as if there could have been no necessity for the ancients to use one for the other.

But it has already been remarked that the letters of the alphabet, though turned, distorted, and mutilated, so many different ways, were insufficient to express the sounds of all the modes in the three genera ; so that recourse was had to *accents*, as the scale became more extended, in order to augment the number of characters. And Alypius, in the enumeration of the notes in the enharmonic genus, tells us, that *Trite Synemmenon* is represented by *Beta* and the *acute accent* ; and *Paranete Synemmenon enarmonios* by *Alpha*, and the *grave accent* (*h*).

This is a proof that the accents were known at the time of Alypius, and were then used chiefly for prosody, not music, for which they were only called in occasionally. Indeed they are mentioned as accentual marks by writers of much higher antiquity than Alypius ; for not only Cicero and Plutarch, but Aristotle and Plato, speak of them as merely regarding the elevation and depression of the voice in speech. However, in the early Greek and Roman missals, as will be shewn hereafter, the musical characters used in *Canto Fermo*, seem to have been only *lengthened accents*.

These various modifications of letters and accents in the Greek notation composed in all one hundred and twenty different characters, which were still considerably multiplied in practice ; for each of these characters serving many purposes in the vocal as well as instrumental tablature or gammut, and being changed and varied according to the different modes and genera, as the names of our notes are changed by different clefs and keys, the one hundred and twenty Greek characters produced one thousand six hundred and twenty notes (*i*) !

Two rows of these characters were usually placed over the words of a lyric poem ; the upper row serving for the voice, and the lower for instruments.

If we had not the testimony of all the Greek writers who have mentioned these characters, for their use and destination, it would be natural to suppose that the double row of different letters placed over each other, and above the words of a poem, were intended to express *different parts*, with respect to *harmony ;* as with us, in modern music, the treble notes are written over the base, and the first treble over the second ; but Alypius, who is extremely minute in his instructions concerning the use of these characters, in all these modes, tells us, in express terms, that the upper line of the

(*h*) Βητα και οξεια, Β′ : —αλφα και βαρεια, Α`. Alyp. Edit. Meibom, p. 56.

(*i*) Not contented with using all the letters of the alphabet, in every possible situation, as symbols of sound, the Greeks mutilated and distorted them in order to augment their number ; just as the ancient Ægyptians, in their animal idolatry and religious ceremonies, " besides the adoration of almost every thing existing, worshipped a thousand chimeras of their own creation, some with human bodies, and the head or feet of beasts : others with brutal bodies, and the head or feet of men ; while others again were a fantastical compound of the several parts of beasts, birds, and reptiles, terrestrial and aquatic." Div. Leg. vol. iii. p. 178.

notes is for the words, and the lower for the lyre (*k*). And h
afterwards proves them to have been unisons to each other, bot
by his definitions, and by placing them opposite to the same soun
in all the scales.

In this author, the notes of the great system of the Lydian mod
in the diatonic genus, are ranged in the following order:

Z ꓶ R Φ C P M I Θ Γ Ʊ Z E Ʊ ⊕ ⅄ M′ I
⊢ Γ L F C ◡ Π < V N Z ⊏ ⊥ Z η ⊦ Π′ <′ (*l*)

And these he defines in such a manner as leaves no room to dou
of the identity of their signification.

Z ⊢ *Proslambanomenos,* an imperfect *Zeta,* and a *Tau* place
horizontally.

ꓶ Γ *Hypate Hypaton* an averted *Gamma,* and a *Gamma* direc

R L *Parypate Hypaton,* an imperfect *Beta,* and a *Gamm*
inverted.

Φ F *Hypaton Diatonos,* a *Phi,* and a *Digamma.*

C C *Hypate Meson, Sigma* and *Sigma.*

P ◡ *Parypate Meson, Rho,* and *Sigma* inverted.

M Π *Meson Diotonos, Mu,* and a lengthened *Pi.*

I < *Mese, Iota,* and a horizontal *Lambda.*

Θ V *Trite Synemmenon, Theta,* and an inverted *Lambda.*

Γ N *Synemmenon Diatonos, Gamma* and *Nu.*

Ʊ Z *Nete Synemmenon,* an inverted *Omega* and a *Zeta.*

Z ⊏ *Paramese, Zeta,* and *Pi* placed horizontally.

E ⊥ *Trite Diezeugmenon, Epsilon,* and an inverted *Pi.*

Ʊ Z *Diezeugmenon Diatonos,* as Nete Synemmenon, which w
the same string in the lyre.

⊕ η *Nete Diezeugmenon,* horizontal *Phi,* and a small *E*
lengthened.

⅄ ⊦ *Trite hyperbolœon,* an inverted *Upsilon,* and an imperfe
Alpha.

M′Π′ *Hyperbolæon Diatonos, Mu,* and a lengthened *P*
accented.

I <′ *Nete Hyperbolæon, Iota,* and an accented *Lambda,* plac
horizontally.

It is from the indefatigable labour of that learned Meibomius
in his Commentaries upon the ancient Greek Musicians, particular

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(*k*) Σημεια τα μεν ανω, της λεξεως· τα δε κατω της κρουσεως. Introd. Mus. Edit. Meibom. p.
We are told, not only by Alypius, but by Gaudentius, p. 23, that of the two rows of letters used
musical characters, the upper is for the words, that is, *to be sung,* and the under *to be played.*

(*l*) It is somewhat strange that the notes for the voice in ancient music, should be placed *ab*
those for the lyre, and consequently further from the words. Meibomius, in his preface, has, howev
given a curious reason for this custom, from a fragment of Bacchius, senior: "The upper line of no
is for the poem, the lower for the lyre; because the mouth, which alone gives utterance to the wor
is placed by nature above the hands, which produce tones from the instrument."

* Marcus Meibom (Meibomius) of Upsala and Utrecht, published tracts and translations
many Greek and Roman books on music. There does not seem to be any English translation of
Antiquæ musicae auctores septem graece et latine (1625). He died in 1711. There have been repri
of his work including one by Karl von Jais issued in 1895. Meibom's works include the treatise
Aristoxenus, Euclid (Cleonides), Alypius, Nichomachus, Gaudentius, Bacchius senior, and Aristi
Quintilianus.

Alypius, that we are able to decypher these characters ; which, before his time, had been so altered, corrupted, disfigured, and confounded, by the ignorance or negligence of the transcribers of ancient manuscripts, that they were rendered wholly unintelligible.

In examining the three diagrams of Alypius, where the notation of all the fifteen modes in each genus is given, I have frequently tried to find some rule for the use of different kinds of letters, or reason for the confusion in which they appear in the scale. I thought it would have furnished something of an historical deduction, if I could have discovered that the simple letters of the alphabet were used in a regular series, to express the sounds ascending or descending, in any one mode of the several genera. For it was natural to suppose, that in the first use of the alphabet for notes as well as numbers, the order would have been regular ; and if such a regularity could have been found, in any mode of the three genera, it might have been presumed that such mode was the *first* to which the alphabetic characters had been applied.

Indeed something like regularity appears, in passing the eye obliquely upwards from *Mese* to Nete hyperbolæon, in all the genera, particularly in the enharmonic diagram, where the letters proceed by quarter tones, as is generally the case, but with many exceptions : I tried in vain to find the *rule* for these exceptions. All the notes in the horizontal range of the several diagrams, are at the same *pitch ;* but they are frequently expressed by different characters, for which I have been able to assign no solid reason. And, on the contrary, notes of a *different* pitch are sometimes expressed by the *same* character, for which I am equally unable to account. The letters and scale go on in a direct series of quarter-tones for some time ; but afterwards, a letter is, unaccountably, either omitted or repeated, which interrupts all regularity. I rather suspect, however, that these perplexities may arise from the modes being a semitone above each other. Ptolemy, lib. II. cap. 2 speaks of the inconvenience of this arrangement of modes, owing to the necessity of altering in some of them the tuning of all the strings. I suspect likewise, that where the *same* note, in the *same* horizontal line, is expressed by different characters, it was to suit the lyre ; and that the two different sounds were expressed with the *same* mark, to suit the fingers.

After a long and painful meditation upon these diagrams, all that I am able to discover like *regularity* and *constancy* in them, is in the following particulars:

1. In all the three genera the simple alphabet is used for the upper octave of the *Disdiapason,* beginning with A at the semitone *above Nete hyperbolæon,* and always ending with *Omega* in *Mese.* From thence downwards the second alphabet is used (*m*) consisting of the disguised, and mutilated letters, but in the same regular order of the alphabet, beginning always from *Mese,* and ending with the divided *Phi* ᓄ ᓄ in proslambanomenos of the Hypodorian mode.

(*m*) Vide Meibom, in Præf.

The order of the letters in these several instances is broken and interrupted, but no where, that I have been able to discover, reversed or promiscuous. Then from the semitone above *Nete hyperbolæon* upwards, to dd, the octave of *Nete synemmenon,* six other characters are used, and these are still the six last letters of the alphabet in a different dress: if these are traced downwards from ⊥ ⅄, to ΩZ, they will be found as regular as the former letters.

To complete the *three octaves and one tone,* in giving all the fifteen modes intire, there still remain thirteen characters more, which are repeated from the first alphabet of *simple* letters, except the ℧ at the top: after *that* character, they descend regularly from A\′ to OK′, distinguished only by an accent. The plain alphabet therefore is used down to *Mese,* and the disguised alphabet from mese to proslambanomenos. Six new disguised letters, however, appear from the octave above *Trite synemmenon,* up to the octave above *Nete synemmenon*: and thirteen old ones, with the addition only of a *virgula,* from that sound up to the double octave above *Paramese.*

2. In the enharmonic and chromatic genera the characters are exactly the same, and in the same perpendicular order, in all the modes ; only the *chromatic Lichani,* the distinguishing strings of each genus, are marked, as Meibomius observes, with a *dash,* to distinguish them from the *enharmonic Lichani* (*n*).

3. In all the three diagrams the strings, except the *Lichani,* have the same characters: this will appear in examining any of the modes ascending or descending *perpendicularly,* and missing the *red* characters, which are the *Lichani ;* for the order of the rest, which are *black,* will be found exactly the same in all the genera. Thus much seems fixed and constant in all the diagrams of Alypius, as published by Meibomius, and upon which these remarks are intended as a commentary.

With respect to the multiplicity of characters, it is natural to suppose that the Greeks began their notation when their compass was small: as that was extended, they were forced by degrees to augment the number of their musical characters. And when this method of notation by the letters of the alphabet was once established, nothing was more obvious than to repeat the same letters, which admitted of such easy variation, by position, mutilation, and accents. The order of instrumental notes is much more wild and unaccountable than that of the vocal, to which these remarks have been hitherto confined.*

I am fearful of swelling my book too much with these conjectural explications, though there is scarce a single circumstance relative to ancient music which does not require them. However, amidst so much doubt and obscurity, two points seem clearly demonstrable:

(*n*) The third string ascending, of each of the two lowest tetrachords, is called *Lichanos.*

* A complete list of the signs used in Greek musical notation will be found on page 6 of the introductory volume to the Oxford History of Music (1929) and also in the article "Monochord" in Grove's Dictionary (vol. III, p. 498).

first, that the enharmonic genus moving in *dieses,* or quarter-tones, is the most regular in its notation; which encourages a belief that this genus, however unnatural and difficult to us, must have been not only very ancient, but the first that was expressed in writing; and consequently, at some one period of time, must have been in the *most general use* (*o*). Secondly, that it must have been usual to read the general scales, or diagrams, backwards, *descending,* from acute to grave; which, as all the ancient modes were in what we should call *minor keys,* must have been more agreeable to the ear than ascending, for want of a sharp-seventh. This, however, does not imply that the tetrachords were *always* read in that order; for these being much more ancient than the alphabetic notation, had been long tuned and regulated from *grave* to *acute*.

The neglect of these distinctions will introduce a universal scepticism concerning every part of ancient music. But provided the intervals are determined, it is of as small consequence whether the scale is read from the top to the bottom, or the bottom to the top, as whether a child is taught to repeat the modern gammut from G in the treble, or G in the base.

The scales of Aristoxenus, Euclid, and Alypius, begin at *Proslambanomenos,* it is true; but though this note is first named in the descriptions and definitions of the sounds of the several systems, and consequently stands *highest in the page* where it is mentioned, yet it does not follow that it was the most acute sound in the scale, or that it was produced by the shortest string in the ancient lyre (*p*). But so disputable is every thing that concerns Greek music, that it has even been doubted whether this leading note was the highest or lowest of the scale.

Galilei, Zarlino, Bontempi, Tevo, M. Rousseau, Dr. Brown, and others have asserted, that the terms *high* and *low,* had different acceptations among the ancients, from those in which they are understood by the moderns, without guarding, as they ought to have done, against such consequences, with respect to the situation of the scale, as it was natural for the reader to draw from that assertion.

Dr. Pepusch* asserts roundly, and without the least modification of doubt, or even condescending to alledge a single reason or proof in defence of his opinion, that "it was usual among the Greeks to consider a *descending* as well as an *ascending* scale; the former proceeding from acute to grave, precisely by the same intervals as the latter did from grave to acute. The *first* sound of each was the *Proslambanomenos* (*q*)."

(*o*) See Sect II.

(*p*) If a verbal description of the modern gammut were given in writing, without notes, it would have the same appearance: Γ ut, A re, B mi, C fa ut, D sol re, E la mi, F fa ut, G sol re ut, A la mi re, B fa B mi, C sol fa ut, &c.

(*q*) Phil. Trans. No. ccccIxxxi. p. 226, and Martyn's Abridg. Vol. X. Part 1, p. 261

* 1667–1752. Specialized in the study of Greek musical theory. He settled in London in 1700, and became a well-known and popular composer for the stage. He is best remembered to-day by the work he did for "The Beggar's Opera" and "Polly."

No instances of these *inverted* scales are to be found, however, in Aristoxenus, Euclid, or any of the oldest and best writers. Boethius, Bryennius, and some other of the more modern compilers, have, indeed, puzzled the cause by ambiguous expressions, which seem to bear such construction (*r*) ; and Dr. Pepusch, the oracle of his time, who equalled at least that of Delphos by the darkness of his decrees, readily jumped to any conclusion that would involve a musical question in mysterious and artificial difficulty.

It seems as if all this perplexity and confusion had arisen from the want of precision in the musical nomenclature of the Greeks. The prepositions ὑπο, *sub,* ὑπερ, *super,* and the adjectives ὑπατος, *summus,* and νητος, *imus,* have manifestly been applied to sounds more to express their situation in the lyre and diagrams, than the length of the strings, or the gravity and acuteness of their tones.

Dr. Wallis,* in his Appendix to Ptolemy's Harmonics (*s*), explains this difficulty in the following manner.

"The Greeks called *Hypate, supreme,* though it is the lowest sound or string of the tetrachord ; and *Nete, last,* or *lowest,* though the most acute. (This Henry Stephens acknowledges at the word νητη, which he defines *ultimam seu imam* : and *paranete, imæ proximam*): therefore those who first made use of these names, applied them differently from us, calling grave, *high,* and acute, *low*. And thus Nicomachus, p. 6, calls Saturn the highest of the planets, *Hypate*; and the moon, the lowest, with respect to us, *Nete*. Boethius, likewise, in his Treatise on Music, places, in all his diagrams, the low sounds at the top, and the high ones at the bottom. But, he concludes, that we must not attend to the original import of these words, *summus* and *imus,* but understand *Hypate* and *Nete* as *first* and *last,* or *principal* and *extreme,* as Aristides Quintilianus has done, p. 10."

In the first, or Mercurian lyre, the longest string, which produced the lowest sound, from being placed highest in the instrument, as is the case with the modern harp, was called *Hypate,* the highest sound, and *Nete,* for the same reason, was afterwards, upon the extension of the scale, called *lowest,* though the most acute. *Trite,* the third string from the top of the two last tetrachords, had its name, as in our violins, by comparison with the smallest strings. From a passage in Aristides Quintilianus (*t*) it seems as if the Greeks, in naming and numbering the notes of their scale, made it a rule always to go *towards Mese,* and end with it, as being the regulator of the other notes, and situated in the *medium* of the voice. This is confirmed by the problem of Aristotle already cited, and this confirms what has been already observed of the order of the alphabetic notation, in which *Mese* is always expressed by

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(*r*) Meibom, in Gaudent, p. 33, et Wallis in Bryennio, p. 364, et seq.

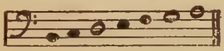
(*s*) P. 159. Fol. Ed. (*t*) P. 11, at the top.

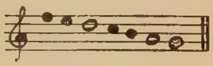
* Published the texts of Ptolemy, Porphyry's Commentary and Bryennius, between 1657–1699.

Omega. It seems, therefore, as if the Greeks *ascended* the lower octave of the disdiapason, and *descended* the upper one ; otherwise it is not easy to see why the strings of the upper octave should have names referring, as they evidently do, to a *descending* series, and in order *opposite* to those of the *lower* octave (*u*).

Παϱα, in the compound names of the notes, evidently means *next in order; Parypate,* in the *lower* octave, then is *ascent ; Paranete,* in the *upper* octave, plainly *descent.* The same is implied in *Trite. But the term Nete, last, looks* very like *ascent* again—*And darkness was upon the face of the deep*!—These contradictions may account in some degree for the great perplexity about the scale ; they are curious, however, and as well worth observing, perhaps, as any matters of this kind.

I have, indeed, from the seemingly aukward and uncouth melody produced by the Greek scales *ascending,* been sometimes inclined to think that if they were reversed with respect to intervals, it would be much more agreeable to our ears, and explain away many difficulties; but soon found that it would leave others still more insuperable behind : put *Proslambanomenos* out of the question, as a note that might be added indifferently to the top or bottom of the scale, and compare the intervals of our diatonic scale in C natural descending, with that of the Greek in the Hypodorian mode ascending, and the intervals will be found to be the same.





This hypothesis might have been defended by many passages in the Greek writers ; yet stubborn facts would have arisen against it, by which, in the end, it would be totally overthrown.

The perplexity concerning the scale is a subject that required more time and meditation than I was able to bestow upon it ; however, I was very unwilling to leave it, till I had discovered by some indisputable rule, how to determine the question, as the few fragments left of Greek music, by a mistake in this particular, would be as much injured as a poem, by reading it backwards.

At length, an infallible rule presented itself to me, in the works of the great Euclid, who has been regarded for so many ages as the legislator of mathematicians, and whose writings have been their code. In his section of the Canon (*x*), p. 37, Edit. Meibom. he represents *Proslambanomenos* by the *whole string*: so that, if any thing concerning ancient music can be made certain, it is, that this whole string represented the *lowest sound* in the Greek scale, which, in the Hyperdorian mode, was equivalent to the

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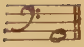
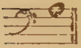
(*u*) See Meibomius's note upon Arist. Quintil. p. 11, which seems solid.

(*x*) By *Canon* must here be understood a *single string,* which being intersected by moveable bridges, serves as a *rule* or *law,* for determining musical intervals, and the exact proportion of sound to sound.

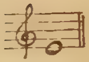
note A ... ...



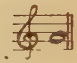
Half the string, *Mese,* its octave, a, ...



Third part, *Nete diezeugmenon,* fifth of the octave, e,



And the fourth part of the string, *Nete hyperbolæon,* the double octave, aa, ...



which include all the concords that the ancients admitted. Eight ninths of the string are allotted to the sound *Hypate Bareia Gravis,* which is B in the base, one tone higher than *Proslambanomenos,* or A.

This section, therefore, of the line, representing the sound A, must put an end to every doubt concerning the order of the scale, which may have arisen from the inverted application of the words *high* and *low,* constantly occurring in all the more ancient and authentic Greek writers on music.

And now having done with the scale, let us return to the tablature.

The multiplicity of notes in ancient Greek music must certainly have made it a very long and laborious study, even at a time when the art itself was in reality very simple. Hence it is not surprising to find that Plato (*y*), though he was unwilling that youth should bestow too much time upon music, allowed them to sacrifice three years to it, merely in learning the elements ; and thought that he had reduced this study to its shortest period: but at the end of this time, a student could hardly be capable of naming all the notes, and of singing an air *at sight,* as we call it, in all keys and in all the genera, accompanying himself at the same time upon the lyre ; much less could it be expected that he should be correct in every species of rhythm ; that he should be master of taste and expression; or be able to compose a melody himself to a new lyric poem.

It was much more difficult to sing from the tablature, than to follow a voice or instrument, as it is far more perplexing to read the Chinese language than to speak it, on account of the great multiplicity of characters. However, if we could find Greek music now,* we should be able to read it, contrary to the general opinion, which is, that the ancient notation is utterly lost. But though we can perhaps decypher it as exactly as the Greeks themselves could

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(*y*) De Legib. lib. vii.

* Only a few examples of Greek music have come down to us :—

(1) Scraps of music to the *Orestes* of Euripides (lines 338–343). The fragment is generally considered as being a contemporary score.

(2) An inscription on a column discovered at Tralles by W. H. Ramsay, and known as the *Epitaph of Seikolos*. The date of this fragment is uncertain.

(3) Three hymns by Mesomedes, of which transcriptions by Burney are given in Section 7 of this volume.

(4) Some parts of hymns found whilst excavating the site of Delphi. The probable date of the first of these is late second century B.C., and of the second *circa* 128 B.C.

(5) A few exercises for instruments now deposited at Berlin.

have done, yet to divide it into phrases, to accentuate, and to give it the original and true expression, are things, at present, impossible, and ever will remain so. For it is with the music of every country as with the language ; to read it with the eye, and to give it utterance, are different things ; and we can arrive at no greater certainty about the expression of a dead music, than the pronunciation of a dead language.

" It is astonishing, however," says M. Burette (*z*), " that the ancient Greeks, with all their genius, and in the course of so many ages as music was cultivated by them, never invented a shorter and more commodious way of expressing sounds in writing, than by sixteen hundred and twenty notes; nor ever thought of simplifying their tablature, by making the same characters serve both for voices and instruments. It will perhaps be said that this distinction of tablature still subsists with us, for the lute, and for some other instruments ; but this distinction is almost abolished (*a*)." And yet, notwithstanding the great simplicity of our tablature, compared with that, of the ancients, it must be owned that the modern characters are so numerous and difficult to understand, and retain in the memory, that a student in music has the voice and ear formed long before the eye is able to read them. And it may be affirmed, that the attention to the rules of music is more difficult than the execution.

It would be therefore curious to calculate the difficulties of ancient and modern music separately, that by a comparative view we might be enabled to determine which had the greater number.

With respect to those of notation, their being so much more numerous in the ancient music than the modern, is, perhaps, more imaginary than real.

For though the ancients had one hundred and twenty different characters for sound only, without including time, which characters, by changes in the modes and genera, were multiplied to sixteen hundred and twenty ; yet, if we compare these changes with such as are produced by our seven clefs, in which each note is subject to the accidents of flats and sharps, the memory will appear to be little less burthened by modern than by ancient musical notation.

Our compass is indeed much more extensive than that of the Greeks ; but if we confine it to three octaves only, which was the extent of the whole range of modes in the great system of the ancients,* we shall have seven changes for each of the twenty-two natural sounds, which amount in all to one hundred and fifty-four, without the accidents of flats and sharps ; and these being nearly

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(*z*) *Mem. de Litter.* tom. v. p. 182.

(*a*) M. Burette has presented to the Academy of Inscriptions and *Belles Lettres* at Paris, a great number of well written memoirs upon almost every part of ancient music. When the enquiries of this learned academician seem successful, and satisfy my mind by the solution of difficulties, I shall freely avail myself of his diligence and erudition ; at other times, I shall either attempt to explain these difficulties myself, or shall frankly confess my ignorance and inability to furnish my readers with any satisfactory information concerning them.

* The full extent of the Greek musical system was ultimately three and one third octaves, The number of signs employed therefore was 140—70 for vocal and 70 for instrumental use.

The Perfect System of the Moderns compared with the Great and General System of the Ancients

Greek appellatives	Notation of the sounds in the Hypodorian mode			Ancient Solmisation		Modern solmisation, attributed to Guido					Roman letters of which the capitals were first used by St.Gregory			Clefs	Greek names to the sounds of the second octave.
		M′ Π	M Π		τᾱ					la			ee		
		⊥ ⅄	⊥ ⅄	τᾱ	τω̄				la	sol		dd	dd		
		Ж ⅄	Ϯ ⅄	τω̄	τη̄				sol	fa		cc	cc		
		B /	Ц Z	τη̄	τᾱ				♮ fa	mi		bb	♮♮		
		Γ N		τε̄				la	mi	re		aa			Nete hyperbolæon
		H ⊳		τω̄				sol	re	ut		g		𝄞	Paranete Hyperb. or Hyp. diat.
		Λ ⅄		τη̄				fa	ut			f			Trite hyp.
		M Π		τᾱ			la	mi				c			Nete diezeug.
Nete Synemmenon	Γ C	Π Ↄ	τᾱ	τω̄		la	sol	re			d	d			Paranete diez. or Diez. diat.
Synem. diat.	T	Υ	τω̄	τη̄		sol	fa	ut			c	c		𝄡	Trite diez.
Trite Synem.	Ψ ϙ	Φ	τη̄	τᾱ		♮ fa	mi				b	♮			Paramese.
Mese	Ω ↗		τε̄		la	mi	re				a				
Meson diat. or Lichanos Meson	∇ ⊣		τω̄		sol	re	ut				G				
Parypate Meson	ш		τη̄		fa	ut					F			𝄢	
Hypate Meson	⊤ E		τᾱ	la	mi						E				
Hyp. diatonos, or Lichanos Hyp.	η		τω̄	sol	re						D				
Paryp. hypaton	b ω		τη̄	fa	ut						C				
Hypate hypaton	ɯ		τᾱ	mi							B				
Proslambanomenos	ȸ		τε̄	re							A				
	Ω		τω	ut							Γ				

double that number, the whole will amount to about four hundred and fifty-five different representations of the semitones contained in three octaves, without enumerating either extreme sharps, or double flats.

Let us, after this, consider the difference of intonation occasioned by temperament, between the keys of C natural and C sharp with seven sharps; of D natural with two sharps, and of D flat with five flats; differences which are certainly distinctions and difficulties in our notation, as C♯ and D♭ are not only different sounds upon perfect instruments, but expressed by different characters in our tablature. Let us likewise consider the different situation of the sounds in all our twenty-four keys ; taking into the account, at the same time, the great numbers of our different characters for the duration of these sounds; and the simplicity of modern notation will not appear so much superior to the ancient as has been imagined.

But music is a modern art with us, as it is only a few centuries since the present system is supposed to have been invented ; whereas ancient music flourished and was cultivated some thousand years before that period. It is therefore by no means surprising, that ours has not yet acquired every possible convenience of notation. However, notwithstanding the defects of modern music in some particulars, I may venture to affirm that it has arrived at a very great degree of perfection ; and I appeal for the truth of this assertion to the daily experience of persons of good taste and refined ears.

In order to furnish my readers with a comparative view of the ancient and modern musical systems, I shall here insert a general diagram of both, constructed by the learned Meibomius, in his notes upon Euclid.

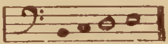
Section II

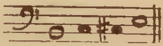
Of the three Genera: Diatonic, Chromatic, and Enharmonic

IN modern music the *Genera* are but two: *Diatonic* and *Chromatic* These consist in the manner of arranging the tones and semitones of which melody is composed (*a*).

In ancient music, not only the tone was divided into two, as with us, but the semitone by a *Diesis* or *Quarter-tone*. These three kinds of interval, the tone, semitone, and *Diesis,* constituted the difference of the three genera.

It has been already observed that the fourth was the constant boundary of sounds in the music of the ancients ; and that its extremes, or highest and lowest sounds, were *stantes, immobiles,* or fixed. As the octave in modern music admits of no change, but is tuned as perfect as possible, so the fourth in ancient music was never allowed to deviate from perfection. The different genera therefore were characterized by the changes that were made in the two middle sounds of the tetrachord, which were styled *mobiles,* mutable. So that a *Genus* is defined by Euclid, the division and disposition of the tetrachord with respect to the intervals of the four sounds of which it is composed ; and Pappus Alexandrinus says, that the *Genera* consisted only in different divisions of the tetrachord.

In the *Diatonic Genus,* the melody proceeded by a semitone, and two tones, as B C D E  ; and it was from the succession of *two tones,* that this genus acquired the name of *Diatonic*. As the term is derived from δια, *by,* and τονος, *tone* ; that is, passing from one tone to another ; which in the Greek music was never done but in the diatonic genus.

The *Chromatic* proceeded by two successive *semitones,* and a hemiditone, or minor third, as B C C ♯ E 
This modulation holding the middle place between the diatonic and enharmonic, has been supposed by Martianus Capella and

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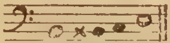
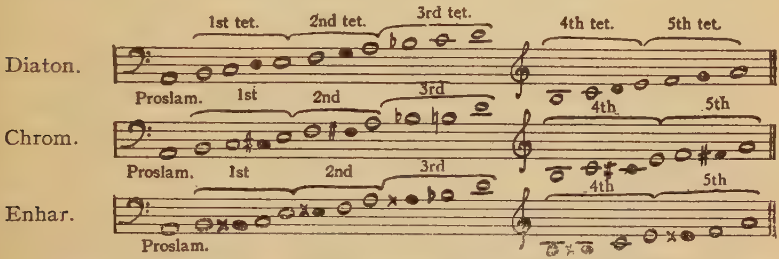
(*a*) When no more than two semitones occur in the course of an octave, the melody may properly be styled genuine *Diatonic.*

Indeed the *Chromatic* in use at present can hardly be compared with that of the ancients ; for with them every accidental flat or sharp which led to a new mode or key, would have been called a change of *Genus.* With us, however, a mere change of modulation, though it occasions a change of key, is not a change of *genus* ; for while the sounds made use of in harmony and melody can be referred to any *one key*, the *Diatonic genus* is supposed to be preserved : it is only a regular succession of two or more *semitones*, ascending or descending, that constitutes *modern Chromatic.*

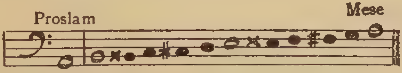
Bryennius, to derive its name from *χϱωμα, colour ;* for as the gradations between black and white are called colours, so this genus being placed between the diatonic and enharmonic, is called *Chromatic*. M. Rousseau tells us, in his Dictionary, that this genus used to be written in *coloured notes,* but without giving any authority in support of this opinion.

The *Enharmonic* tetrachord proceeded by two *quarter* tones, and a major third, B B× C E*  This genus is often called by Aristoxenus, and others, simply *ἁϱμονια, harmonia,* that is, well arranged and ordered.

Each of the three genera had some sounds in its scale that were peculiar and characteristic, and some that were in common with the other two. For instance, B C E F A B♭ and d, were used in all the three genera, whereas D G were peculiar to the diatonic, C♯ and F♯ to the chromatic, and B× E× and A× to the enharmonic. A complete scale of each genus in modern notes will explain this matter better than words.



Hence it appears that the regular *diatonic* scale consisted, like the modern, of *tones* and *semitones* ; the *chromatic,* of *semitones* and *minor thirds ;* and the *enharmonic,* of *quarter-tones* and *major thirds* ; distinctions which seem to have been long religiously observed in Greece ; as the lyre was allowed but four strings to each tetrachord, and flutes were bored in a particular manner for each genus, in which no provision was made for producing the tones peculiar to the other two. However, in Euclid's time [323-238 B.C.] we find that a *mixed genus,* as he calls it, had been admitted into practice. This author, the clearest and most satisfactory, as far as he goes, of all the ancients who have treated of music, has given us the following extraordinary scale of sounds used in the mixed genus.



By which it appears that six strings are wanting to fill up the Diatessaron, or interval of a fourth, which, in any one of the three pure and uncompounded genera, had occasion but for four ; and the octaves from proslambanomenos to mese, which in the pure diatonic, chromatic, or enharmonic, had but eight strings, in the mixed genus must have been supplied with twelve. So that a remark made by Perrault (*b*) concerning the superiority of the modern scale over the ancient, in having a greater number of sounds in the compass of a fourth, is not so much in our favour as it at first appears ; the number of notes being equal in both: with this difference, that the ancients had no G sharp, or E flat, and the moderns have no *Diesis*, or interval of a quarter-tone, between B C, E F, or A and B♭.

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* The sign X is used to indicate the raising of the pitch of a note by a quarter tone.

Aristoxenus tells us that the division and bounds of the genera were not accurately fixed till his time ; and Aristides Quintilianus speaks of several genera, or species of intervals, which were of the highest antiquity ; yet so wild and irregular, that after the art of music was brought to a greater degree of perfection, and the laws of the three principal genera were settled, they had been totally disused by the best musicians. The same author asserts, that it is of these barbarous divisions of the scale, or old *Harmonies*, as they were called, and not the common modes of the same names, that Plato speaks in his Republic, where he admits some of them, and rejects others.

The ancients attributed peculiar effects to each genus, and speak of many characteristic distinctions of genera, which now appear to be wholly fanciful and imaginary. These, if they ever had existence, were, perhaps, destroyed by modern harmony. Aristides Quintilianus,* p. 111, tells us, that

The *diatonic* is manly, and austere;
The *chromatic* sweet, and pathetic ; and
The *enharmonic* animating, and mild.

Vitruvius, speaking of the *enharmonic*, says, that it is in a particular manner *grave* and *majestic* (*c*).

And Plutarch, in his first Essay against Colotes the Epicurean, asks, "Why does the chromatic genus melt and dissolve, and the enharmonic brace the nerves, and compose the mind, after being disturbed?"

Aristides Quintilianus, in another place (*d*), says of the genera, that the *diatonic* is the most natural, because all who have ears, though uninstructed in music, are capable of singing it.

The *chromatic* is *more* (*e*) artificial, for it can be sung only by such as are adepts in music.

(*b*) *Essais Physiques*, tom. ii.

(*c*) *Cantus ejus maximè gravem, et egregiam habet auctoritatem.*

Perhaps the idea of a major-key, which the *enharmonic ditone* must impress upon the ear, may have contributed to the notion of music in that genus being *animating* ; but how it could be at the same time *grave* and *soothing*, *animating* and *mild*, is not easy to conceive. This genus was never known to the Romans, having been lost before they attempted the polite arts.

(*d*) P. 19. Edit. Meibom.

(*e*) A learned friend has proposed a natural and easy correction of the text in this passage, which as it stands in Meibomius, is scarce intelligible. It consists only in a transposition of the termination of the two last characteristic adjectives.

* Aristides flourished probably in the 2d or 3d centurie A.D. Meibomius reprinted the work referred to. Groves (vol. 1, p. 112) gives him as living about A.D. 150.

The *enharmonic* is the *most* refined and difficult of all, and has been received and practised only by the greatest artists.

The ancients have related such wonders of this long-lost, and long-lamented genus, that a particular discussion seems necessary here concerning its existence and properties. There is nothing so difficult to the conception of modern musicians, as that pleasing effects should ever have been produced by intervals, which they themselves are unable to form, and to which, if they could form and introduce them into *melody,* no *harmony* could be given, that would be agreeable to the ear, or the rules of counterpoint.

And there are so many inconsistencies in the accounts of ancient authors concerning this kind of music, that nothing but an hypothesis can reconcile them to probability. With the permission, therefore, of my readers, I shall venture to throw together my conjectures upon this subject in that form ; assuring them, at the same time, that it is the only hypothesis which I intend to hazard in the course of this work.

Old Enharmonic

From several passages in ancient authors who have written upon music, it appears that there were two kinds of *enharmonic* melodies in use among the Greeks ; in the most ancient of which we do not find that the *Diesis* or *Quarter-tone,* ever had admission. This I shall distinguish, in the course of the following essay, by the title of *Old Enharmonic.* The other, in which the semitone was divided, and which seems to have been a refinement upon this, I shall call *New Enharmonic.*

"The number of *four strings,* from which the tetrachord derived its name," says M. Rousseau (*a*), " was so far from being essential, that we find tetrachords in ancient music which had only *three.* Such for some time, were the *enharmonic* tetrachords." He mentions the same circumstance in speaking of the invention of the *enharmonic genus* by Olympus (*b*).

Now, as the only source of these assertions seems to be a passage in Plutarch's Dialogue on Music, which is really curious, I shall here insert as faithful a translation of it as possible.

"Olympus, as Aristoxenus informs us (*c*), is thought by musicians to have invented the *enharmonic genus* : for before his time, all was *diatonic* and *chromatic.* He is supposed to have hit upon the invention *in some such way* as *this*: while he was preluding in the diatonic genus, it is imagined that passing frequently in his melody from *Paramese,* and from *Mese* to *Parhypate Meson, skipping over the Lichanos,* he observed the beauty of the *effect*: *το ϰαλλος του ἠϑους, effect, manner,* or *expression,* and forming then the whole system (of the octachord or

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(*a*) Dict. de Mus. Art. Tetrachorde. (*b*) Art. Enharmonique.

(*c*) In a work that is not extant.

heptachord, as I understand it) according to this analogy (*d*), and being struck with it, he adopted and composed in it, in the Dorian mode, without touching any string *peculiar* to the diatonic, to the chromatic, or indeed to the *enharmonic* ; and such were his *enharmonic melodies*. For the *first* of these they reckon to have been the *nome* or melody called *Spondean* ; in which melody *none of the divisions* of the tetrachord (i.e., the *genera*) *show their peculiar characters* (*e*). . . . For the *close enharmonic* εναϱμονιον πυκνον, *now in use* (*f*), seems not to have been invented by this musician ; as any one may easily be convinced, that attends to a performer on the flute, who plays in the old-fashioned style: for such players chuse to make the semitone an *uncompounded interval*. Such then were the *original enharmonic* melodies ; but, afterwards, the *semitone was divided*, in the Lydian, and Phrygian modes. Thus it appears that Olympus improved the art, by introducing a manner that was new and unknown to former musicians, and was the great leader and author of the *genuine* and beautiful *Greek music* (*g*)."

M. Burette, who has published the whole Dialogue of Plutarch, with a translation, and an ample commentary, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, seems unable to account for Olympus touching *no sound peculiar* to any one of the three genera: however, nothing in the Dialogue is clearer than that Plutarch means to say that the three notes used by Olympus in each tetrachord were common to *all* the genera: he neither introduced *Lichanos diatonos*, which is peculiar to the *diatonic;* nor *Lichanos chromaticos;* nor even, says Plutarch, the sound *now* essential to the *enharmonic;* that is, neither D natural, C sharp, nor the enharmonic B×.

But M. Burette confounds the *old* enharmonic with the *new*. He will have the *spondean* melody to have been in the *Phrygian mode* mentioned by Aristides Quintilianus, p. 21 ; though in that the *Diesis is* admitted ; and Plutarch says expressly that this old melody did *not* admit any *characteristics* of the genera. And all this he does merely to explain an unintelligible parenthesis, which

(*d*) That is, missing the third sound, *ascending*, in every tetrachord which he used. What kind of melody would be produced from such a mutilated scale, will be shewn further on.

(*e*) This is, plainly, *enharmonic, without the quarter-tone.*—Here a long unintelligible parenthesis is omitted.

(*f*) That is, *with* the Diesis, or true enharmonic quarter-tone.

(*g*) Ὀλυμπος δε, (ὡς Ἀριστοξενος φησιν) ὑπολαμβανεται ὑπο των μουσικων του ἐναρμονιου, γενους ἑυρετης γεγενησθαι. τα γαρ προ ἐκεινου παντα, διατονα και χρωματικα ἠν. ὑπονοουσι δε την ἑυρεσιν τοι ἀυτην τινα γενεσθαι. αναστρεφομενον τον Ὀλυμπον ἐν τῳ διατονῳ, και διαβιβαζοντα το μελος πολλακις ἐπι την διατονον παρυπατην, τοτε μεν ἀπο της παραμεσης, τοτε δε ἀπο της μεσης, και παραβαινοντα την διατονον λιχανον καταμαθειν το καλλος του ἠθους, και ὀυτω το ἐκ της ἀναλογιας συνεστηκος συστημα θανμασαντα και ἀποδεξαμενον, ἐν τουτῳ ποιειν ἐπι του Δωριου τονου. οὐτε γαρ των του διατονου ἰδιων οὐτε των του χρωματος ἀπτεσθαι, ἀλλα οὐδε των της ἁρμονιας. ἐιναι δ᾽αὐτῳ τα πρωτα των ἐναρμονιων τοι αὐτα. Τιθεασι γαρ τουτων πρωτον τον σπονδειον, ἐν ᾧ οὐδεμια των διαιρεσεον το ἰδιον ἐμφαινει. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
το γαρ ἐν ταις μεσαις ἐναρμονιον πυκνον, ᾧ νυν χρωνται, οὐ δοκει του ποιητου ἐιναι. ῥαδιον δ᾽ἐστι συνιδειν, ἐαν τι, ἀρχαικως τινος αὐλουντος ἀκουση. ἀσυνθετον γαρ βουλεται ἐιναι, και το ἐν ταις μεσαις ἡμιτονιον. τα μεν οὐν πρωτα των ἐναρμονιων, τοιαυτα. ὑστερον δε το ἡμιτονιον διηρεθη, ἐντε τοις Λυδιοις, και ἐν τοις Φρυγιοις. Φαινεται δ᾽Ολυμπος αὐξησας μουσικην, τῳ ἀγενητον τι, και ἀγνοουμενον ὑπο των ἐμπροσθεν ἐισαγαγειν, και ἀρχηγος γενεσθαι της Ἑλληνικης και καλης μουσικης.

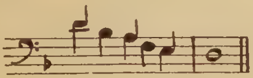
is better omitted, unless some sense could be given to it that would not militate with the rest of the text, which is clear and intelligible without it.

M. Burette must be allowed the merit of great diligence and learning ; but he does not seem always to have been possessed of an equal share of sagacity, or with courage sufficient to confess himself unable to explain inexplicable passages in his author. He never sees a difficulty ; he explains all. Hence, amidst great erudition, and knowledge of antiquity, there are a thousand unintelligible explanations in his notes upon Plutarch. *En ecrivant,* said Fontenelle, *jai toujours taché de m' entendre.*—An admirable rule! which every writer ought to adopt.

Thus much is said, not with a view to depreciate the merit of M. Burette, to whom almost all late writers on music have had great obligations, and whose labours have been of singular service to myself, among the rest ; but to shew how few authors are to be always followed implicitly, or read without precaution.

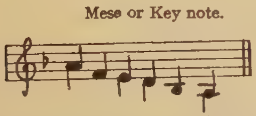
The passage of Plutarch relative to *Old Enharmonic* is rendered fairly, and as near *literally* as possible. It must be remembered that the Dorian mode, in which Olympus is said to have composed his melodies, answers to our key of D natural. Now, in the tetrachords of this mode, if we omit every third sound, we shall have the following melody, whether Olympus had two conjunct, or two disjunct tetrachords for his system.

Conj.

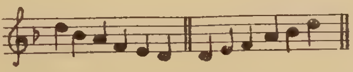


Prosl. only wanting to complete the octave.

Disj.



Both these scales contain only the intervals to be found in the following octave.



Now this is exactly the old Scots scale in the minor key ; a circumstance which must strike every one who reads the passage of Plutarch, that is at all acquainted with the intervals of the Greek scale, and with Scots music.

The abbé Roussier, in the second article of his *Memoire sur la Musique des Anciens,* speaks of an old Chinese scale of six notes,* mentioned by Rameau. It is preserved in numbers ; and, according to Rameau's interpretation, who applies the numbers to ascending fifths, they produce the very identical Scots scale, adding only a note to complete the octave. C, D, E, G, A, cc. The abbé contends that Rameau is wrong ; and indeed the argument he uses against him concerning lengths and vibrations, Sect. XXI. does seem plausible ; but the abbé had the *interest of a system* to biass him in determining this matter, which Rameau had not. It must be confessed, at least, that Rameau's interpretation forms the more *probable* and natural scale: because, like the Scots, and the *Old Enharmonic,* it leaves out the *fourth* and *seventh* of the key. The only specimen of Chinese music which M. Rousseau has given in his Dictionary, from Du Halde, seems to confirm Rameau's scale : for except in one passage, at the beginning of the third bar, where F natural comes in so aukwardly, as to raise a suspicion that it has been inserted by a mistake of the engraver, the *fourth* and *seventh* of the key are scrupulously missed throughout ; and nothing can be more Scottish than the whole cast of the air.

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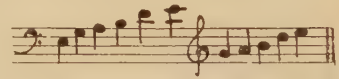
* The old Chinese scale was pentatonic and the various notes bore queer names : *Emperor, Prime Minister, Subject People, State Affairs,* and *Picture of the Universe.* A sixth note was added about 1100 B.C., but later the five note scale was re-adopted. Apart from this the Chinese had a secondary system of 12 divisions of the octave ,which was used to allow the pentatonic scale to be accommodated to various pitches.

All the specimens that I have been able to collect of Chinese melody, several of which will be given among the examples of national music in the second book, are of this cast. Indeed they must be so, in compliance with the construction of their instruments, in which there are *no semitones*. One of these I saw when I was last at Paris: it was in the possession of the abbé Arnaud of the French Academy, and was a kind of *Sticcado,* consisting of bars of wood of different lengths, as sonorous as if they had been of metal: these were placed across a hollow vessel resembling the hulk of a ship. The compass was two octaves, and the intervals were arranged in the following order:



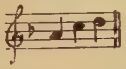
Now no music can be composed from such a scale that will not remind us of the melody of Scotland, which will hereafter be proved of a much higher antiquity than has generally been imagined.

With respect to the music of China, Dr. Lind, an excellent judge of the subject, and philosophically curious about every thing that relates to it, after residing a considerable time in that country, assured me that all the melodies he had heard there bore a strong resemblance to the *old Scots tunes*. And Dr. Russel has favoured me with twelve Chinese airs, that were brought from China by his brother, the late Claude Russel, Esq., of the Bengal council ; all which confirm what has been said of the want of semitones in the Chinese scale, and of the strong resemblance between these airs, and those of Scotland, by the omission of the 4th and 7th of the key. These airs are all in common time, and have words to them.

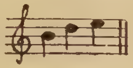
I must add that since the publication of the first edition of this volume, I have received answers to some musical queries which I sent to Canton, in China. These were translated into French and Italian, and transmitted to Pekin, and into a province remote from that capital. One of these queries concerned the Chinese *Musical Scale,* which an Italian missionary, who has resided at Pekin more than thirty years, and is a good musician, affirms to be *without Semitones* (*h*).

But to return to the *old* enharmonic of Olympus. What degree of authority is to be allowed to the passage in Plutarch concerning the manner of its invention, I will not pretend to determine. No other author whatever, that I have been able to consult, tells this story ; though many besides Aristoxenus, from whom Plutarch quotes the account, have attributed to Olympus the invention of the enharmonic genus. But if there had been two sorts of enharmonic, an ancient and a modern, it may seem somewhat strange that not *one* of the many authors who treat of the genera, should say a word to this purpose. We may observe, however, that it came more in the way of an *historical* than a *technical* treatise ; and this Dialogue of Plutarch is the only historical tract upon music that is come down to us (*i*). Indeed the account is not given in such terms as would make us suppose it merely the hypothesis of an individual ; but rather an old traditional opinion current among all the musicians.

But the *Lichanos,* or third sound from the bottom of a tetrachord, seems not to have been the only one which the old Grecian harpers and pipers were fond of missing in their melodies. Plutarch observes (*k*), that in what he calls the *σπονδειακῷ, σπονδειαζοντι τροπῷ,* they abstained from the use of *Trite,* or third sound from the top of a tetrachord, skipping over which, ascending, they used to " *διαβιβαζειν το μελος,*" i.e., " *carry the melody over to Paranete.*"



or



I must just observe that the octave produced by missing the *third* note downwards in two tetrachords, as the second was missed in the enharmonic of Olympus, gives exactly the Chinese scale of the abbé Roussier (*l*), and that of the instrument in the possession of the abbé Arnaud.

Now what is *τροπος σπονδειαζων,* the spondean mode or manner? It looks as if it was the same thing as the *spondean* melody, that is, the *libation tune* of Olympus, one of those which were still extant in Plutarch's time ; for he says, "the Greeks now use them upon festivals."

Plutarch talks likewise of the old masters omitting *Nete,* the highest sound of a tetrachord ; not through ignorance, says he, for they used both that and *Trite* in their instrumental music ; but in their vocal melody, "it would have been a disgrace to a musician

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(*h*) *La Cinesi nella loro Musica non hanno* Semituoni.

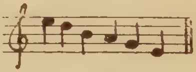
(*i*) The book of Aristoxenus, which Plutarch quotes as his authority, was, according to M. Burette *historical.* Mem. de Lit. tom. x. p. 309.

(*k*) Ib. 136.

(*l*) Vide p. 24, of the Mem.

to have used the *Nete*"; perhaps from the impropriety of straining the voice in the execution of a note that was too high for its natural compass, *Nete* being the last and highest note of the scale in all the modes.

The perplexity occasioned by the change of names according to the gradual extension of the system, and the uncertainty what system is really here understood, whether heptachord or octachord, disjunct or conjunct, throws undoubtedly a thick fog over all this account in Plutarch's Dialogue. However, I still think it by far the most curious passage about the ancient music that I have ever met with: as it is the *only* one that tends to anything *like* a description of what old Greek melody was. All the rules for it in Aristoxenus furnish not a single idea. The accounts of the *genera* do indeed give us an idea of the intervals in each ; yet it is an idea that we know not what to do with. But when we hear of constantly skipping notes in a diatonic scale, we really do acquire *some* idea, however general.

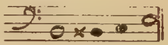
There is nothing that gives a stronger character, or ἦθος, as the Greeks called it, to a melody, than the constant or *usual* omission of particular notes in the scale. Suppose it uncertain from this passage *what* notes were missed ; yet the general fact, that these old musicians, composers of the ancient genuine Greek music, which Plato, Aristotle, and all the writers speak of as so excellent and superior to the more modern, *did* delight to break the diatonic progression, to διαβιβαζειν, or *stride* over certain notes in the melody, seems pretty clear: and this surely renders it highly probable, that the cast of the old national Greek airs was much like that of the old Scots music. If they had melodies where the *Lichanos* was omitted, they must have been *very* like ; but even the *Trite* omitted gives still a strong Scottish tincture to an air  : for if we suppose the key note to be G instead of E ; a major key instead of a minor, this omission gives precisely the Scots scale. And I believe, in general, that the omission of any notes in the scale, producing skips of *thirds,* will have much the same effect on the ear.

The Chinese scale, take it which way we will, is certainly very Scottish. It is not my intention to insinuate by this that the one nation had its music from the other, or that either was obliged to ancient Greece for its melody ; though there is a strong resemblance in all three. The similarity, however, at least proves them all to be more natural than they at first seem to be, as well as more ancient. The Chinese are extremely tenacious of old customs, and equally enemies to innovation with the ancient Ægyptians, which favours the idea of the high antiquity of this simple music ; and as there is reason to believe it very like that of the most ancient Greek melodies, it is not difficult to suppose it to be a species of music that is natural to a people of simple manners during the infancy of civilization and arts among them. In this and in other perplexing points, it is my sincere wish to leave the mind of my reader something, at least, *like* an idea to *fasten* upon ; and what conveys the fullest conviction to my own mind, I shall, in general, adhere to, without unhinging all belief, by quoting a crowd of heterogeneous opinions upon the same subject. Besides, if I wished to give all the chaos of commentatorship, I could not, for want of room.

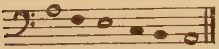
I shall therefore proceed to speak of the more artful and

Modern Enharmonic

The account already given of the invention of Olympus seems not only to furnish some idea of the *old* Greek melody, but helps, I think, to make the *true* enharmonic with the *Diesis,* somewhat less inconceivable than it would be without this idea of its origin.

If we take the enharmonic tetrachord  by itself, it appears wholly strange and unaccountable; not only from the divided semitone, but from the skip of a *Ditone,* which the melody was confined to in its progress, after the two *Dieses* in *ascending,* or before them, in *descending.* M. Burette accounts for this rule, from the limited number of strings: "The tetrachord had but four strings," says he; "three of these were occupied by the semitone and its division: it was therefore matter of necessity to skip to the upper note of the tetrachord, a stable sound, which could not be dispensed with." This may, of necessity, have been the case during the early ages of music in Greece ; but afterwards the custom must have been continued through choice, and in compliance with venerable and established melodies used in religious ceremonies, which admitted of no change for many ages. And it is easy to conceive that after a nation has been long accustomed to the omission of certain sounds in their melodies, they will not soon be reconciled to the use of them. This is the case in the music of Scotland, where no ancient tune is thought to be genuine, unless certain sounds are omitted.

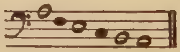
But the reason assigned by M. Burette for the omission of certain sounds in the chromatic and enharmonic genera, for want of a sufficient number of strings in the *Lyre,* is invalidated by a passage in Aristoxenus, p. 28, where he lays down the same rule for the *voice,* and where the lyre is out of the question, as he is expressly considering the *natural vocal succession.* Indeed the voice and lyre were alternately subservient to each other. In very early times the lyre seems to have governed the voice, and to have regulated its intervals and compass by the small number of strings with which it was furnished ; though, afterwards, the extent of the voice long bounded the scale of instruments by which it was accompanied.

The story of Olympus, however, accounts reasonably for the continuance of wide intervals in the enharmonic genus ; the first scale of which being, according to Plutarch, this:  was certainly a natural and pleasing melody, though of an antique and melancholy cast. Now according to this relation, which I firmly think I believe, for

> ——————— *l'uom suole*
> *Dar facile credenza à quel che vuole,*

the *Diesis* was, at first, inserted into melodies of this kind, as a sort of accidental *grace,* though in later times it became essential to the genus (*a*). Even at the period when Plutarch wrote his Dialogue, we find there were old-fashioned players on the flute, who omitted the *division* of the semitone, in playing music that was still reckoned *enharmonic;* the observation would otherwise have no meaning.

How this *quarter-tone* could be managed so as to be rendered pleasing, still remains a mystery ; yet the *difficulty* of splitting a semitone into two equal parts, or even dividing it into more minute intervals, is less, perhaps, than has been imagined. When it is practised by a capital singer, or a good performer on the violin, or hautbois, at a pause, how wide it seems!*

When the *Diesis* is thus considered as a grace, or a note of taste, it renders the genus not only conceivable, but practicable; for then the *natural outline*  of the *Old Enharmonic* still remains in full force upon the ear.

But there are other difficulties concerning the *enharmonic,* which this account, in a great measure, clears up. Plutarch expressly says, p. 162, that among the old artists the *enharmonic* was solely, or almost solely, in use, and that *"they gave themselves no trouble about diatonic or chromatic."* And Aristoxenus says the same: his expression is, that *"they had no idea of them."* M. Burette would confine this preference to theorists and writers on the subject ; but nothing can be clearer than that there was an age when the *enharmonic, some kind of enharmonic,* at least, was practically preferred to the other genera; and it is more than probable that this age was the early time of music in Greece, when the art was confessedly in its most *simple* state ; when music was, according to

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(*a*) The musical reader must recollect the origin of several fashionable licences and innovations in modern music, which, though used and tolerated at first only as notes of taste and embellishment, are now become essential to good melody.

* The difficulty of managing the quarter-tone is not so great as Burney imagines. It must be remembered that he was writing with all the dogmatism of an eighteenth century musician. It is possible that in the future music will develop by means of using quarter and even other fractions of a tone. Already music has been written by Haba (influenced by the use of small intervals in Moravian folk music) employing scales with 24, 18, 36 and 72 degrees to the octave. For interesting information about various scale systems see Carl Engel's *Music of the most Ancient Nations* and Parry's *The Art of Music* (chapter II).

Fabio Colonna of Bologna (*c.* 1567–1650) invented a stringed instrument naming it the *Pentaconta chordon,* which divided the octave in 17 parts.

all the descriptions of Plato, Plutarch, and others, solemn, majestic, and used for no other than solemn and majestic purposes.

Plutarch expressly says, that the *ancients* were *attached* to the enharmonic, *δια σεμνοτητα,* that is, on *"account of its gravity."* The whole drift of his Dialogue is to apologize for the old musicians, the very practisers of the enharmonic, upon the score of its simplicity, and to shew that it proceeded not from ignorance, but from choice.

The *chromatic,* agreeably to this idea, is every where spoken of as a more refined and new-fangled thing. Plutarch, p. 140, mentions a number of old musicians, who *purposely abstained* from the chromatic, as if it was a wicked modern innovation. It is mentioned as such in the curious decree of the Spartans against Timotheus; nay, it is even said, in the copy of that decree, at the end of the Oxford Aratus, that "he substituted *his chromatic* instead of *their enharmonic"*; though some translators have omitted these words, perhaps because they could not conceive how the enharmonic could possibly be more simple music. A passage in Aristoxenus, p. 23, seems to admit the same construction ; where, speaking of the innovators of his time, and their tuning the enharmonic, which was then expiring, like the chromatic, he says, the reason was, that they always wanted to *γλυκαινειν,* that is, *to put more sugar in their music.*

How can we reconcile all this with the common *genealogy* of the genera, 1. Diatonic, 2. Chromatic, 3. Enharmonic? Or with the general idea of the Enharmonic being the *last* and almost *impracticable* refinement of the art?

But if, as the account of Plutarch says, the simple melody of Olympus was called Enharmonic, it is at least very natural to suspect that all this may be meant of *that* enharmonic, which was certainly more simple than the *Chromatic,* and even than the *strict Diatonic,* by conjoint degrees ; as the fourth and seventh, the two notes of the scale that are of the most difficult intonation, were not admitted into its melodies. The fourth is so aukward an interval, that it is not only difficult to sound it correctly upon wind instruments, but such as I have observed few *natural* unguided singers are able to sing in tune. The same may be said of the seventh, which in descending, the ear rather requires to be sharp: it seems only for the sake of the sixth that it is sometimes made flat in minor-keys ; on which account Rameau considers it merely as a *passing-note,* serving only to lead more smoothly to the sixth, and which should not, properly, be taken account of in the *fundamental base.*

This *suspicion,* which is all I shall venture to call it, naturally therefore presents itself: not that I would willingly lean harder upon it than it will bear. All the writers agree that the diatonic and chromatic existed *before* the enharmonic ; but by the expressions they use, and by talking of *φυσις, nature* (*b*), they seem to mean the new and *difficult enharmonic,* and rather to speak according to what they thought *naturally must* have been, than upon any

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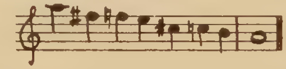
(*b*) See Aristox. p. 19, and Plut. p. 138.

historical certainty concerning a matter so remote, even from the oldest writer on music, Aristoxenus.

However, setting *this* suspicion aside, the account given by Plutarch seems still greatly to help to clear up the mystery; because it shews us, that even after the introduction of the *Diesis,* the enharmonic, by preserving the old Olympic form of the melody, might still be regarded as more pleasing, natural, and simple, than the other genera: at least than the *chromatic,* which, though its *Diesis,* or semitone, be in itself easier to form and to sing than the other, is yet, taking in all circumstances, more unnatural, more distracting to the ear, more complicated as to the fundamental base, which guides the ear of modern musicians, than the *enharmonic* . the *σεμνοτης,* or *gravity,* of which, and the *simplicity implied* in it, must have consisted, not in the *divided* semitone, which some musicians, even in Plutarch's time, we see, omitted, but in the old favourite *Scottish melody,* which then subsisted: the quarter-tone that had crept into it being probably regarded as an accidental embellishment of the air, which upon the whole was to the ear what Plutarch, p. 136, calls *τϱιχοϱδον ϰαι ἀπλουν* ; that is, "*three-stringed, and simple.*" At least it seems more easy to conceive the execution of the enharmonic possible *as mere melody,* than the ancient chromatic, where harmony seems wanting to guide the ear, and which has the appearance of being both in a major and minor key at the same time:  And none of these sounds can easily be reduced to mere notes of taste, all are fundamentally consequential to the harmony, and leave no natural *outline* of melody for the ear to seize, like the *Enharmonic*.

Section III

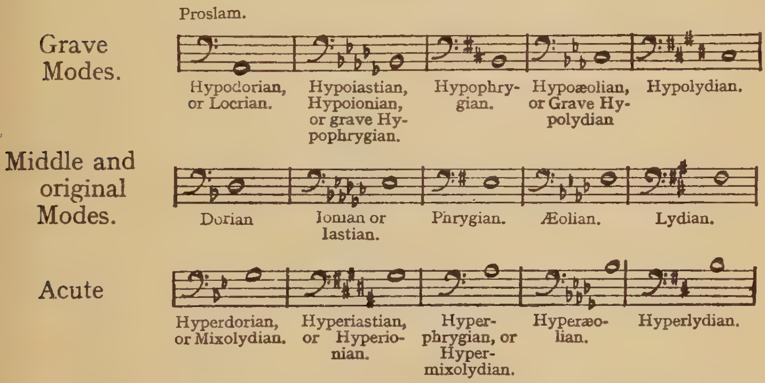
Of the Modes

A *MODE,* in ancient music, was equivalent to a *Key,* in the modern (*a*). And Bryennius says in express terms, page 481 (*b*), that the *tones* or *modes* differ from each other in nothing else but the being situated in a higher or lower pitch of the voice or instrument ; which is but saying that the modes differed from each other only by transposition.

Aristoxenus admitted of but thirteen modes, though subsequent musicians allowed of fifteen ; and this is the number of which Alypius has given us a diagram in all the three genera.

These are placed by every musical writer, anterior to Ptolemy, at the distance of half a tone from each other. And as it is generally agreed that the lowest of the Greek modes, which was called *Hypodorian,* had its *proslambanomenos,* or lowest sound, in that part of the modern scale which is expressed by A upon the first space in the base, the following table will convey an idea to the musical reader of the comparative situation of the rest.

TABLE of the MODES

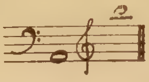

Proslam.
Grave Modes.
Hypodorian, or Locrian.
Hypoiastian, Hypoionian, or grave Hypophrygian.
Hypophrygian.
Hypoæolian, or Grave Hypolydian
Hypolydian.
Middle and original Modes.
Dorian
Ionian or Iastian.
Phrygian.
Æolian.
Lydian.
Acute
Hyperdorian, or Mixolydian.
Hyperiastian, or Hyperionian.
Hyperphrygian, or Hypermixolydian.
Hyperæolian.
Hyperlydian.

It was with reason that Aristoxenus refused admission to the two last of the fifteen modes, which are only octaves of the second and third, as the thirteenth is of the first.

(*a*) Τονος, τροπος, *modus, mode, tone,* and *kev,* are synonimous terms, both in ancient and modern music.

(*b*) Edit. Wallis.

A scale of two octaves being allowed to each of these modes, the whole extent and compass of the fifteen was from *Proslambanomenos,* in the Hypodorian mode, to *Nete hyperbolæon,* in the Hyperlydian, three octaves and a tone, from our A in the base, to B in the treble



As the keys of C and A natural are representatives of all other keys in modern music, the scales which have been given, page 41, to exemplify the *Genera,* will shew the intervals of the Hypodorian mode, and serve as types of all other modes admitted into the music of the ancient Greeks.

Pliny tells us that the three first, and original modes were the *Phrygian, Dorian,* and *Lydian;* so named after the several countries where they were invented and chiefly used; though Heraclides of Pontus asserts that the *Æolian, Dorian,* and *Ionian,* were of the most ancient and general use among the first inhabitants of Greece. However that may have been, it seems probable that the five modes mentioned by these two authors were in use long before the rest, which, in process of time, as the musical scale was extended by new improvements and new instruments, were placed above and below them, and distinguished by the prepositions ὑπο and ὑπεϱ, *under* and *upper*.

There is a passage in Aristides Quintilianus, p. 23, which seems to point out something like *connection* and *relation* between the five original modes, and those above and below them. He says, after having enumerated the fifteen modes, " By this means, *each mode* has βαϱυτητα, και μεσοτητα, και ὀξυτητα, its *bottom,* its *middle,* and its *top,* or its grave, mean, and acute.''

This seems to imply that the three modes of DORIAN, Hypodorian, and Hyperdorian, for instance, were considered, in a manner, as one: and as if the two modes belonging to each of the five middle ones, a fourth above, and a fourth below, were regarded as necessary *adjuncts,* without which they were not complete.

Pursuing this idea, if we place the five most ancient and original modes in the middle, between the lower and the higher modes of the same name, they will have very much the appearance of our relative keys in modern music.

Fourth below.	Principal.	Fourth above.
Hypodorian,	DORIAN,	Hyperdorian
Hypoiastian,	IASTIAN [IONIAN]	Hyperiastian.
Hypophrygian,	PHRYGIAN	Hyperphrygian, or Hypermixolydian.
Hypoæolian	ÆOLIAN,	Hyperæolian.
Hypolydian,	LYDIAN,	Hyperlydian.

These answer to the following keys in present use:

A,	D,	G.
B♭,	E♭,	A♭.
B,	E,	A.
C,	F,	B♭.
C♯,	F♯,	B.

And amount to the same thing as our fifth above, and fifth below a key. Indeed if the ears of the Greeks were not totally different from ours, these must have been the first and most natural modulations.

It is worth observing, that though the modes in the diagrams of Alypius are placed at the distance only of half a tone from each other, yet, in giving the notation of each, he ranks them in the following order, in all the genera.

Lydian,	Hypolydian,	Hyperlydian.
Æolian,	Hypoæolian,	Hyperæolian.
Phrygian,	Hypophrygian,	Hyperphrygian.
Iastian,	Hypoiastian,	Hyperiastian.
Dorian,	Hypodorian,	Hyperdorian.

It is very remarkable that all the ancient modes or keys were *minor,* which must have given a melancholy cast to their melody in general ; and however strange this may appear, it is as certain as any point concerning ancient music can be, that no provision was made for a major-key in any of the ancient treatises or systems that are come down to us.

But one nation may be prejudiced, by long habit, to a major scale, another to a minor ; as well as to certain skips in their melody, like the Scots ; and to a certain measure, like the Poles.

This is not the place to reason upon the subject ; but taking the fact for granted, it makes the relations of the modes, by fourths, the more natural. For Tartini's observation seems true, that the change into the fourth of a minor key is much more agreeable than into that of a major. Indeed the ancients could scarce have any other change consistently with their rule of modulation, which says, that the transition should be by *consonant* intervals. Now the octave producing no change, there remains only the fourth or fifth above or below ; for the third was a *dissonant* interval in their theory.

It is some satisfaction, however, to find the Greek rules for modulation, their *change, κατα τονον,* so nearly correspond with our own. When Ptolemy, page 131 (*c*) recommends the taking those keys first that are at *consonant distances,* and tells us that the transition from one tone to another *next* to it, is disagreeable, it

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(*c*) Cap. 9. lib. ii.

accords very well with our modern doctrine and practice, and with Rameau's rule for a *relative succession* of chords. Indeed, there is a passage in Euclid that is still less equivocal: he says, page 21, speaking of *modulation,* "Transitions are made, some by consonant, and some by dissonant intervals ; and of these some are more, and some less, melodious. The most melodious are those in which there is *most connection ;* where the two modes have *most in common*: those are less melodious, which have less participation." He goes on to explain in what this *communio* consists ; the text is obscure ; but I think a meaning is discoverable, which has escaped Meibomius, both in translating, and in commenting, the passage.

Every writer on the subject of music, till the time of Ptolemy,* regarded the fourth as the *first concord,* and dividing all the fifteen modes into tetrachords, regulated the scale in all the genera, by that interval. But Ptolemy, about the year one hundred and thirty of the Christian æra, and four hundred and fifty years from the time in which Aristoxenus flourished, proposed a new doctrine and reform in the ancient musical system ; in which he reduced the fifteen modes to seven, and made the diapason, or octave, the regulator of his scales, not by abandoning the tetrachords, for he regulated the genera by those intervals in the same manner as his predecessors ; but in his reduction of the modes he kept them within the bounds of the *octave,* and made their number equal to the *species of diapason.* The ancient names of Dorian, Hypodorian, Lydian, Hypolydian, Phrygian, Hypophrygian, and Mixolydian, he retained, as well as their *relative places* or *distances* from each other ; but it has been misrepresented as his intention to alter the *pitch* of all the modes, by raising the *Proslambanomenos* of each a fifth higher. The only ground for this opinion is in the eleventh chapter of his second book, where having occasion to exemplify in *some one* octave, the manner in which the *Meses* of his seven modes would occupy all its notes, he chose that octave between e and E, as he says himself, preferably to any other part of the Greek scale, on account of its convenience ; as it was situated in the middle of the scale and voice. But there is not the least reason to conclude that he meant to propose any *reform,* or to disturb, in *this* respect, the established *doctrine* and *practice.*

Lemma Rossi, Bontempi, and most of the writers who have mentioned the modes of Ptolemy, have supposed them to have consisted only in different species of octaves in one key (*d*). But Dr. Wallis, who has translated into Latin the Harmonics of Ptolemy, and reduced his modes to modern notes, makes them all consist of transpositions of the *Dorian* mode, which Ptolemy calls the first, and which Dr. Wallis, after him, has written in the minor key of A natural, placing it in that part of the scale which in *practice* belonged to the *Hypodorian.*

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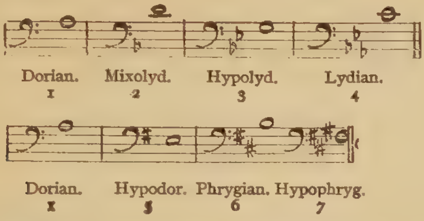
* Celebrated as an astronomer and geographer. A Latin translation of the *Harmonica* was published by Wallis in 1683. Regarding the introduction of the system attributed to Ptolemy, Professor Wooldridge (*Oxford History of Music*, 1901, vol. 1, p. 15), says : " Certainly the conception of the octave as consisting of seven species did not originate even with Ptolemy ; it had existed long before his time, and had been applied not only to the diatonic but to the enharmonic scale by older writers in whose works, moreover, the names adopted by Ptolemy for the seven species, which were those of the seven oldest keys, are also to be found." He goes on to state that in the present state of our knowledge of Greek music it seems impossible to come to any definite conclusion as to whether the " doctrine of the species " was more than a theoretical proposition at first, and if more than one species was actually in use. Again on page 15 he writes : " The diatonic double octave scale is, of course, susceptible of seven different octachordal sections, each of which will display the two semitonic intervals in a new position and will therefore, if the first note of each section be taken as its final or key note, create a new and special scale and a special character of melody in each scale."



Bacchius senior (*e*) places two of these modes, the Hypolydian and the Lydian, half a tone higher than Dr. Wallis, who seems to have mistaken their places. The Mixolydian Bacchius makes the highest of all, then places the Lydian *half a tone below* it, the Phrygian a tone below the Lydian, the Dorian a tone below the Phrygian, the Hypolydian *half a tone below* the Dorian, the Hypophrygian a tone lower, and the Hypodorian, the lowest of all, a note below the Hypophrygian.

By the disposition of Ptolemy's modes, it seems as if his design had been to establish a more easy and obvious connection and relation between them, than had hitherto been practised ; for though the modes placed above and below the five principal ones might have been originally intended as their adjuncts, yet from the multiplicity and promiscuous arrangement of the modes at the distance only of a semitone above each other, their intimate relation and union had not been sufficiently attended to. He therefore

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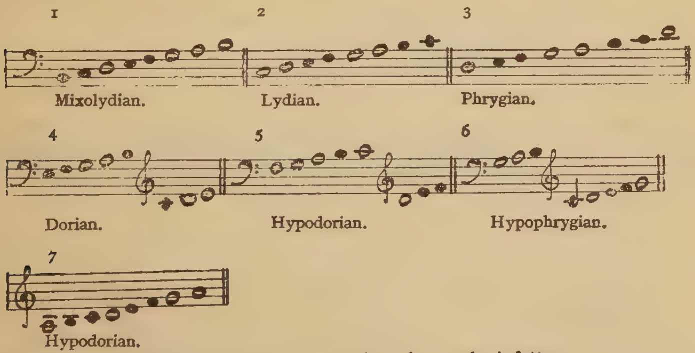
(*d*) Euclid, and Gaudentius after him, have given seven species of octave in one key, which however they call by the names of seven of the modes.



Meibomius, in his notes on Euclid, p. 59, has given these scales in letters.

(*e*) Introd Artis Musicæ, Edit. Meibom. p. 12.

included all his seven modes in the compass of an octave, "making," says Dr. Wallis, "the Dorian the center or mean; after which he placed the Mixolydian a fourth above the Dorian; the Hypolydian a fifth below the Mixolydian ; and the Lydian a fourth higher than the Hypolydian. Then, beginning again at the Dorian, he placed the Hypodorian a fourth below it ; the Phrygian a fifth above the Hypodorian, and the Hypophrygian a fourth below that." But this round-about order of the modes is not that of Ptolemy ; for in his tenth book, chap. ii., the title of which is, *How to adjust accurately the Distances of the Modes,* he gives his method of taking them by fourths and fifths in the only direct and warrantable way in which they can be taken, according to modern modulation, by beginning at the Mixolydian: D, A, E, B, F♯ C♯ G♯. Now if each of these modes produced seven species of diapason or octave, the seven modes of Ptolemy would furnish seven times seven, or forty-nine species of octave ; not indeed all of different kinds, but of different pitch in the scale. To each of these modes he assigned the compass of a disdiapason, or double octave, as was the practice in the ancient modes ; with this difference, that the first and characteristic sound in the fifteen modes was *Proslambanomenos,* but in those of Ptolemy *Mese* is made the key note, and the center of the scale ; which may be supposed to extend an octave above, and an octave below the sound given in the table.

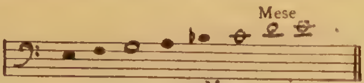
Such was the general opinion concerning the modes of Ptolemy, till Sir Francis Haskins Eyles Stiles formed an ingenious hypothesis concerning them, which was read to the Royal Society in 1759, and afterwards published in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. LI. part ii. for 1760, under this title: *An Explanation of the Modes or Tones in the ancient Græcian Music.* Sir Francis in this Dissertation endeavours to prove, that the ancients had a *double doctrine* of the modes, an *harmonic* and a *musical* doctrine. By the *harmonic* doctrine, the modes were all one and the same series of intervals, such as the general system furnishes, only at different pitches ; by the *musical,* they consisted of so many different arrangements of intervals or species of octave. Sir Francis regarded the harmonic doctrine as only a *tuning trick,* to produce more readily the different species of octave between the fixed sounds (*f*).

He explains this in a diagram, taking his pitch, according to Ptolemy, at *Hypate Meson,* our E in the base, and makes all his mutations between that sound and its octave, *Nete Diezeugmenon.* And this, according to Sir F. E. Stiles, is the diapason chosen by Ptolemy, cap. 2, lib. ii. for the purpose of exhibiting his divisions of the several species.

DIAGRAM of the Species of Diapason in the seven Modes admitted by Ptolemy, according to the Doctrine of Sir Francis Haskins Eyles Stiles.

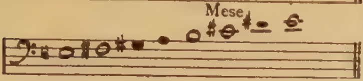
(*f*) His own hypothesis is too complicated and incompressible to be clearly explained here. I must therefore refer the curious reader to the Memoir itself.

Mixolydian.



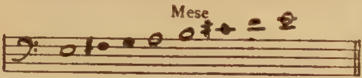
Key of D minor.

Lydian.



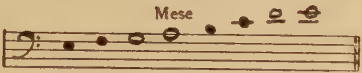
C♯

Phrygian



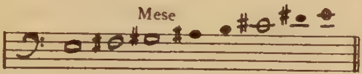
B

Dorian.



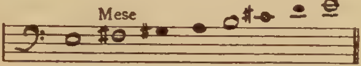
A

Hypolydian



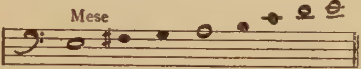
G♯

Hypophrygian.



F♯

Hypodorian.

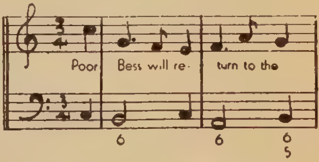


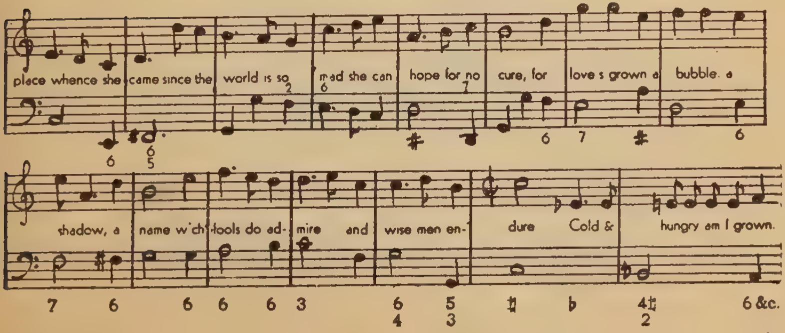
E

Sir Francis gives quotations from the ancient Greek writers in confirmation of his doctrine, several of which indeed seem favourable to it ; at least they imply a difference on some occasions from the intervals in the natural or great system: this difference he imagines to be expressed by the term *μεταβολη*, *mutation* (*g*).

He very truly asserts, that no transposition of the same melody into a higher or lower key, can have so powerful an effect as a change in the modulation, or succession of intervals ; and observes, that modern music has but two considerable changes in the same key ; these are from major to minor, and from minor to major. The first seems reserved for pathetic effects: here he instances Purcel's happy change of modulation in his *Mad Bess*, at the words, "Cold and hungry am I grown (*h*)."

(*h*)


Poor
Bess will re-
turn to the


place whence she
came since the
world is so
mad she can
hope for no
cure, for
love's grown a
bubble, a
shadow, a
name w'ch
fools do ad-
mire and
wise men en-
dure
Cold &
hungry am I grown.

(*g*) See Sect. IV.

Sir Francis assigns a greater antiquity to the *musical* doctrine, than to the *harmonic*, and refers the effects of the modes in early times to the former. "We find," says he, "in Plutarch, Pliny, and other writers, the invention of particular modes ascribed to particular musicians ; which may be accounted for, on the supposition that the modes were so many different species of diapason, since it requires great art and skill to introduce agreeable melodies to which the ear has not been accustomed : but the taking the same melody at a different pitch, is a variety, for which the inventor would hardly have had his name so carefully transmitted to posterity (*i*)."

Meibomius, however, was certainly of opinion, that the difference in the modes, upon which all their effects depended, consisted only in the tension, or acuteness and gravity of the whole system. And Dr. Wallis saw still less of this doctrine than Meibomius, "though he has rightly," says Sir Francis, "explained the species of diapason, as they lay between *Hypate Meson* and *Nete Diezeugmenon ;* but this interpretation he regards as singular in his author, and draws no consequences from it."

The ascertaining the figure of the earth, by measuring a degree near the pole and under the line, introduced a new geography ; in the same manner the hypothesis of Sir Francis Eyles Stiles will overset all former theories and conjectures on the subject of the ancient musical modes, and oblige those whom he convinces of the truth of his doctrine, and who had before reconciled themselves to received opinions on the subject, to confess their errors and ignorance, and to begin the study of ancient music anew.

It is not, however, certain that Ptolemy's doctrine was immediately adopted by all the musicians of his time (*k*); if it was, their minds must have been more flexible than those of modern professors. For had the most popular composers of modern times, had Alexander Scarlatti, for instance, in Italy, Sebastian Bach, in Germany, or Handel, in England, proposed to their cotemporaries so considerable a change in the established musical system, it is hardly possible to believe that it would have been immediately received into general practice (*l*).

We know not, indeed, what was the success of Ptolemy's proposed reformation during his life; a *reformation*, it must be owned, that had something *Calvinistical* in it ; a *zeal* for *tearing* (*m*); and yet, strange to tell! all the traces to be found of it are in the *modes* of the *Romish* church, established long after, but which resemble those of Ptolemy in nothing except their number and names. Ptolemy's modes are manifestly transpositions of the scale into

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(*i*) Phil. Trans vol. LI. p. 755.

(*k*) Bacchius senior, a musical writer, cotemporary with Ptolemy, is the only Greek author who gives but seven modes.

(*l*) Martianus Capella, who flourished 300 years after Ptolemy, and Cassiodorus, a still younger writer, tell us, that here were *fifteen* modes · a proof that his *reform* had not been adopted universally

(*m*) See Tale of a Tub, Sect. VI.

*different keys**: the ecclesiastic, only *different species of octave*, in *one* and the same *key*.

Upon the whole, the music so much celebrated by the best classical writers, and of which I shall have the most frequent occasions to speak in my history, was of much higher antiquity than the time of Ptolemy, who flourished when arts and sciences, particularly those of Egypt and Greece, were much degenerated.

It is therefore of no great importance to the history and intelligence of ancient music, at its best period, whether this point concerning the species of octave, for which Sir Francis Eyles Stiles contends, be accurately settled, or not ; for, if he is right, it does not clearly appear, what peculiar and astonishing effects could be produced by a sudden change of mode, which it is not in the power of modern music to produce, by a like sudden change of key.

But such miraculous powers have been attributed to the modes in ancient music, that it must be confessed there is nothing so difficult as to imagine they could have been produced by a mere transposition of the scale to a different pitch, while the intervals remained the same, or even by the effects of modulation. There must have been other characteristic and strong-marked distinctions: as the kind of poetry to which the music was set ; the rhythm or measure; or the nature of certain melodies invented and used by particular nations. Indeed it was from this last circumstance that the denominations of the principal modes were derived, such as the *Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian,* and *Æolian ;* and there may perhaps have been originally something strongly characteristic in the *melodies,* as well as in the *dialects* of those countries.

In modern music a *change of key,* without a *change of time,* is not sufficient to animate or depress the spirits much: measure must concur as an auxiliary ; and mere modulation, though it has its

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* The Aristoxenian system of *tonoi* was, as we have seen, the same scale taken at any convenient pitch. Aristoxenus was also interested in the seven species of the octave, which was a series of scales approximating to those which may be formed by using the white keys of the pianoforte. It will be seen that the fundamental difference between these scales is in the varying positions of the semitones. In this original system of the seven species of octave the note *a* was always considered as being the *mese*, or dominant.

List of the seven species of octave scales :—

Compass B—b was called the MIXOLYDIAN
,, C—c ,, ,, ,, LYDIAN
,, D—a ,, ,, ,, PHRYGIAN
,, E—e ,, ,, ,, DORIAN.
,, F—f ,, ,, ,, HYPOLYDIAN
,, G—g ,, ,, ,, HYPOPHRYGIAN
,, a—a′ ,, ,, ,, HYPODORIAN

It will be noticed that these scales differ in quality as well as in pitch.

The system of Ptolemy altered this series in the following manner. To commence with he advocated that *mese* should be the fourth note of each of the species, and secondly he reduced the seven species to the same pitch by means of transposition.

The solution proposed by Sir Francis Haskins Eyles Stiles was adopted by Chappell in his *History of Music*, but W. S. Rockstro in Grove's (*Vol.* 3, *Article*, *Ecclesiastical Modes*, p. 476) gives the following series of scales which differ from those given on p. 59 :—

DORIAN E—e
PHRYGIAN ,, with a key signature of 5 sharps
LYDIAN ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 3 ,,
MIXOLYDIAN ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 1 ,,
HYPOLYDIAN ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 2 ,,
HYPOPHRYGIAN ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 4 ,,
HYPODORIAN ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 1 flat

effects, yet it can boast of none like those said to have been operated by a change from the *soft* Lydian, or *grave* Dorian, to the *furious* Phrygian. I should rather suppose then, that in times of musical refinement among the ancients, when the characteristics of national melody were somewhat effaced, the names of the musical modes had much the same use as our technical terms, *grazioso, grave, allegro, con furia*: and that in lyric poetry there were particular species of feet and versification allotted to each mode. If that was the case, we might easily suppose that a change of mode would be a change of style and of measure (*n*). This seems a very natural idea, and yet it has never been suggested by any of the writers who have treated the subject, and who have been so willing to allow miraculous powers to the Greek modes, except one, Teodato Osio, who, in a very ingenious little tract, published in Milan, 1637, called *L'armonia del nudo parlare,* has something like the same idea, which he slightly mentions, however, with a *perhaps, per aventura*. Speaking of the Mixolydian mode, he says, "I have often thought that it might have resembled the *trochaic* foot ; as the Phrygian might the *Anapest ;* the Hypophrygian, the *Iambic ;* the Hypodorian, the *Dactyl ;* and the Doric gravity might likewise have been expressed by the sluggish *spondee* (*o*)."

Indeed the ancients frequently speak of the Phrygian and Lydian modes, in terms which seem to imply different *measures*. Heraclides of Pontus, in Athenæus, lib. xiv. p. 614, describing what he calls the three most ancient modes, says "the *Dorian* is grave and magnificent, neither too diffusive, gay, nor varied ; but severe and vehement. The *Æolian* is grand and pompous, though sometimes soothing, as it is used for the breaking of horses, and the reception of guests ; and it has likewise an air of simplicity and confidence, suitable to pleasure, love, and good cheer. Lastly, the ancient *Ionian* is neither brilliant nor effeminate, but rough and austere ; with some degree, however, of elevation, force, and energy. But in these times," continues he, "since the corruption of manners has subverted every thing, the true, original, and specific qualities peculiar to each mode are lost (*p*)."

Apuleius, in his *Florida,* tells us that the *Lydian* measure was appropriated to complaint and songs of sorrow ; the *Dorian* to martial airs ; and that the *Phrygian* was consecrated to religious ceremonies ; distinctions which seem to imply *time* as well as *tone*. But after all that has been said, it would, perhaps, be more for the honour of the ancients to suppose some of the principles upon which

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(*n*) Morley, and all the old writers upon modern music, before the use of bars, affixed no other meaning to the *modes* or *moods*, as they were then called, than that of regulators of *time*, or *measure*.

(*o*) *Onde il color misso-Lidio si sarà simigliante al piede Trocheo ; cosi come avvisai l'Anapesto confarsi col frigio, e forse con l'Ipofrigio il Giambo ; ma con il subdorio si confarà il Dattilo, ed alla Gravità del Dorio la tardanza dello Spondeo sarà conveniente.* P. 184. See a notation of these feet, Sect. VI.

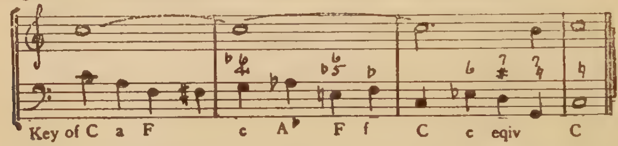
(*p*) Heraclides of Pontus was cotemporary with Plato and Aristotle, and the disciple of both. He was a voluminous writer upon music, as well as upon many other subjects ; his works are frequently cited by Plutarch, and, with *the Records of Sicyon*, and *Registers of the Victors at the sacred Games*, seem to have been the chief sources whence he drew the historical part of his *Dialogue on Music.*

their modes were formed, and concerning which such surprising accounts have been given, to be lost, than to endeavour to reduce them all to our present keys and practice of melody. For, with the few liberties that could be taken with poetical numbers, and the little probability there is that counterpoint was known to them, if we do not give the ancients credit for arts of expression and modulation, which have not been clearly explained in the treatises that are come down to us, and which we are now utterly unable to divine, their music will be reduced to such a low degree of perfection, as nothing but blind enthusiasm for every thing ancient can disguise, or deny.

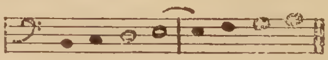
Section IV

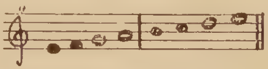
Of Mutations

THE next subject of enquiry to the *Genera* and *Modes* of ancient music, is that of the *Mutations, μεταβολαι,* or *changes* incident to *melody ;* which, in modern music, we should call, upon some occasions, *modulation*. However, the terms are not exactly synonymous ; for though to modulate, and to sing, are in ancient authors equivalent, as modulation with them signified merely a change in *melody,* yet the moderns more frequently apply the term modulation to that kind of change in *melody* or *harmony,* which introduces a *new key*. For *modulation* may be brought about by changes in *harmony,* while *melody* is stationary.



In the system of solmization established upon the hexachords of Guido, *mutations* mean such changes only as are occasioned in the names of the notes by accidental flats and sharps.

The ancients however had four several kinds of accidents in their music that were distinguished by the name of *mutations*. These might have happened in the genus, system, mode, or melopœia. In the *Genus,* when the melody passed from one genus to another, from the chromatic, for instance, to the diatonic, or enharmonic, and the contrary. In the *System,* when the modulation passed from a conjunct to a disjunct tetrachord ; that is, from one that was united to another by some one sound in common to both ; as from this  to one that was wholly disjunct, and separated from it by the interval of a tone:



a *mutation* happened in the *Mode,* when there was a transition in the melody from the *Dorian* to the *Lydian,* or *Phrygian,* and the like ; and lastly, a *mutation* in the *Melopœia* implied a change of style; as from a grave to a gay, or from a sober to an impetuous strain. If the *mutations* were too sudden and unrelative, they destroyed the impression made upon the ear by the former part of the melody, and the pleasure arising from reminiscence. " The understanding music," says Aristoxenus (*a*), "depends upon sensation and memory; for we must not only feel sounds at the instant they strike the organ, but remember those with which it has been struck before, in order to be able to compare them together; for otherwise it will be impossible to follow a melody or modulation with pleasure to the ear, or to form a judgment of its degree of excellence in the mind."

The terms *μελος* and *μελωδιας*, which Meibomius has rendered by the Latin words, *modulatio* and *cantilena*, had no other signification than the change of sounds in singing, or, as we should call it, *melody* ; and this is clear from a passage in Bacchius senior (*b*), where, in his Introduction to the Art of Music, by Question and Answer, it is asked, how many kinds of *modulation* there are. He answers, four; and these, he says, are *rising, falling, repeating* the same sound to different words, and *remaining upon,* or *holding out,* a musical tone. This is farther explained, Sect V.

Euclid says that *mutations* may be made into any mode within the compass of an octave, at the distance even of a semitone (*c*). This is a latitude of modulation that would greatly offend modern ears, accustomed only to relative changes of key. Ptolemy, however, does not allow of such sudden and extraneous modulations.

There is something like a specimen of Greek modulation in Plutarch's Dialogue (*d*). If the modes are rightly placed by the moderns, the beginning or first movement of the piece he mentions, was in A; then it passed to E and B, and ended in G (*e*) and D. This

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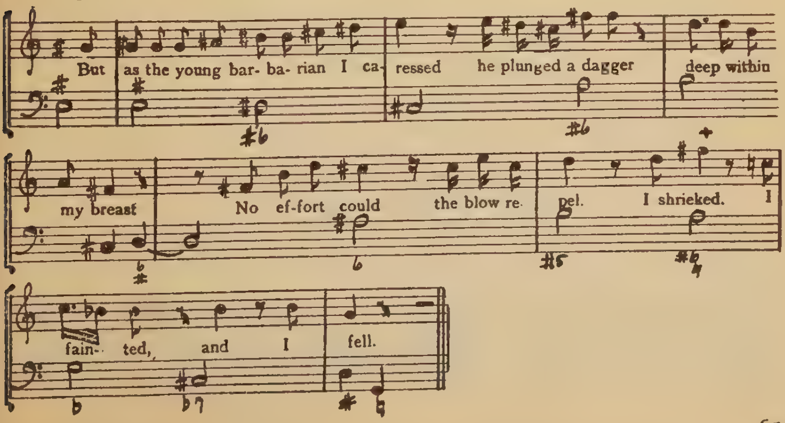
(*a*) Lib. i. p. 38 and 39. Edit. Meibom. (*b*) P. 11. Edit. Meib.

(*c*) M. Burette is mistaken in his translation of this precept in Euclid, which he has taken from the version of Meibomius, who has likewise either mistaken, or misprinted the passage. Instead of ἡμιτονιας, *half* a tone, they have both given *Diesis*, a *quarter* of a tone, as an allowable modulation, which is not only contrary to the text, but impossible in practice. Vide Euclid, Edit. Meib. p. 20, at the bottom.

(*d*) *Mem. des Inscrip. tom.* x. *p.* 160.

(*e*) Handel is the only one that I know of who has hazarded a modulation from B to G with a flat third ; a passage of this kind occurs in the last act of the Oratorio of Athalia, which is so bold and wonderfully happy in expressing the words, that I shall insert it here as a great stroke of the composer, as well as of musical imitation. Athalia is relating a dream which she had had just before the execution of that conspiracy, which put an end to her tyranny and life.

RECITATIVE.


But as the young bar- ba- rian I ca- ressed he plunged a dagger deep within
my breast No ef-fort could the blow re- pel. I shrieked. I
fain- ted, and I fell.

would be tolerable ; but the *νομος τϱιμεϱης*, or *three part song*, mentioned by Plutarch, p. 124, which, it seems, consisted in singing three strophes successively, the first in the Dorian mode, D, the second in the Phrygian, E, and the third in the Lydian, F sharp, rising a tone each time, would be in the highest degree offensive to modern ears.

And yet, Athenæus speaks of a similar feat performed by Pythagoras, the Zacynthian, upon the lyre ; and Pausanias, of one by Pronomus, the Theban, upon a flute, which he had invented for all these three modes. But upon these occasions, what must have become of their rule for preferring transitions by consonant intervals? We must suppose that these unrelative *mutations* were very old tricks.

And yet we must not condemn them too hastily; for we find the old church composers, in the early days of counterpoint, neglecting the modern rules of *relation*, or rather not knowing them, and taking, fearlessly, two, or more perfect chords of the *same kind*, diatonically, using every note in the scale, except the seventh, as a fundamental base (*f*).

This is, doubtless, the true secret of ancient church music, and the principal cause of its effect, so widely different from that of modern compositions ; an effect compounded of solemnity, wildness, and melancholy.

(*f*) Palestrina begins his *Stabat Mater*, which is still used in the pope's chapel, and printed in the music performed there during Passion week, by *three successive common chords, with sharp thirds*, to this base A G F, *descending, diatonically* ; and yet this modulation is so qualified by the disposition of the parts, and tempered by the perfect manner in which it is sung, that though it looks unscientific and licentious upon paper, its effects, of which no idea can be acquired from *keyed instruments*, are admirable.

Section V

Of Melopoeia

THE rules concerning the different parts of ancient music that have been already described, lead naturally to the subject of *Melopoeia*, for which they were at first established.

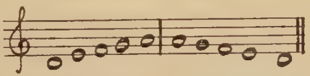
Μελος, melos, consisted of a number of *musical sounds* of a *certain* pitch of voice, opposed to *noise,* or the *unfixed* and evanescent *tones of common speech.*

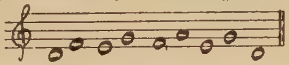
Μελωδια, melody, was the *singing of poetry,* to such sounds: and *Μελοποιΐα, melopoeia,* the *composition,* or arrangement, of such sounds as were fit for *song.*

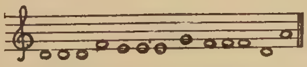
These several definitions shew that all melody was originally *vocal,* and applied to *poetry.*

Melopoeia had its particular rules, several of which are come down to us, and are still clear and intelligible: such as that an air, or piece of melody, should be composed in some particular *Genus,* and be chiefly confined to the sounds of some certain *Mode.* As to the succession, or order of these sounds in the course of the air, that was in general confined to four kinds, which Euclid specifies in his Harmonic Introduction (*a*). These I shall endeavour to describe with exactness, as they may throw some light upon ancient melody.

Euclid tells us, first, that sounds may move either ascending or descending regularly, as thus:



which was called *ἀγωγη* ; secondly, by leaps of greater intervals than a second: thus,  which was called *πλοκη, interwoven*: thirdly, by repeating the same sound several times, which was called *πεττεια, iteration* : as in singing these notes



and fourthly, that sounds may be sustained in the same tone, which we call a *holding note,* and which the Greeks expressed by the word *τονη.*

Thus far seems intelligible ; but I cannot help thinking that the third book of Aristoxenus, which is chiefly employed in laying

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(*a*) P. 22, Edit. Meibom.

down rules for the immediate succession of sounds in a scale, has been misrepresented, as containing rules for the *composition* of melody in general.

He says, indeed, p. 66, "that after a *semitone* the voice can only go two ways up, and two ways down"; that is, by a tone, or another semitone. This is true in the order of the scale ; but was all *melody* confined to that order? And is there any doubt whether from a semitone it might not go by a leap to a third, fourth, or fifth, above or below? M. Burette, however, in his notes upon Plutarch, where the enharmonic of Olympus, and the beauty of its melody are mentioned, says, the beauty must lie in the *novelty,* and the novelty was the *Ditone,* or major third, "which was never heard in the other *Genera.*" What! was the Diatonic so strictly confined to a progress by conjoint degrees, as never to be permitted to skip a note, in order to ascend or descend by the interval of a third? Nothing can be so strange as this assertion, or so contrary to the passage just quoted from Euclid, which M. Burette has elsewhere translated and adopted (*b*), and indeed to the definition of the term πλοϰη, in all subsequent Greek writers upon music, down to Bryennius.*

But M. Burette is not wholly singular, I find, in his opinion upon this subject, as Dr. Brown seems to have had the same idea ; for in his *Progress of Poetry,* &c, p. 64, he says, that the Greek Diatonic is "utterly *incompatible* with *our* Diatonic scale; because *there* one semitone, and two tones, *must* succeed each other *invariably.*" Mr. Malcolm is as obscure and unsatisfactory, as usual, upon this subject ; and leaves it, at least, as unintelligible as he found it.

But the denying or doubting of one of the few facts upon which ancient writers have expressed themselves clearly, is joining in the conspiracy with time, which has already rendered the study of Greek music sufficiently hopeless and desperate, to repress the courage of the boldest enquirer.

There were many rules to be observed in moving by leaps, or disjunct degrees, the principal of which was to prefer, in general, consonant to dissonant intervals. It was likewise enjoined not to divide any two semitones into quarter tones, together, or two successive tones into semitones (*c*), nor were two major thirds to follow each other.

But these, and a great number of other rules laid down by Aristoxenus, with respect to the succession of intervals, were all derived from the genera, the rules for which were rules for melody. The Diatonic genus of the ancients resembled our natural scale in every particular ; and it is allowed by Aristoxenus even that three tones may succeed each other, ascending or descending, which is all that is allowable in our Diatonic, except in minor keys, where

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(*b*) *Mem. des Inscrip. tom.* v. *p.* 178.

(*c*) The prohibition of more than two semitones succeeding each other at a time, rising or falling, is a clear proof that the ancient chromatic was very different from the modern.

* *Circa* A.D. 1320. His chief work, *Harmonics,* was really a digest of tracts by earlier writers.

we ascend to the octave of the key note by a sharp seventh, which the ancients seem never to have admitted.

A further detail or explanation of these rules, would not make the matter much clearer ; however, there are some particulars collected together in the first book of Aristides Quintilianus (*d*), that seem to merit attention.

He sets off by dividing *Melopoeia* into three species, taken from the great and general system, which he names after the sounds called *Hypate, Mese,* and *Nete* ; that is, lowest, middle, and highest ; and these denominations resembled, with respect to melody, our distinctions of base, tenor, and treble.

With regard to modulation in melody, he has the same distinctions as Euclid for the several species, though he differs a little from him in his manner of defining them; but these differences are of small importance to us now ; and indeed the authority of Euclid is so superior to that of Aristides Quintilianus, that nothing which can be cited from him would have weight sufficient to invalidate the testimony of so exact and respectable a writer.

However, the *moral distinctions* of Melopoeia to be found in Aristides Quintilianus are so curious and fanciful, that I shall insert a few of them here.

He allows of three modes (τϱοποι) or styles of Melopoeia; the *Dithyrambic,* or Bacchanal ; the *Nomic,* consecrated to Apollo ; and the *Tragic;* and acquaints us that the first of these modes employed the strings, or sounds, in the middle of the great system; the second, those at top ; and the third, those at the bottom.

These modes had other subaltern modes that were dependent on them ; such as the *Erotic,* or amorous ; the *Comic ;* and the *Encomiastic,* used in panegyrics. All these being thought proper to excite or to calm certain passions, were, by our author, imagined to have had great influence upon the manners, (ἤϑη) ; and, with respect to this influence, *Melopoeia* was divided into three kinds: first, the *Systaltic,* or that which inspired the soft and tender passions, as well as the plaintive, or, as the term implies, such as affect and penetrate the heart ; secondly, the *Diastaltic,* or that which was capable of exhilerating, by kindling joy, or inspiring courage, magnanimity, and sublime sentiments : thirdly, the *Hesuchastic,* which held the mean between the other two, that is, which could restore the mind to a state of tranquility and moderation.

The first kind of Melopoeia suited poetical subjects of love and gallantry, of complaint and lamentation: the second was reserved for tragic and heroic subjects: the third for hymns, panegyrics, and as a vehicle of exhortation and precept (*e*).

(*d*) P. 28 and 29. Edit. Meibom.

(*e*) These imaginations are evidently drawn from the dreams of Pythagoras. Iamblicus, in the life of that philosopher, tells us that " he had invented certain musical airs, with which, by a happy mixture of genera, he could, at his pleasure, govern the passions of his scholars, and awaken terror, melancholy, anger, compassion, emulation, fear, and desires of all kinds ; as well as stimulate appetite, pride, caprice, and vehemence ; guiding each affection according to virtue, with *suitable melodies,* as with so many salutary and healing medicines." And Plutarch, in his *Discourse on the Cessation of Oracles,* says, that *poetry set to music,* was once the current language of Greece, and the vehicle of history, philosophy, and of every important subject.

All these rules concerning the ancient *Melopoeia* afford only general notions, which, to be rendered clear and intelligible, would require particular discussions, as well as illustrations by example ; but the Greek writers on music have absolutely denied us that satisfaction, reserving, perhaps, when they published their works, all such *minutiæ* for the lessons which they gave their scholars in private ; for in no one of the seven treatises upon ancient music, collected and published by Meibomius, is a single *air*, or *passage* of Greek melody, come down to us ; which is the more extraordinary, as there are few treatises upon modern music, without innumerable examples in notes, to illustrate the precepts they contain.

But whatever were the rules for arranging different sounds in such order as would flatter the ear in the most agreeable manner, it is easy to imagine that this regular disposition, and beautiful order of sounds, constituted nothing more than the mere body of melody, which could only be animated and vivified by the assistance of *Rhythm*, or *Measure*: and this will be discussed in the next section.

Section VI

Of Rhythm

A CONTINUED *motion* in every organized body that is capable of it, is susceptible of some kind of *measure*. This measure marks the several parts of motion, and enables us to judge of their proportions. It is to point out these proportions that the Greeks, among many other terms, have made use of ῥυϑμος, *Rhythm*, which they have applied to different purposes. They have not only expressed by it the kind of cadence, or vibration of the wings, in the flight of birds ; the movement of the feet in the progressive motion of animals ; and the gestures, figures, and steps of dancers; but every species of regular motion, such as is observable in the beating of the pulse, and in respiration. They have even abused the original import of the word so far, as to apply it to things absolutely motionless and inanimate ; such as works in painting and sculpture, in which they have called that symmetry and just proportion which reigns in all parts by the name of *Rhythm*.

But the most common application of this term has been to express the *Time* or duration of many sounds heard in succession: whether these sounds are musical, and such as are produced by voices and instruments, or without any determinate tone, as in the strokes of a hammer upon an anvil; in the beating of a drum; and in the articulations of the voice in common speech, in repeating poetry, or pronouncing an oration.

But our enquiries here shall be confined to that species of *Rhythm*, which more particularly concerns melody, and which merits discussion the more, on account of its great importance in music, and of the darkness in which it is usually involved by writers on the subject.

From the strict union of poetry and music among the ancients, which seem to have been almost inseparable, an offence against *Time* or *Rhythm* was unpardonable, as it not only destroyed the beauty of the poetry, but sometimes even the meaning of the words of which it was composed, *Το παν παρα μουσικοις ὁ ῥυϑμος*, say the Greeks ; it was the principal point in their music, without which they regarded melody as wholly unmeaning and lifeless. Hence Plato refused the title of musician to every one who was not perfectly versed in *Rhythm*, as we should now to a bad *Timeist*. It is of such importance, that, without it, music can have no power over the human passions. Pythagoras, according to Martianus Capella, used to call *Rhythm*, in music, the male, and *Melos* the female ; and Doni (*a*) has compared *Rhythm* with *design,* i painting, and *Melos* to *colouring*. It is certain that an ordinary melody, in which the *time* is strongly marked, and the accents are well placed, has more effect than one that is deficient in those particulars, though more refined and uncommon, and set off with all the richness of harmony, and learning of modulation.

Isaac Vossius, in his Dissertation, *de Poematum Cantu, e viribus Rhythmi,* has attributed to *Rhythm* all the miraculous powers of ancient music.

As vocal music was chiefly cultivated among the ancient Greeks the first part of these *rhythmical* observations shall be confined to lyric poetry.

Aristides Quintilianus defines musical *Rhythm* *ουστημα ἐκ χρονω κατα τινα ταξιν συγκειμενων* (*b*). "The assemblage of many part of time, which preserve a certain proportion to each other"; which since the use of bars in music, may be called aliquot parts of a measure, or a given portion of time. For the better understanding of this definition, it is necessary to remember that the music in question was constantly sung to verses, the words of which were al composed of *long* and *short* syllables; that the short syllable wa pronounced as quick again as the long, and the short syllable being regarded as one part or portion of this measure, the long was equa to two: so that, consequently, the sound which was applied to th long syllable, was equal in duration to two such sounds as were sung to short syllables, or, in other words, that one note was equa to two portions of time, and the other to one. It must likewise b remembered that the verses thus sung, were composed of a certai number of feet, formed by these long and short syllables differently combined, and that the *Rhythm* of the melody was regulated by these feet ; as, whatever was their length, they were always divided into two parts, equal or unequal, the first of which was called *ἀρσις* *elevation,* and the second *ϑεσις, depression* (*c*). In like manner th *Rhythm* of the melody, corresponding with these feet, was divided into two parts, equal or unequal, the first of which was called th *down* and *up* parts of a bar, expressed by *beating down* the hand o foot, and *lifting it up*. Thus far concerns *vocal Rhythm ;* wha follows belongs to instrumental.

As the notes of ancient music were constantly written ove each syllable of the verses which were to be sung ; as the quantit of each of these syllables was perfectly known to musicians ; an as the duration of each sound was regulated by the syllables; it di not seem necessary that the *time* should be marked by any par ticular sign or character. However, for the ease and convenienc of the musician, a canon, or rule, was given of the *Rhythm* at th beginning of a lyric poem. This canon consisted of nothing bu the numbers 1 and 2, that is, the *Alpha* and *Beta* of the Gree alphabet, disposed according to the order of the breves and long

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(*a*) Tom. ii. p. 203.

(*b*) Lib. i. p. 31. Edit. Meibom.

(*c*) A *foot* in poetry seems to answer to a *bar* in music. A *time*, among the ancients, was a porti of that foot or bar ; as, with us, a bar is divided into accented and unaccented parts.

which composed and divided each verse, according to the number of its feet. The *Alpha,* or unit, marked a *breve,* because it contained only one portion of time ; and the *Beta,* or binary, marked a *long,* being equal to two portions. Some of these poetical, or rhythmical canons, are still to be found in the Manual of Hephæstion (*d*).

Rhythm in Latin was called *numerus ;* and this term, in process of time, was extended to the melody itself, subjected to certain numbers or rhythms, as appears from this line of Virgil:

Numeros memini, si verba tenerem:

If I knew the words, I could remember the tune well enough. The Romans had signs for *rhythm,* as well as the Greeks ; and these signs were not only called *numerus,* but *æra,* that is, *number,* or the mark for time. *Numeri nota,* says Nonius Marcellus. In this sense we find the word used in a verse of Lucilius:

Hæc est ratio? perversa æra? summa subducta improbè?

Do you call that settling accounts? such a confusion of figures? and the sum falsely cast up?

Though the word *æra* was at first only applied by musicians to the *time,* or *measure* of the melody, they afterwards made the same use of it as of *numerus,* to express the tune or melody itself ; and it has been thought that the word *Air,* or, as the Italians call it, *Aria,* which includes a certain piece of music of a peculiar *rhythm,* or cadence, is derived from *æra.*

Such was the manner in which the ancients marked the measure in their written music ; but to make it still more sensible in the execution, they beat time in several different ways. The most common was by the motion of the foot, which was lifted up and beat down alternately, according to what we call common, or triple time. To regulate the time was generally the office of the music master or director, called μεσοχοϱος and κοϱυφαιος, *coryphæus,* because he was placed in the middle of the orchestra, among the musicians, and in an exalted and conspicuous situation, in order to be seen and heard the more easily by the whole band.

The directors of the time were likewise called in Greek ποδοκτυποι and ποδοψοφοι, from the noise of their feet. In Latin they were called *pedarii, podarii,* and *pedicularii,* for the same reason. Their feet were generally furnished with wooden or iron sandals, in order to mark the time in a more distinct manner : these implements the Greeks called κϱουπεζια, κϱουπλα, κϱουπετα ; and the Latins *pedicula scabella,* or *scabilla,* because they resembled little pattens or clogs.

But it was not only with the feet that the ancients beat the time, but with all the fingers of the right hand upon the hollow part of the left ; and he who marked the time or rhythm in this manner, was called *manu-ductor.* For this purpose they sometimes used oyster-shells, and the shells of other fish, as well as the bones of animals, in beating time, as we do of castanets, tabors, &c. Both Hesychius, and the scholiast of Aristophanes, furnish passages to

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(*d*) This author lived in the time of the emperor Verus, in the second century. He was a grammarian of Alexandria. The work alluded to is *de re Metrica.* Suidas, Jul. Capitolinus.

confirm this assertion. What a noisy and barbarous music! All *rhythm*, and no sound. The drums and sistrums of the Idæi Dactyli could not have been more savage.

Many ancient instruments were monotonous, and of little use, but to mark the measure ; such were the *cymbalum* and *sistrum*. But it would afford us no very favourable idea of the abilities of modern musicians, if they required so much parade and noise in keeping together. The more time is beaten, says M. Rousseau, the less it is kept ; and, in general, bad music, and bad musicians, stand in most need of such noisy assistance.

However, if any thing like the power which ancient music is said to have had over the passions can be credited, it must have derived this power chiefly from the energy and accentuation of the *rhythm*. Aristides Quintilianus (*e*) gives a long list of different metres, with their several properties of calming or agitating the mind, according to the nature of the syllables, or feet of the verses, as well as the sentiments which they were intended to express; and as it will afford the reader an opportunity of seeing how much stress was laid on this part of music, and how fanciful and ideal many of the distinctions seem to have been, I shall give the whole passage in English.

"Measure, which begins by a *down part* of the metrical division, is calm and gentle ; whereas that which begins by an *up part*, expresses trouble and agitation. Full time, that is, composed of intire feet, is noble in its effect ; and that arising from catalectic verses, deficient in a syllable or note, if it be supplied by a short rest or pause, has more simplicity, but is less noble. Time of equal proportions, is graceful ; and that of odd numbers, or sesquialterate proportion, is more proper to excite commotion (*f*). Double time is a kind of mean betwixt the graceful and the turbulent. Among the movements of two even notes, if they are short, their effect is lively, impetuous, and proper for military dances, called *Pyrrhics*, in which the dancers are armed ; and time, of which the movement is regulated by poetic feet composed of long syllables, is more grave, serious, and fit for hymns which are sung in honour of the gods, at festivals, and in sacrifices: the measure composed of a mixture of long and short notes, participates of the qualities of both these last mentioned."

"Among the duplicate proportions, the Iambic and Trochaic have the most vivacity and fire, and are peculiarly proper for dancing. Those called *’οϱϑιοι* and *σημαντοι*, of which the *Arsis* answers to two long syllables, are full of dignity. Compound measures are more pathetic than simple ; and such as are confined

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(*e*) Lib. ii. p. 97. Edit. Meibom.

(*f*) The reader should here be informed, that, besides our common and triple time, they had measures of 5, and of 7 *equal notes* in a bar ; circumstances which must appear very extraordinary to modern musicians. By *double time*, Arist. Quint. means *triple time*, that is, in which the *down* part of the bar was to the *up*, as 2 to 1 ; or in which one *time* of the bar was *double* to the *other*. So *common* time they called *equal*, because the bars admitted a division into two equal parts. In the same manner, the measure of 5 notes in a bar, was called *Sesquialter*, that is, of 2 to 3 ; and that of 7 notes, *Epitritus*, or of 3 to 4, from the bars being divided into those proportions.

to one genus, move the passions much less than those which pass from one genus to another (*g*)."

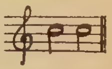
After giving these characteristics of time, Aristides proceeds to prove their reality and foundation in nature, by drawing a parallel between some particular species of *Rhythm*, and the gait and actions of man. He pretends, for instance, "that the motion which answers to the Spondaic measure, is a sign of moderation and fortitude ; that Trochaics, or Pæans, indicate a greater degree of fire and vivacity ; that the Pyrrhic has something low and ignoble in it ; that an irregular velocity implies dissoluteness and disorder ; and finally, that a movement resulting from all these, is wild and extravagant."

With respect to the excellence and effects of ancient music, it is very difficult to steer between the extremes of credulity and scepticism. Such enthusiasts as Aristides Quintilianus, by asserting too much, have thrown a ridicule upon the subject, and inclined us, perhaps, to believe too little. The simplicity of ancient melody, and its slavish dependence upon poetry, may probably have given birth to some of these fancies. But however that may have been, this seems the place in which to give some account of those *poetic feet*, and *Rhythms*, upon which the ancients laid so much stress. For, that they thought the knowledge of poetical feet, and even rhetorical, necessary to a musician, is certain from the pains that have been taken, especially by Roman musical writers, to explain them in all the treatises that are come down to us.

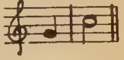
A poetical *Foot* consists of a certain number of syllables, which constitutes a distinct part of a verse, as a *Bar* does of an air in music. An Hexameter verse consists of six of these feet, a Pentameter of five.

The *Spondee, Iambus, Trochee,* and *Pyrrhic* or *Periambus,* are dissyllabic feet, or of two syllables each.

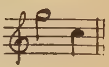
The *Spondee* consists of two long syllables (*h*), as *vertunt.* ¯ ¯



An *Iambic* foot has one short and one long syllable (*i*). *Θεον, λεγω. potens, amas.* ˘¯



The *Trochee* has one long and one short syllable, as *gratus, musa.* ¯ ˘

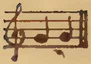


(*g*) The French seem to have had this precept in view in composing their old serious operas, in which the time is for ever changing.

(*h*) There is no true *Spondee* in the English language, as every word of two syllables has an accent upon the first or second syllable, which renders it longer than the other. The ancient *Spondean* or libation air composed by Olympus in the *Old Enharmonic*, without the quarter tone, was, however, in this measure, consisting of slow even notes, and the foot derived its name from this use of it.

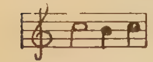
(*i*) *Iambic* verses were originally used in satire, with which they are often synonymous in ancient authors.

The *Pyrrhic*, or *Periambus*, two short syllables, as *mare, probus.* ᵕ ᵕ



quiver (*k*).

The *Dactyl, Anapæst, Molossus, Tribrach, Bacchius, Antibacchius, Amphibrachys*, and *Creticus*, are *Trissyllabics*, or of three syllables. To some of these we have no equivalents ; however, the *Dactyl*, consisting of one long and two short syllables ¯ᵕᵕ



is very common in our language, as *tenderly, hastily;* and we have verses composed of dactyls as well as the Greeks and Romans:

Mў | bānks thĕy ăre | fūrnĭsh'd wĭth | beēs,
Whŏse | mūrmŭr in- | vītes ŏne tŏ | sleēp.

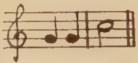
These may be compared with the following celebrated passages in Homer and Virgil, where the sound is manifestly and intentionally, an *echo to the sense*. Homer, (Odyssey, book xi) after he has described in labouring Spondees the slow and painful manner in which Sysiphus rolled the stone up-hill, makes use of nimble Dactyls in describing its swift descent:

Αῡθῐς ἔπειτᾰ πἔδōνδἔ κῠλῑνδἔτŏ λᾱᾰς ᾰναῑδῆς.

And Virgil, lib. viii. v 596, describes in pure Dactyls the galloping of the horse:

——————— *It clāmŏr, ĕt āgmĭnĕ fāctō*
Quadrŭpĕdāntĕ pŭtrēm sònĭtu quătĭt ūngŭlă cāmpūm.

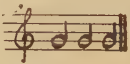
The *Anapæst* has two short and one long syllable ; as *sapiens, recubans,* ᵕᵕ¯



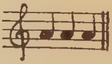
Isaac Vossius, *de Viribus Rhythmi*, p. 56, has said that the French have no Dactyls, nor the English a perfect *Anapæst* in their language. Let the French speak for themselves ; but as to our own part of the charge, it is easily confuted by the mere mention of the words *recommend* and *disappoint*.

I shall enumerate the rest of the poetic feet of the ancients, merely to shew what resources they had in varying their melody by different combinations of two kinds of notes.

The *Molossus* has three long syllables, ¯¯¯

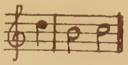


The *Tribrach*, three short, ᵕᵕᵕ

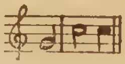


(*k*) In our language, though it is governed almost entirely by Accent, an *accented* and a *long syllable* are by no means to be confounded, at least in setting words to music. Mr. Stillingfleet, *Principles and Power of Harmony*, has given the word *level* as a Trochaic, that is, a word in which the first syllable is long, the second short ; but Trochaics in English seem to be such words as *silent, charming, kindred* ; and *level, revel, quiver, river*, correspond more exactly with the Pyrrhic or Periambus of the ancients, being composed of two short syllables.

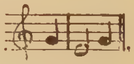
The *Bacchius,* which is the reverse of the Dactyl, has one short, and two long syllables, ˘¯¯



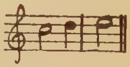
The *Antibacchius,* two long and one short, ¯¯˘



Amphibrachys, one short, one long, and one short, or one long between two short, ˘¯˘

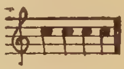


Creticus, one short between two long, ¯˘¯

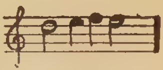


The Quadrisyllabics are compounded of feet already mentioned.

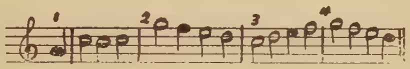
The *Proceleusmaticus* is composed of four short syllables, or or two Pyrrhics, ˘˘˘˘



The *Choriambus,* two short between two long, or the junction of the *Trochæus* and *Iambus,* ¯˘˘¯



Epitrite ; of this foot there are four species: 1. the Iambus and Spondee ˘¯¯¯: 2. the Trochee and Spondee ¯˘¯¯: 3. the Spondee and Iambus ¯¯˘¯: and 4. the Spondee and Trochee ¯¯¯˘.



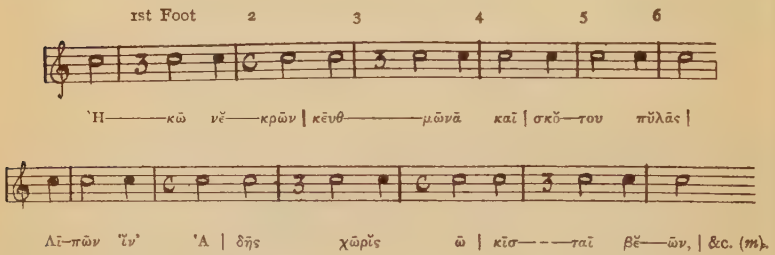
The *Pæan* or *Pæon,* which is the contrary of this last, consists of one long syllable, and three short: ¯˘˘˘, ˘¯˘˘, ˘˘¯˘, ˘˘˘¯.

Servius reckons more than a hundred different kinds of verse among the Latins ; and, according to Hephæstion, the number was still more considerable among the Greeks ; consequently their melody might have been varied in as many different ways. There is not, however, the least appearance of the ancients having had in their vocal music that kind of measure which we call pointed ; nor did they admit rests in the middle of a verse, though at the end of catalectic, or broken verses, the singer was allowed to make up the deficiency by a silence, equivalent to a rest in modern music; and though they had so great a variety of feet in their poetry, many of those already instanced are unfit for modern melody.

After all the researches which I have been able to make, it must be acknowledged that the subject of ancient music, in general, still remains, and probably ever will remain, involved in much difficulty and uncertainty. It is fortunate, however, for those who wish to view as near as possible this dark angle of antiquity, that the prospect happens to be the clearest just in that part where all its admirers assure us it is best worth examining ; for however ignorant we may be of the *Melody* of ancient music, the *Rhythm,* or time of that melody, being regulated entirely, as has been already observed, by the metrical feet, must always be as well known to us as the prosody and construction of the verse ; so that we have nothing to do but to apply to the long and short syllables any two notes, one of which is double the length of the other, in order to know as exactly as if we heard, in what manner any particular kind of *metre* was set by the ancients with respect to *Time* and *Cadence*, that boasted *Rhythm*, which we are so often told was *every thing* in their music. It may therefore afford some gratification to the curiosity of those who have never considered the poetry of the ancients in this point of view, if I produce a few examples, which will, perhaps, help to throw a little light upon the *dramatic* music of the Greeks, and give some idea of the rhythmical resources of the *poet-musician* in one of the most interesting provinces of his art.

The first example shall be of the *Iambic* verse, which chiefly prevails in the Greek tragedies, and in which the dialogue and soliloquy, indeed all but the chorus or ode, were generally written. I shall content myself with applying notes of correspondent lengths to the syllables, and marking the time ; leaving the *Melody* to the imagination of the reader. Should I presume to supply it, I might expect to be reproached as another Salmoneus for my temerity.

Demens! qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen, &c. (*l*).


1st Foot
2
3
4
5
6
᾿Η——κῶ νε̆——κρῶν | κε̄υθ——μῶνᾰ καῑ | σκŏ—του πῠλᾱς |
Αῑ–πῶν ῞ῐν᾽ ᾿Α | δῆs χῶρῐs ῶ | κῑσ———ταῑ βε̆—ῶν, | &c. (*m*).

These lines are the beginning of the *Hecuba* of Euripides, and were sung by the ghost of Polydorus (*n*). The bars in the *verse* are

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(*l*) Salmoneus was a king of Elis
Who mock'd with empty sounds and mimic rays,
Heav'ns awful thunder, and the lightning's blaze.
Pitt's Virg. Book vi.

(*m*) This measure when pure and unmixt, consisted of six Iambic feet, as

eques | *sonan* | *te ver* | *bera* | *bit un* | *gula.*

Such verses, however, seldom occur. The laws of this metre only required that the *second*, *fourth*, and *last* feet should be Iambics ; in the other places, *Spondees*, *Anapæsts*, and *Dactyls*, were admitted. This metre answers to our *Alexandrine*, or verse of twelve syllables ; but more exactly in the *number* and *kind* of feet, than in its cadence, or general effect upon the ear. The pause after the third foot, so essential to a melodious *Alexandrine*, has no place but by accident, in the *Iambic*, which runs more swiftly, and has a more prosaic effect. This, undoubtedly, led the ancients to measure it *per dipodiam*, or by *double* feet (see *Hor. Art. Poet.* v. 252, *pes citus* : *unde*, &c.) which answer to double bars in modern music. Ariosto wrote some comedies in this Iambic measure. One of his lines will perhaps be as exact a representation of the ancient *Iambic* as can be produced, in point of cadence.

Per dio son qua | *si in pensier di* | *tornarmene.*

The following *Alexandrine* of Spenser may also serve for the same purpose.

So in his angry courage fairly pacified.

(*n*) From the drear mansions of the dead, and gates
Of darkness horrible, I come, where reigns
Remote from all the Gods, Hell's awful king.

only to show how the ancients divided it into three portions of two feet in each: but the bars of *Time,* the *Thesis* or *beat,* must always fall in the middle of the foot: ⏑ | ¯ ♩ | 𝅗𝅥. For the sake of distinguishing the feet more clearly, I have barred them singly; though it would have been more conformable to the ancient manner of scanning this kind of verse, and probably more expressive of its cadence and *effect,* to have made but three bars in each line (*o*).

Besides this metre, the dialogue admitted, occasionally, *Trochaic* verses. They are generally introduced in scenes of hurry and disorder; being, as Aristotle has described them, and as their name implies, a voluble and *dancing* measure (*p*). A character which the reader will not be inclined to dispute, when he compares the ancient *Trochaic* with a measure exactly corresponding to it in our own language, but which we have not yet admitted into our tragedy.

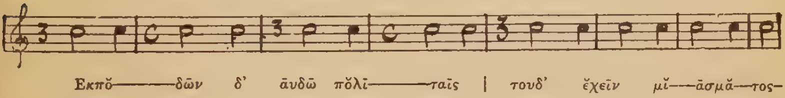
Που 'σῐν ōυτŏς, ōς πĕφῡγĕ | τ'ōυμŏν ēκ δŏμῶν ξῐφōς (*q*):

This is a pure *Trochaic,* and is precisely in the measure of our

Jōllў mōrtăls fill yoŭr glāssĕs,
Nōble deēds ăre dōne by wine.

The whole difference is, that the ancient *Trochaics* were written in one line: but this is merely to the eye; for they really consist of two verses; the last syllable of the *fourth* foot being, I believe, constantly the end of a word.

Mr. West, in his translation of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, has given a whole scene of *Trochaics* in the correspondent English measure (*r*). A single line of the original, with his translation, will be a sufficient example of *Trochaic Rhythm.*



From the reach of this contagion | fly! I warn you all to fly!

(*o*) The *Iambics* of Greek *Comedy* differ from these only in a little more liberty of construction: those of the Roman, in Plautus and Terence, are so licentious, as often not to differ perceptibly from Prose, even in the judgment of Cicero himself; *propter* similitudinem sermonis, *sic sæpe sunt abjecti, ut nonnunquam* vix *in his* numerus *et* versus sentiri *possit. Orator,* cap. 55.

(*p*) Τροχερον——ορχηστικωτεραν. *Arist. Rhet.* 3. 4. *et Poet.* 4.

(*q*) Eurip. *Orest.* 1539. Orestes runs upon the stage with a sword in his hand, in pursuit of a Phrygian slave, who had offended him, crying out, literally, " Where is he who ran away from my sword out of the house ? " These verses are composed of eight feet, wanting one syllable to complete the last *Trochee,* which, in the following example, is expressed by a crotchet rest, to fill up the time, as was practised by the ancients in setting these *deficient* verses. See A. Quint. p. 40. concerning these rests, or *vacua Tempora.* The Trochaic, like the Iambic measure, admitted the mixture of other feet; but contrary to Iambics, the *first, third,* and *fifth* places were in *this* metre the most sacred. It may be observed, however, of both, that this licence was not such as by any means destroyed the *general* character and *pace* of the verse.

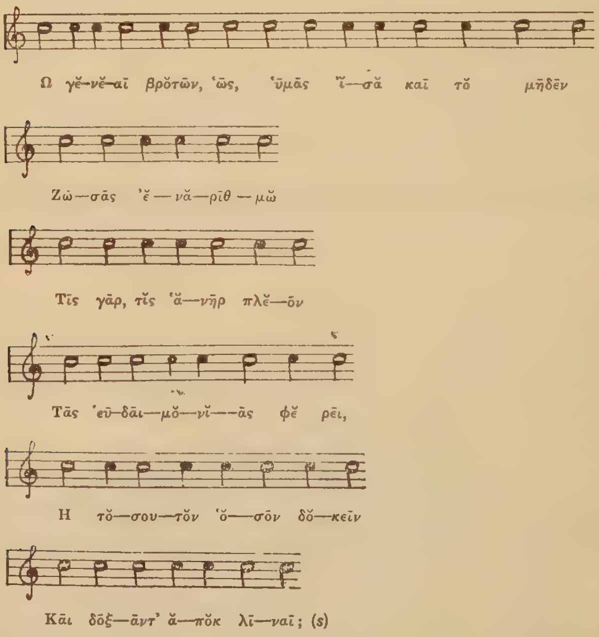
(*r*) He seems, however, to have been mistaken, in supposing that *Trochaics* were introduced in this scene, " *to give an air of solemnity,* &c." Nothing could be more remote from the character of this metre. But it was rather adapted to occasions of *urgent business,* and *anxious preparation,* such as are the subject of this scene. Mr. Gray, in his Ode on Poesy, has three times admitted this measure in the three epodes; in the first epode, where Venus and the Graces are dancing, it is certainly used with great propriety and beauty, after

" Frisking light in *frolic measures.*"

In the other two epodes it was matter of necessity, the subject would hardly have led him to it.

Such were the metres appropriated to the *dialogue* of the ancient tragedy, and such must have been the *Rhythms* or *Times* of the music to which they were set.

I shall close these observations with one example more, taken from the *choral* part of the drama, that part which, as will be shewn in the ninth section, was more particularly *musical ;* the circle marked out for the musician, where all the magic of his art, with all the wonders of *Rhythm,* were to be displayed. Of the *metre* of this part, I shall only observe, in general, that it seems to have admitted of such an unbounded variety in the mixture and arrangement of feet, and to have been fettered by so few restraints, that, to a modern ear, it is frequently not to be distinguished from a smooth and elegant prose. We can therefore be certain of nothing, concerning the music applied to the ancient chorus, except the *relative lengths,* of the notes as they are determined by the *prosody* : in what manner the ancients divided them by *beats,* I do not even presume to guess ; and I believe it may be proposed to the musical reader as a problem, worthy, for its difficulty, at least, if not for its importance, to exercise his sagacity, how the following specimen should be *barred,* in order to render it as little tormenting to the ear as possible.


Ω γἔ—νἔ—αῑ βρŏτῶν, ῾ῶς, ῾ῡμᾱς ῞ῐ—σᾰ καῑ τŏ μῆδēν
Ζὼ—σᾱς ᾿ἔ — νᾰ—ρῑθ — μῶ
Τῑς γᾱρ, τῐς ῾ᾰ—νῆρ πλἔ—ōν
Τᾱς ῾εῡ—δᾱι—μŏ—νῐ——ᾱς φἔ ρēι,
Η τŏ—σου—τŏν ῾ŏ—σōν δŏ—κεῖν
Κᾱι δōξ—ᾱντ᾿ ᾰ—πŏκ λῑ—ναῑ ; (s)

(s) *Sophoc. Oedip. Tyr.* v. 1196.

O hapless state of human race !
How quick the fleeting shadows pass
Of transitory bliss below,
Where all is vanity and woe !—*Francklin.*

The most striking circumstance in all these examples, is the perpetual change of time, occasioned by the mixture of unequal feet (*t*). To the eye, indeed, the Recitative of the old French opera presents a similar appearance ; but where no strict time is observed, the changes are less perceptible to the ear. No circumstance relative to ancient music has been more frequently and triumphantly opposed to the modern, in proof of superiority, than its inviolable adherence to the *fixed quantity of syllables* (*u*). It is perhaps equally difficult to disprove this, and to conceive how such a music could be rigorously executed, without throwing both the hearers and performers into convulsions. If, however, this was the case, we need no longer wonder at the noisy expedients, to which the ancients had recourse in beating time ; for I believe the best modern band would find it difficult, if not impossible, to keep exactly together in the execution of a Greek Chorus, though assisted by all the clatter of an ancient *Coryphæus*.

Upon the whole, perhaps, even the imperfect view which I have here attempted to give of the rhythmical resources of ancient music, may be sufficient to warrant something more than a doubt, whether, after all that Isaac Vossius (*x*), and many others have said, a *fixed* prosody, and the rigorous, unaccommodating length of syllables be any recommendation of a language *for music ;* that is, whether a music formed and moulded closely upon such a language, must not necessarily be cramped and poor, in comparison of that free, unshackled variety, that independent range of rhythmical phrase, which constitutes so considerable a part of the riches of modern music (*y*). Let the most inventive composer try to set half a dozen *Hexameters,* pure *Iambics,* or any other verses that will fall into regular common or triple time, and he will soon find that no resources of melody are sufficient to disguise or palliate the insipid and tiresome uniformity of the measure ; and as for any thing like expression, we may as well expect to be affected by the mechanical strut of a soldier upon the parade. In other metres, such as those already given in the preceding examples, where feet of different times are intermixed, *some* variety is indeed acquired ; but it is a misplaced variety, which, without obviating the tiresome effect of a confinement to no more than *two* lengths of notes, adds to it that of an aukward and uncouth arrangement: the ear is still fatigued with uniformity where it requires change, and distracted by change where it requires uniformity.

(*t*) See *Reflex. Crit.* of the abbé du Bos, *tom.* iii. § 2. p. 33.

(*u*) *In Versu quidem Theatra tota exclamant, si suit* una syllaba brevior aut longior. *Cic. Orat. ad Brut.* 52.

(*x*) This author, *De Viribus Rhythmi*, p. 128, advises the moderns, if they would have any music fit to be heard, to dismiss all their *barbarous* variety of notes, and retain *only minims* and *crotchets.* This would, indeed, be *inventis frugibus, glande vesci !*

(*y*) I am happy to find an ingenious writer of the same opinion. " Music," says Mr. Webb, " borrows sentiments from poetry, and lends her movements, and consequently must prefer that mode of versification, which leaves her most at liberty to consult her own genius." *Obs. on Poet. and Mus.* p. 131.

Modern music, on the contrary, by its division into *equal* bars, and its *unequal* subdivision of these bars by notes of various lengths, unites to the *pleasure* which the ear is by nature formed to receive from a regular and even measure, all the *variety* and *expression* which the *ancients* seem to have aimed at by sudden and convulsive changes of time, and a continual conflict of jarring and irreconcileable *Rhythms* (*z*).

It is evident, from the proofs already given, that the Greeks and Romans had but two different degrees of long and short notes, and even the old lozenge and square characters still used in the Canto Fermo of the Romish church, under the denomination of Gregorian notes, are but of two kinds : the time of these may, indeed, have been accelerated or retarded, but still the same proportion must have been preserved between them ; and all their variety must have arisen from different combinations of these two kinds of notes, such as any two of ours could afford : as semibreves and minims, minims and crotchets, or crotchets and quavers (*a*).

This accounts for the facility with which even the common people of Greece could discover the mistakes, if any were committed, in the length and shortness of the syllables, both with respect to the poetry, and the music ; a point of history in which all writers agree ; and this seems to confirm what has been already said in the fifth section: that besides the intervals peculiar to the melody, *Rhythm*, or time, must have contributed to characterize the modes, though it has no kind of connection with our flat and sharp keys; and this gives an idea quite different from what our modern modes, taken as keys, and our music, in general, furnish. Tartini* upon this subject says, that we make the prosody subservient to the music, not the music to the prosody ; and adds, "that as by the laws prescribed to the ancient musicians, they were obliged to preserve rigorously in their music the quantity of syllables, it was impossible to protract a vowel, in singing, beyond the time which

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(*z*) Nothing seems more essential to musical pleasure, than the division of melody into *equal portions* of *time*, or *bars*. Quintilian attributed to this *natural* mensuration of the ear, the first production of poetry : *Pœma—aurium mensurâ*, et similiter decurrentium spatiorum observatione *esse generatum*. *Hexameters* and *Iambics* appear to have been the most ancient Greek metres ; and the latter if we may credit Horace, *Art. Poet.* 253, were at first *pure* and uncompounded. The mixture of *unequal* feet, and the Dithyrambic licence of lyric poetry, were later refinements. The progress of *musical Rhythm* was, of course, the same. Plutarch expressly says, in the dialogue *de Musicâ*, that the compositions of Terpander, and other old masters, were set to *Hexameters*, chiefly of Homer ; that is, they were in regular *common time*. The change and intermixture of Rhythms is spoken of as the innovation of *modern* artists. Plato rejects these complicated measures from the music of his Republic: and even Isaac Vossius, the great champion of ancient *Rhythm*, who asserts that " no man can be a good musician that is not a *good drummer*," owns, p. 11, that *vitiosum & incompositum imprimis, fiet carmen, si duorum, trium, quatuor, pluriumve temporum pedes, veluti Pyrrichii, Iambi, Dactyli, Pæones, Ionici, simul copulentur :* though this is done continually, not only in the *lyric* part, but even in the *dialogue* of the ancient drama.

(*a*) Modern " Music," says Mr. Harris, *Disc. on Mus. Paint. and Poet.* p. 73, 1st Edit. " has *many different lengths of notes* in common use, all which may be *infinitely compounded*, even in any *one* time or measure. Poetry, on the other hand, has but *two lengths* or *quantities*, a *long* syllable and a *short*, which is its half ; and all the *variety of verse* arises from such feet and metres, as these *two species* of syllables, *by being compounded*, can be made to produce." What is here said of *verse*, is equally applicable to *ancient* music, which was *strictly* confined to verse : and it seems as if whole pages could not place the difference between the *Rhythm* of ancient and modern music, in a clearer point of view.

* Besides achieving fame as a violinist, teacher and composer, Tartini (1692–1770) wrote many books on musical subjects, including a Treatise on Music published in 1754.

belonged to a syllable: we, on the contrary, prolong the vowels through many bars, though in reading they are oftentimes short."

Tartini, however, in pure courtesy, allows to the ancients a discretionary power of making syllables longer or shorter than rigorous time would admit, in order to diversify expression, and to enforce the passion implied by the words (*b*); but if time was rigorously beaten, in the manner the ancients have related, it is not very easy to subscribe to this opinion.

And now, having explained the nature, difference, and properties of ancient *Rhythm,* I shall bestow a few words on an examination of the modern, and endeavour to shew what it has in common with the ancient, and what peculiar to itself (*c*).

We no longer know *Rhythm* now under its ancient name; however, it has been continued, with a small change of pronunciation, merely to express the final cadence of verses, or the agreement and similarity of sound in the last syllables of two or more lines in poetry ; being at present what we call *Rhyme*: whereas the proportion subsisting between the different parts of a melody are called *time, measure, movement.*

And when we come to examine this proportion, we find that it only consists of two kinds, differently modified ; and these two are known by the names of *common time,* consisting of equal numbers, and *triple time,* of unequal.

Tartini has whimsically deduced all measure from the proportions of the octave and its fifth (*d*). "Common time, or measure," says he, "arises from the octave, which is as 1: 2 ; triple time arises from the fifth, which is as 2: 3. These, adds he, are the utmost limits within which we can hope to find any practicable proportions for melody. Indeed, many have attempted to introduce other kinds of measure, which, instead of good effects, have produced nothing but the greatest confusion ; and this must always be the case. Music has been composed of five equal notes in a bar, but no musician has yet been found that is able to execute it."

By the improvement of instrumental music, and indeed by the liberties which we have taken with poetry in singing, we have multiplied notes, and accelerated the measure. Instead of one sound to one syllable, or one portion of time for a short syllable, and two for a long one, we frequently divide and subdivide the time of these several portions into all their aliquot parts, and sometimes into incommensurable quantities.

(*b*) *Trat. di Mus.* p. 139.

(*c*) Mr. Marpurg has published a very useful work for his countrymen in Germany, upon this subject, under the title of Anleitung zur Singcompoſition. Berlin, 1758, *Introduction to Vocal Music,* in which he has compared the pronunciation and versification of the Latin, German, and Italian languages. A strict adherence, however, to the rhythmical laws of Greece and Rome would not enrich our melody ; though accurate rules for English *prosody* might be settled by musical characters ; and as *prosody* comprehends not only the rules of pronunciation, but the laws of versification, a treatise on the subject, as far as it concerns vocal music, would be a most useful work to our young lyric composers, as well as to foreigners, who frequently injure that poetry, which their melody should enforce and explain.

(*d*) *Trat. di Mus.* p. 114.

After the invention of musical characters for time, different from those in poetry, the study of their relations became one of the most laborious and perplexed parts of a musician's business. These characters were of different value and velocity, according to other characters placed at the beginning of a musical composition, and likewise frequently occurring in the course of a piece, to anounce a change of measure : as from common time to triple, from quick to slow, or the contrary. These characters were called *Moods*, but they were so extremely embarrassing and ill understood, till the invention of bars, by which musical notes were divided into equal portions, that no two theorists agreed in the definition of them.

These *modes,* by which the kind of movement, with respect to quick and slow, as well as the proportions of the notes, used to be known, serve for no other purpose, since technical terms, chiefly taken from the Italian language and music, have been adopted, than to mark the number and kind of notes in each bar.

But by this invention of musical characters for time, and the use of bars, we have certainly advanced in the composition and performance of instrumental music, by giving to it more energy and accentuation ; it has now a cadence and feet of its own, more marked and sensible than those of poetry, by which it used to move.

We have also, in our *Airs,* a distinct species of music for poetry, wholly different from *Recitative* and *Chanting ;* for in these we are less tied down to stated measure than the ancients, being only governed by the accent and cadence of the words. However, our *florid-song,* it cannot be dissembled, is not always sufficiently subservient to poetry ; for in applying music to words, it frequently happens that the finest sentiments and most polished verses of modern languages are injured and rendered unintelligible, by an inattention to *Prosody*. Even the simple and plain rules of giving a short note to a short syllable, a long to a long ; and of accentuating the music by the measure and natural cadence of the verse, which, it may be supposed, the mere reading would point out to a good ear and understanding, are but too frequently neglected.

Modern melody requires, perhaps, more than a single sound to a single syllable ; and a fine voice deserves, now and then, a long note to display its sweetness ; but this should be done upon long syllables, and to open vowels, and, perhaps, in general, after the words have been once simply and articulately sung, for the hearer to know what passion is intended to be expressed, or sentiment enforced, by future divisions.

Expletives, particles, and words of small importance, are forced into notice by careless or ignorant composers, who, only intent upon mere music, pay no regard to her sister, poetry. But then, poetry, in revenge, is as little solicitous about musical effects ; for symmetry of air, or simplicity of design, are generally so little thought of, that every heterogenous idea, which can be hitched into rhyme, is indiscriminately crowded into the same song. Indeed music and poetry, like man and wife, or other associates, are best asunder, if they cannot agree ; and on many occasions, it were to be wished, that the partnership were amicably dissolved.

Salinas tells us, from St. Augustine, that poets and musicians have ever been at strife concerning long and short syllables, accents, and quantity, since they have ceased to be united in one and the same person, and have set up different interests.

There is some poetry so replete with meaning, so philosophical, instructive, and sublime, that it becomes wholly enervated by being drawled out to a tune, which affects no part of the head, but the ear.

And there is, again, some kind even of instrumental music, so divinely composed, and so expressively performed, that it wants no words to explain its meaning: it is itself the language of the heart and of passion, and speaks more to both in a few notes, than any other language composed of clashing consonants, and insipid vowels, can do in as many thousand.

And, upon the whole, it seems as if poetry were more immediately the language of the head, and music that of the heart; or, in other words, as if poetry were the properest vehicle of instruction, and modulated sound that of joy, sorrow, and innocent pleasure. "Let the musician," says M. Rousseau, "have as many images or sentiments to express as you please, with few simple ideas: for the *passions only sing, the understanding speaks* (e)."

But notwithstanding both poetry and prosody are so frequently injured by injudicious composers, it must not be imagined that in our simple airs of the gavot and minuet kind, we have no musical *Rhythm*, or that it always clashes with the poetical. Innumerable instances may be given from well known English songs, where the cadence of the verse, and even the pronunciation of each syllable is carefully preserved by the air. For though our time-table furnishes six different degrees of long and short notes, without points, yet, if the divisions in songs designed to display a particular talent for the difficult execution be excepted, we seldom use more than two *kinds* of notes in the same air.

Mirth, admit me of thy crew, by Handel, as well as several popular songs by Dr. Arne, Mr. Jackson, and others, are sufficiently conformable to poetical numbers and *Rhythm*, to satisfy the greatest admirers of ancient simplicity, or even such as love poetry better than music, from whom complaints of non-conformity generally proceed.

Isaac Vossius* says it is now above a thousand years since musicians have lost that great power over the affections, which arose only from the true science and use of *Rhythm ;* and he accuses modern music of such a want of time and accent, as to be all of one style and colour (*f*). We will not defend the age in which Vossius wrote from the charge, nor the music of the present *serious* opera in France ; but the compositions of Italy and Germany are certainly free from the censure, as music is now more divided into phrases and sentences, and time is more marked and more easily felt than it has ever been since the days of Guido. What it was before, is not very well known ; but to confess the truth, it is my opinion, that whatever it has comparatively lost in some particulars, it has gained in others, as I shall endeavour to manifest in the course of this work.

(e) *Dict. de Musique*, Art. ACCENT.

* 1618–1688 (?). He was made a D.C.L. (Oxon.) in 1670 and appointed a Prebend of the Royal Chapel, Windsor in 1673. His book *De Poematum Cantu et Viribus Rythmi* was published anonymously in 1673.

(*f*) *Adeoque temporum varietate destuitur hujus Ætatis Musica, ut vere de ea dici posset, unius propemodum eam esse coloris et saporis.* De Poemat. Cantu et Virib. Rhythmi, p. 86. But *true English singing* should certainly not be accused of want of *accent :* for, like the French, according to M. Rousseau, in quick movements, it resembles *un corps dur et anguleux qui roule sur le parvé.*

Section VII

Of the Practice of Melopoeia

It was long and ardently wished, that a collection of some of the most beautiful melodies of antiquity could have been found among the ancient manuscripts that have escaped the ravages of time, in order to determine what kind of music it was, of which such wonders have been related ; as examples would have been more decisive in proving the truth or falsehood of the effects that have been attributed to it, and its comparative excellence with the modern, than the strongest arguments that can be drawn from history, or the dark and dry musical treatises that are come down to us. But remains of this kind are not easily found: however, a few are still subsisting, of which I shall give a minute account.

At the end of a Greek edition of the astronomical poems of Aratus, called *Phœnomena,* and their *Scholia,* published at Oxford, in 1672, the anonymous editor (*a*), among several other pieces, has enriched the volume with three hymns, which he supposed to have been written by a Greek poet called Dionysius, of which the first is addressed to the Muse Calliope, the second to Apollo, and the third to Nemesis ; and these hymns are accompanied with the notes of ancient music, to which they used to be sung.

This precious manuscript, which was found in Ireland, among the papers of the famous archbishop Usher, was bought, after his decease, by Mr. Bernard, fellow of St. John's college, who communicated it to the editor, together with remarks and illustrations by the reverend Mr. Edmund Chilmead, of Christ-church, who likewise reduced the ancient musical characters to those in common use. It appears by the notes, that the music of these hymns was composed in the Lydian mode, and Diatonic genus.

Vincenzo Galilei, father of the great Galileo, first published these hymns, with their Greek notes, in his *Dialogues upon Ancient and Modern Music,* printed at Florence, 1581, folio. He assures us, that he had them from a Florentine gentleman, who copied them very accurately from an ancient Greek manuscript, preserved in the library of cardinal St. Angelo, at Rome, which MS. likewise contained the treatises of music by Aristides Quintilianus, and Bryennius, since published by Meibomius and Dr. Wallis. The Florentine edition of these hymns entirely agrees with that printed at Oxford.

(*a*) Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca,* tells us, that it was Dr. John Fell, afterwards bishop of Oxford, to whom the literary world is indebted for this elegant and accurate edition of Aratus.

In 1602, Hercules Bottrigari mentioned the same hymns in his harmonical discourse, called *Melone,* printed at Ferrara, in 4to. But he derived his knowledge of these pieces, only from the Dialogues of Galilei ; however, he inserted, in the beginning of his book, some fragments of them in common notes ; but they were disfigured by a number of typographical errors.

At length, in the year 1720, M. Burette published these three hymns, in the Memoirs of the Academy *des Inscriptions, tome V.* from a copy found at the end of a Greek manuscript in the king of France's library at Paris, No. 3221, which likewise contained the musical treatises of Aristides Quintilianus, and of Bacchius senior. But though the words were confused, and confounded one with another, they appeared much more complete in this manuscript than elsewhere, particularly the hymn to Apollo, which had six verses more at the beginning ; and that to Nemesis, which, though deficient at the end in all the other editions, was here entire, having fourteen verses, exclusive of the six first.

I have been the more solicitous to trace the manner in which these curious fragments were discovered, in order to afford my reader all possible satisfaction with respect to their authenticity. Indeed they have been sifted, collated, and corrected by the most able critics in the Greek language, as well as the most skilful musicians of this and the last century : I shall therefore avail myself of all their labours ; and, after presenting the reader with a copy of the original manuscript in the form it was at first discovered, that is, with the Greek musical characters over the words, I shall insert the same music in equivalent modern notes ; and, lastly, shall venture to give an English paraphrastical translation of each hymn, with remarks upon the whole.*

ΕΙΣ ΜΟΥΣΑΝ, Ιαμβος Βακχειος.

σ Z Z φ φ σ σ
Αειδε, μουσα, μοι φιλη,

σπον ϊ φ M M
Μολπης δ' εμης καταρχου,

Z Z Z E Z Z ϊ ϊ
Αυρη δε σων απ' αλσεων

M ZE ϊ φσ ρ M φσ
Εμας φρενας δονειτω.

---

* Burney's transcription of these Hymns differs from that by modern authorities not only in the actual notes, but in Rhythm. There is such a difference of opinion amongst the experts as to the correct transcription of Greek music that it seems impossible to arrive at any definite conclusions as to the rights or wrongs of the matter.

In an article in the *Musical Quarterly* for October, 1919 (vol. 4, No. 4, part 1), Mr. Phillips Barry throws doubt on the authenticity of these Hymns. He claims that the structure of them all is pentachordal with a definite close on the Tonic. (This might be so, but it is difficult to see why a pentachordal structure proves the forgery of the Hymns as the early, or as Burney calls it, "The Old Enharmonic," scale was of a pentachordal character). He writes : "The tetrachord was the bedrock of melodic composition. The unanimous testimony of scores and musicography is to this effect, and establishes as an inviolable rule, the close on the inferior dominant."

He goes on to say that the hymns are "notated in a mixed rotation, the characters of which are taken from both vocal and instrumental diagrams." According to him the composer of these hymns got his knowledge of Greek musical notation from the diagram of Alypius and confused the two notations. Despite this, most authorities admit the hymns as genuine.

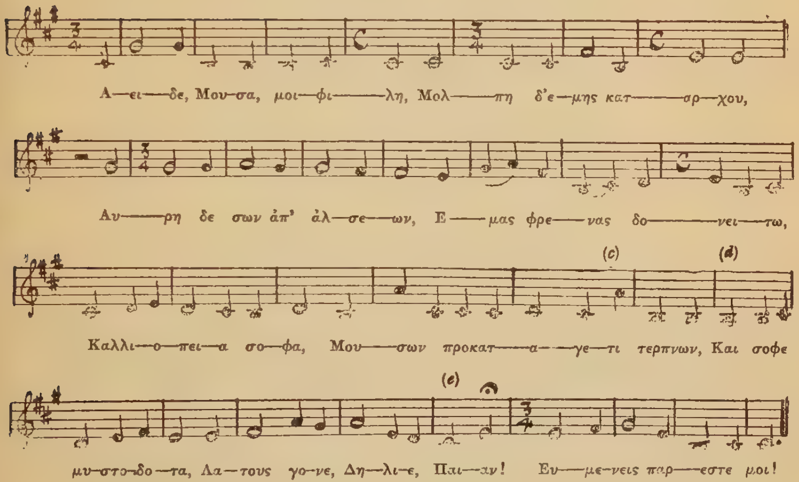
σ ρ M ρ σ̇ φ ρ
Καλλιοπεια σοφα,

φ Eσ σ σ σ σ E R φ
Μουσων προκαταγετι τεϱπνων.

R φ σ ρ M ï M
Και σοφε μυςοδοτα,

M ï E Z E M ρ σ M
Λατους γονε, Δηλιε παιαν,

M ï Z M φ σ σ
Ευμενεις παϱεσε μοι (*b*).


A—ει—δε, Μου-σα, μοι—φι——λη, Μολ——πη δ'ε—μης κατ——αρ—χου,
Aυ——ρη δε σων ἀπ' ἀλ—σε—ων, E——μας φρε—νας δο——νει—τω,
(c)
(d)
Καλλι—ο—πει—α σο—φα, Μου——σων προκατ——α——γε—τι τερπνων, Και σοφε
(e)
μυ-στο-δο—τα, Λα—τους γο-νε, Δη—λι-ε, Παι—αν! Ευ—με-νεις παρ—εστε μοι!

HYMN to the Muse CALLIOPE.

O Muse belov'd, Calliope divine,
The first in rank among the tuneful Nine,
Guide thou my hand and voice, and let my lyre
Re-echo back the notes thy strains inspire.

And thou, great leader of the sacred band,
Latona's son, at whose sublime command
The spheres are tun'd, whom Gods and men declare
Sovereign of song, propitious hear my pray'r.

(*b*) In the copy of these hymns, published by M. Burette, from the manuscript in the king of France's library, at Paris, the notes expressed by the small letters ï ρ σ are all capitals, like those in the printed diagrams of Alypius; and Vincenzo Galilei observes, that *Hypate Meson*, which in the Lydian mode is C, was expressed by Alypius, not only with a small *sigma*, but a capital, and sometimes by this character C. The same thing happened likewise to *Parhypate Meson*, and to *Mese*. *Dial. della Musica Antica e Moderna*, p. 97.

(*c*) In the French MS. this is G♯.

(*d*) In Burette this is D.

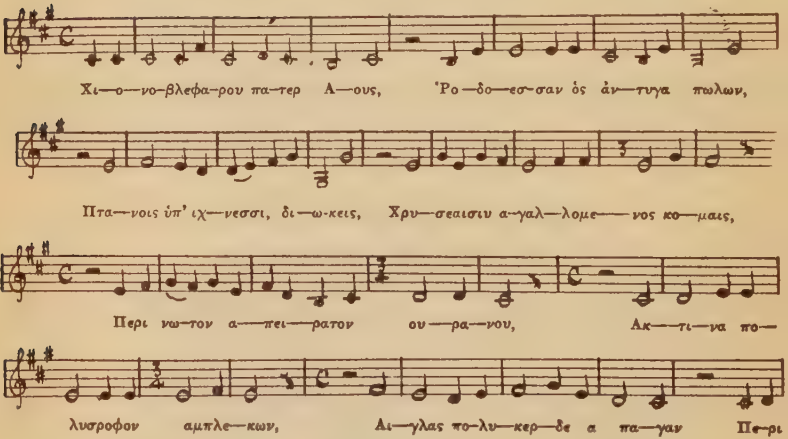
(*e*) Oxford MS.

ΥΜΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑ.

These six verses are not in the Oxford or Italian copy.

Ευφημειτω πας αιθηρ.
Ουρεα τεμπεα σιγατω,
Γη, και ποντος, και πνοιαι,
Ηχοι, φθογγοι τ᾽ ορνιθων᾽
Μελλει δε προς ἡμας βαινειν
Φοιβος, ἀκερσεκομας, ἀχετας.

* σ σ σσ ϊ σ ρ σ φ σ
Χιονοβλεφαρομ πατερ ἀους
φ M M M M σ φ M ˥ M
᾽Ροδοεσσαν ὁς ἀντυγα πωλων
M ϊ M ρ M ϊ Z ˥ Z
Πτανοις ὑπ᾽ ἰχνεσσι διωκεις,
M Z M Z ϊ M ϊ ϊ M Z ϊ
Χρυσεαισιν ἀγαλλομενος κομαις
M ϊ Z ϊ Z M ϊ ρ φ σ ρ ρ σ
Περι νωτον ἀπειρατον ὀυρανου.
σ ρ M M M M M M ϊ M
Ακτινα πολυσροφου ἀμπλεκων
ϊ M ρ M ϊ Z M ρ σ
Αιγλας πολυκερδεα παγαν


Χι—ο—νο-βλεφα-ρου πα—τερ Α—ους, 'Ρο—δο—εσ-σαν ὁς ἀν—τυγα πωλων,
Πτα—νοις ὑπ' ιχ—νεσσι, δι—ω-κεις, Χρυ—σεαισιν α-γαλ—λομε——νος κο—μαις,
Περι νω—τον α——πει——ρατον ου—ρα—νου, Ακ——τι—να πο—
λυσροφον αμπλε—κων, Αι—γλας πο—λυ—κερ—δε α πα—γαν Πε-ρι

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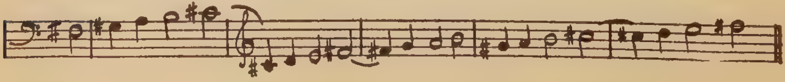
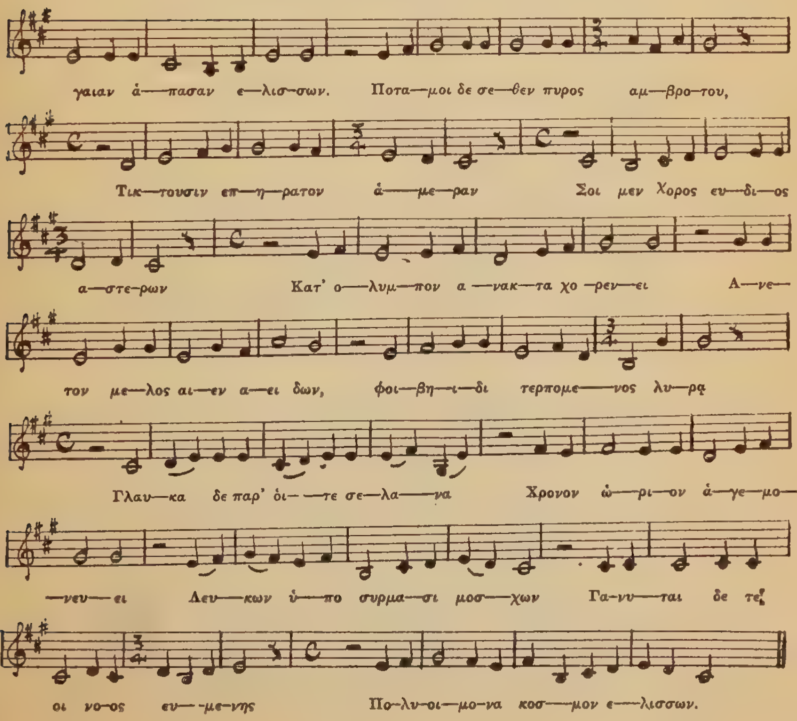
* Though the Greek notes of the Lydian mode in the Diatonic genus have already been given and explained, p. 30, I shall here insert them again over the modern notes to which they correspond, in order to enable the reader to examine the Greek melodies by this scale, and to convince himself that all the sounds which occur in them belong to that mode.

SCALE *of the Lydian Mode, in the Diatonic Genus.*

Z ˥ R Φ C P M I Θ Γ Ʊ Z E Ʊ ⊖ λ M′ I′
⊢ Γ L F C Ս ⊓ < V N Z ⊑ ⊔ Z η ⅄ Π′ <′



σ ρ Μ Μ Μ σ ρ φ Μ Μ
Περι γαιαν ἁπασαν ἑλισσων.
Μ ϊ Ζ Ζ Ζ Ζ Ζ Ζ Εϊ Ε Ζ
Ποταμοι δε σεθεν πυρος ἀμβροτου.
ρ Μϊ Ζ Ζ Ζ ϊ Μ ρ σ
Τικτουσιν ἐπηρατον ἁμεραν.
σ φ σ ρ Μ Μ Μ ρ ρ σ
Σοι μεν χορος ευδιος ἀςερων
Μ ι Μ Μ ϊ ρ Μ ϊ Ζ Ζ
Κατ' ολυμπον ἀνακτα χορευει,
Ζ Ζ Μ Ζ Ζ Μ Ζ ϊ Ε Ζ
Ανετον μελος αιεν ἀειδων,
Μ ϊ Ζ Ζ Μ ϊ ρ φ Ζ Ζ
Φοιβηιδι τερπομενος λυρα.
σ ρ Μ Μ Μ σ ρ Μ Μ Μ ϊ ⅂ Μ
Γλαυκα δε παρ οιτε σελανα
ϊ Μ ϊ Μ Μ ρ Μ ϊ Ζ Ζ
Χρονον ὡριον ἁγεμονευει,
Μ ϊ Ζ ϊ Μ ϊ φ σ ρ Μ ρ σ
Λευκων ὑπο συρμασι μοσχων
σ σ σ σ σ σ ρ ρ ρ φ ρ Μ
Γανυται δε τε οι νοος ευμενης
Μ ϊ Ζ ϊ Μ ϊ φ σ ρ Μ ρ σ
Πολυοιμονα κοσμον ελισσων.


γαιαν ἁ—πασαν ε—λισ—σων. Ποτα—μοι δε σε—θεν πυρος αμ—βρο—του,
Τικ—τουσιν επ—η—ρατον ἁ—με—ραν Σοι μεν Χορος ευ—δι—ος
α—στε—ρων Κατ' ο—λυμ—πον α—νακ—τα χο—ρευ—ει Α—νε—
τον με—λος αι—εν α—ει δων, φοι—βη—ι—δι τερπομε—νος λυ—ρα
Γλαυ—κα δε παρ' οι——τε σε—λα——να Χρονον ὡ—ρι—ον ἁ—γε—μο—
—νευ—ει Λευ—κων ὑ—πο συρμα—σι μοσ—χων Γα—νυ—ται δε τε
οι νο—ος ευ—-με—νης Πο—λυ—οι—μο—να κοσ—μον ε—λισσων.

HYMN to APOLLO.

Through nature's wide domain
Let solemn silence reign:
Let all the mountains, hills, and floods,
The earth, the sea, the winds, and woods,
The echos, and the feather'd throng,
Forbear to move, or tune their song.

Behold! the Lord of Light
Begins to bless our sight;
Phœbus, whose voice, divinely clear,
E'en Jove himself delights to hear;
Great father of the bright-ey'd morn,
Whose shoulders golden locks adorn!

Swift through the azure sky
O let thy coursers fly;
And with them draw that radiant car
Which spreads thy splendid rays afar,
Filling all space at thy desire
With torrents of immortal fire.

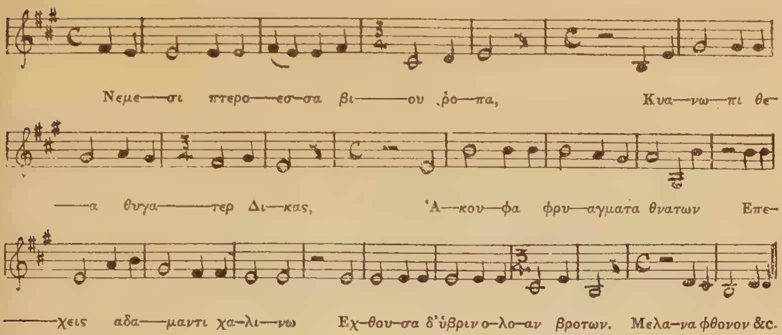
For thee, serene advance
The spheres, in solemn dance,
For ever singing as they move
Around the sacred throne of Jove,
Songs accordant to thy lyre,
While all the heavenly host admire.

And when the God of day
Withdraws his golden ray,
Do thou, sweet Cynthia, bless our sight
With thy mild beams, and silver light;
O spread thy snowy mantle round,
And wrap the world in peace profound.

ΥΜΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΝΕΜΕΣΙΝ.

ϊ MM M M ϊMM ϊσ ρ· M
Νεμεσι πτεροεσσα βιου ῥοπα
φ M Z Z ZZ E Z ϊ Z M
Κυανωπι θεα θυγατερ Δικας
M Ʊ Ʊ Ʊ Ʊ [E Z E 1Ʊ
Ἁ κουφα φρυαγματα θνατων
Ʊ Ʊ M ϊ Ω Z ϊ ϊ M M
Επεχεις ἀδαμαντι χαλινῳ
M M M M M M M σ M φ
Εχθουσα δ' ὑβριν ὀλοαν βροτων,
ρ σ φ ρ ρ
Μελανα φθονον ἐκτος ἐπαυνεις (*f*).

(*f*) The rest of the musical characters are lost.


Νεμε—σι πτερο—εσ—σα βι——ου ῥο—πα, Κυα—νω—πι θε—
—α θυγα——τερ Δι—κας, Ἀ—κου—φα φρυ—αγματα θνατων Επε—
——χεις αδα—μαντι χα—λι—νω Εχ—θου—σα δ'ὕβριν ο—λο—αν βροτων. Μελα—να φθονον &c.

Υπο σον τϱοχον, ἀσατον, ἀσιβη,
Χαϱοπα μεϱοπων στεϱεφεται τυχα.
Ληϑουσα δε παϱ ποδα βαινεις·
Γαυϱουμενον αυχενα ϰλινεις.
Υπο πηχυν ἀει βιοτον μετϱεις.
Νευεις δ' ὑπο ϰολπον ἀει ϰατω ὀφϱυν,
Ζυγον μετα χειϱα ϰϱατουσα.
Ιλαϑι, μαϰαιϱα διϰασπολε,
Νεμεσι πτεϱοεσσα, βιου ῥοπα.
Νεμεσιν ϑεον ἀδομεν ἀφϑιταν
Νημεϱτεα, ϰαι παϱεδϱον Διϰαν,
Αιϰαν, τανυσιπτεϱον, ὀμβϱιμαν,
Α ταν μεγαλανοϱιαν βϱοτων
Νεμεσεως ἀφαιϱει ϰαι ταϱταϱον.

HYMN TO NEMESIS (*g*).

Avenging Nemesis, of rapid wing,
Goddess of eye severe, thy praise we sing:
Against thy influence, ruler of our lives,
Daughter of Justice, man but vainly strives.
'Tis thine to check with adamantine rein
The pride of mortals, and their wishes vain;
Of insolence to blunt the lifted dart,
And drive black Envy from the canker'd heart.

Still at the pleasure of thy restless wheel,
Whose track the Fates from human eyes conceal,
Our fortune turns ; and in life's toilsome race
'Tis thine, invisible, our steps to trace;
To strew with flow'rs, or thorns, the doubtful maze,
And by thy rule to circumscribe our days.

Insulting tyrants, at thy dire decree,
Bow the proud head, and bend the stubborn knee:
Inflexible to each unjust demand
Frowning thou hold'st thy scales with steady hand.

(*g*) In the first chorus of the Electra of Sophocles, there is a fine description of this goddess; and among the poems attributed to Orpheus there is a hymn to Nemesis, Ω Νεμεσι, κληζω σε δεα βασιλεια μεγιστη.

Incorruptible judge, whom nought can move,
Nor less infallible than mighty Jove:
Great guardian! ever watchful, ever near,
O sacred minister of justice, hear!
  Avenging Nemesis, of rapid wing,
Goddess of eye severe, thy praise we sing.
And let Astræa, thy companion, share
Our pious praises, and our fervent pray'r.
She mounts the skies, or plunges into hell
With rapid flight, the deeds of man to tell ;
Dread Justice! whose report has power t'assuage
The wrath of Gods, and calm infernal rage.

Though the Oxford editor of Aratus is of opinion that these three hymns were all written by a poet called Dionysius; yet as thirteen or fourteen Greek poets of that name are mentioned by ancient authors, the determining to which of them these hymns appertain, would be difficult. Besides, the hymn to Nemesis is by some attributed to a poet named *Mesodmes,* who flourished under the emperor Justinian; but M. Burette thinks the name *Mesodmes* corrupted from *Mesomedes*; and Capitolinus, in his Life of Antoninus Pius, mentions a lyric poet of that name, from whom that emperor withdrew part of a pension granted to him by Adrian, for verses which he had written in praise of his favourite Antinous. This circumstance is likewise mentioned by Suidas; and Eusebius, in his Chronicle, speaks of Mesomedes, as a poet originally of Crete, whom he calls *ϰιϑαϱωδιϰων νομων μουσιϰος ποιητης,* which agrees very well with the author of the hymn in question. But whoever were the writers of these pieces, it is certain that the last, addressed to Nemesis, is more ancient than Synethius, a father of the church, who flourished four hundred and twelve years after Christ; and who, in his ninety-fifth letter, quotes three verses from it as from a hymn that was sung in his time to the sound of the lyre; and it is likewise certain that the composition of this hymn, as well as of the other two, bears strong marks of having been written at a time when Greek poetry was still flourishing.

The specimens of ancient music are so rare, that the few which remain cannot be too carefully collected, or discussed too minutely. M. Burette, after enumerating all the Greek poets of the name of Dionysius, and specifying the works that have been attributed to them, fixes upon Dionysius, surnamed *Iambus,* as the author of the two first hymns, to which the original music has been preserved. This author is quoted by Plutarch (*h*), and by Clemens Alexandrinus (*i*). Whence it may be concluded that this poet, though the exact time when he flourished is unknown, was certainly more ancient than Plutarch, M. Burette pushes conjecture still further, and supposes that this Dionysius was even more ancient than Dionysius of Thebes, the music-master of Epaminondas, according

(*h*) De Musica

(*i*) Strom. lib. V

to Cornelius Nepos, and whom Plutarch, from Aristoxenus, in his Dialogue on Music, ranks among the most illustrious lyric poets of antiquity; such as Lamprus, Pindar, and Pratinas. And in this case the hymns to Calliope and Appollo are not only more ancient than that to Nemesis, attributed to Mesomedes, but of the highest antiquity. It is likewise the opinion of M. Burette, that the music of these hymns is nearly as ancient as the hymns themselves.

I shall not trouble the reader with all my reasons for the several changes and deviations from former editions, that occur in the manner of printing these melodies; it seems only necessary to say that they have been made from the best copies and authorities I could procure. Three things, however, are particularly to be considered with respect to this music: the *Notes,* or characters, by which they are expressed; the *Melody,* or air; and *Rhythm,* or measure.

1. Of the Notes of the Ancient Music to the Hymns

Of the fifteen sounds in the ancient system of music, only ten are employed in the melody set to these hymns, and these are the ten lowest, according to our method of reckoning. As to the notes which express these sounds, they are eleven in number, because two of them, Γ and E, serve to express the same sound in two different relations. In the Oxford edition of the first hymn, five notes were wanting, which have been supplied from the manuscript in the king of France's library, and from the copy given of it in the Memoirs of the *Academy of Inscriptions,* by M. Burette. Some other corrections have been made, by comparing the vocal notes of the Lydian mode, in which these hymns are composed, with the instrumental, which used to be placed in a separate line under the vocal.

2. Of the Modulation, or Melody of this Music

It was discovered that these three hymns* were sung in the Lydian mode of the Diatonic genus, by comparing the notes with those given by Alypius, in his catalogue of the characters used in that mode, which, in counting from the bottom, was the tenth, among the fifteen ancient modes. All the commentators, except Sir Francis Eyles Stiles, seem certain that these fifteen modes only differed from each other by a semitone; so that, supposing the lowest string, or sound of the lowest mode or key, which was called the *Hypodorian,* corresponded with our A on the first space in the base; it follows, that the lowest sound of the Lydian mode answered to F sharp on the fourth line in the base, and the highest sound to

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* Experts differ as to the modes of these hymns. The late Mr. Cecil Torr inclined to the Hypo Lydian for the Hymn to Nemesis whilst Mr. R. P. Winnington Ingram (*Music and Letters*, October, 1929), tentatively suggests the Phrygian. The last named also suggests the Mixolydian as the key of the Hymn to the Muse. Professor Wooldridge (*Oxford History of Music*, Vol. 1 p. 19) describes the Hymns to Apollo and to the Muse as being in the Dorian mode and the Hymn to Nemesis as the relaxed Iastian.

F sharp on the fifth line in the treble, which extended to two octaves, the compass of the ancient system of music. However, it must not be concluded from this circumstance that these three hymns are in F sharp, according to the modern musical language. They are supposed to be in the Lydian mode, only on account of the melody being confined within the limits of the two octaves appropriate to this mode ; and not because the three essential sounds, which, in modern music, are the key note, third, and fifth, frequently occur.

It has already been observed, Section IV. that the *medius*, or middle sound, in all the ancient modes, is a minor, or flat third. Indeed the melody of the two first hymns begins and ends upon the fifth of the Lydian mode; that of the third hymn begins upon the octave of the first sound of the mode; but as the music of only the five first verses, and half the sixth is preserved, we are ignorant upon what sound this melody ended.

According to the system of modern music, the first hymn begins in the key of C♯, with a minor third; the second in the key of F♯ minor; and what remains of the last hymn, seems to be in the key of A with a sharp third, as the first note, F, would be only regarded as an *Appoggiatura* by most modern musicians. But why M. Burette, and, after him, all other editors of this music, except M. Marpurg, have printed the third hymn with *four* sharps, and yet pronounced it to be in the Lydian mode, which has no D♯ belonging to it, I know not; as D is always natural throughout this fragment.

These melodies, though no other sounds are used in any of them than what belong to the Lydian mode, very frequently change the key, according to modern language and ideas; which shews what a different sense from ours the ancients annexed to the term *mode* or *key*. They only understood by it a certain degree of elevation, or acuteness, in the general system of their music, in which the sounds always followed in the same order; whereas in ours, keys are distinguished from each other, not only by their situation in the scale with respect to high and low, but by their different arrangement with respect to mutable intervals, such as thirds and sixths, which constitute major and minor, or sharp and flat keys, besides the different modifications that these keys receive from temperament, which in instruments, whose tones are fixed, are characterized and diversified by a greater or less degree of perfection in the intervals and concords, though all the intervals of major and minor keys are nominally, and essentially the same.

As to the order and succession of sound in the ancient melody of these hymns, some of them are repeated several times together, and in some places as often as six or seven, and even nine times; others move in conjunct or disjunct degrees, ascending or descending, and these disjunct intervals are by a major, or minor third, a fourth, a tritonus, a fifth, sixth major or minor, a seventh, eighth, ninth, or tenth. Through all the simplicity of these melodies, which somewhat resemble the *Canto Fermo* of the Romish church, it appears that the musician, by the arrangement of sounds, aimed at the expression of the words. Something also seems to be indicated in this music like *Appoggiaturas,* by two notes, which are sung to one and the same syllable, sometimes ascending and descending by regular degrees, sometimes by leaps of a sixth, and even a tenth, which in simple melody is very extraordinary (*k*). Though it has been said, Section VI. that only one note was sung to one syllable, yet here we often find two notes to a *long syllable;* but then they are constantly two *short notes,* which amount but to the natural length of the syllable. Upon the whole, these melodies are so little susceptible of harmony, or the accompaniments of many parts, that it would be even difficult to make a tolerable base to any one of them, especially to the first.

3. *Of the Rhythm, or Time, in this Music*

The *Rhythm,* or cadence of these hymns, though correspondent to the different feet of the verses in which they are written, is not always regular ; but in the hymn to Calliope it is sometimes in common time, and sometimes in triple. M. Burette was the first who divided the time by bars, in the modern manner ; but as the accents and long syllables in his copy frequently occur upon short notes, and unaccented parts of the bars, I have ventured to divide the measure in such a manner as seemed best to make the accent of the music coincide with the quantity of the verse, in which we are taught to think the Greeks were very exact.

It would be difficult to write the music of the Dithyrambic to Calliope in one measure, on account of the different kinds of verse; but the *rhythm* seems sufficiently ascertained by the word *Ιαμβος,* which is written at the title of the manuscript, and by the Greek syllable *σπον,* for *σπονδειος,* placed between the first and second verse in all the three manuscripts, just above the word *μολπης,* where two notes were wanting in the music. These two words probably imply that the *rhythm* is partly in the iambic measure, or triple time, and partly in spondees and dactyls, which are equally in common time.

It has always appeared to me as if M. Burette was mistaken in supposing the second and third hymns to be in triple time. The melody seems more marked, and the words better accentuated, by singing them in common time ; and it looks on paper more like music of this world. However, candour requires that the reasons alledged by M. Burette for printing them in triple time should be given.

"I have reduced these hymns," says this author, "to our measure of common and triple time, always placing a rest or pause at the end of each verse. This mixture and variety of measure, which is always exactly proportioned to the quantity of the syllables in the

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(*k*) These *Appoggiaturas*, or short notes, are always upon the circumflex. Some of them bring to mind a fault very common in bad English singing, in which violent force is frequently given to leanings upon remote and dissonant notes, without grace or meaning.

poetry, contributes greatly to the *energy* and *expression* of the melody (*l*)."

M. Burette continues to acquaint us that he found out the rhythm of the hymn to Apollo, by a note written in red ink, on the margin of the king of France's manuscript, in the following words: *Γενος διπλασιον, ὁ ϱ̔υθμος δωδεϰασημος;* and above these words, the mark for the iambic, expressed by the usual characters ˘ ¯. By which he understands that the *rhythm* of this piece of poetry is in the double genus, or the iambic, which is the same thing; for in this measure, the latter portion has only one syllable or note, and the former two, or those proportions. This *rhythm* is composed of twelve syllables, or parts, equivalent to twelve short notes, or what we should call twelve *breves,* compared with six *longs*, or twelve crotchets opposed to six minims ; so that there are four for the *up,* or last part of a bar, and eight for the *down,* or first part, and the contrary, each verse making one *rhythm* or measure ; which, however, may be divided into two parts, or bars ; and this method M. Burette has pursued, keeping always the same proportions.

But the marginal directions for the time, written in red ink upon the French manuscript, are, in all probability, modern ; and it amounts to the same thing if the verse be divided into three parts, which has been done in writing the hymns in common time. There is no one of the verses, however, which does not contain more in quantity than twelve breves or crotchets, and, indeed, some of them include fourteen or fifteen, which, from the strict adherence to poetical quantity in the music, must render the time loose and disjointed ; but regarding the redundant syllables as *odd notes,* the verses all run thus: ˘ ¯ ˘ | ¯ ˘ ˘ | ¯ ˘ ˘ | ¯ ¯ | or sometimes | ¯ ˘ | ¯ | which renders a sudden change to triple time necessary ; a change which always convulses the hearer.

But I must give an account here of some alterations that have been made in the text, for the sake of the music, by the advice of a friend, to whose opinion I have frequently appealed in matters of erudition. In the first hymn, M. Burette has made all the syllables short, in the word *πϱοϰαταγετι ;* but the second alpha is long: for the word, out of its Doric dress, is *πϱοϰατηγετι, leader*. This mistake has made the melody more aukward than it need be, for which there was no occasion. In the second hymn, *ὑπ' ἰχνεσι,* disturbs the metre, and *syncopates* the music ; but by inserting another sigma, as the poets frequently do, and separating the iota from the rest of the word, as is likewise often practised, all will be right ; for a

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(*l*) This is an assertion that I cannot possibly pass uncontroverted ; for most of the musicians in Europe, except those of France, will absolutely deny the truth of it, and, on the contrary, will affirm, that the frequent change of time in the music of the serious French opera, relaxes the measure, and destroys all idea of the accent and energy by which every phrase in good melody is constantly marked. By two or three bars being in common time, and two or three in triple, as is generally the case in the operas of Lulli and Rameau, the hearer can retain no fixed or precise idea of either ; the passages in one mutually destroying the effects of the other ; for the traces are either lost, or so slightly impressed in the memory, that the work is always to begin anew. The chief superiority of modern melody over that of former times, is certainly due to the graceful arrangement of sounds, and the exact and continued manner with which they are enforced by the measure, and the accentuation of the bars. The difficulty of distinguishing the airs from the recitatives in the old music, particularly the French, is owing to the frequent change of measure, and the want of accent in the bars and musical phrases.

doubtful vowel before a mute and a liquid, as χν, may be either short or long.

¯|¯ ˘ ˘ |¯ ˘ ˘| ¯ ¯
Πτανοὶς ὑπ’ ἰ-χνεσσι δι-ωκεις.

I know not whether justice has been done to these melodies; all I can say is, that no pains have been spared to place them in the clearest and most favourable point of view: and yet, with all the advantages of modern notes and modern measure, if I had been told that they came from the Cherokees, or the Hottentots, I should not have been surprised at their excellence. There is music which all mankind, in civilized countries, would allow to be good ; but these fragments are certainly not of that sort: for, with all the light that can be thrown upon them, they have still but a rude and inelegant appearance, and seem wholly unworthy of so ingenious, refined, and sentimental a people as the Greeks ; especially if we subscribe to the high antiquity that has been given to two of the hymns, which makes them productions of that period of time when arts and sciences were arrived in Greece at the highest point of perfection.

I have tried them in every key, and in every measure that the feet of the verses would allow; and as it has been the opinion of some, that the Greek scale and music should be read Hebrewwise, I have even inverted the order of the notes, but without being able to augment their grace and elegance. The most charitable supposition therefore that can be admitted concerning them is, that the Greek language being in itself accentuated and sonorous, wanted less assistance from musical refinements than one that was more harsh and rough : and music being still a slave to poetry, and wholly governed by its feet, derived all its merit and effects from the excellence of the verse, and sweetness of the voice that sung, or rather recited it. For mellifluous and affecting voices nature bestows from time to time on some gifted mortals in all the habitable regions of the earth; and even the natural effusions of these must ever have been heard with delight. But, *as music*, there needs no other proof of the poverty of ancient melody, than its being confined to long and short syllables. We have some airs of the most graceful and pleasing kind, which will suit no arrangement of syllables to be found in poetical numbers, ancient or modern ; and which it is impossible to express by mere syllables in any language with which I am at all acquainted.

I come now to speak of a fourth piece of ancient Greek music, inserted in the *Musurgia* of Kircher, p. 542 ; from which it was transcribed by the Oxford editor of Aratus, and published with the three hymns above mentioned.* Father Kircher has been very truly called *vir immensæ quidem, sed indigestæ admodum*

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* This melody which was first published by Kircher in his *Musurgia* in 1650 is now generally admitted to be a forgery. Kircher claimed to have discovered the original MS. at Messina in the monastery of San Salvator. Intensive search has been carried out for the MS. but so far without success.

eruditionis: a man of immense, but indigested, learning. It was very natural to suspect the authenticity of a fragment of this kind coming from one, who, though he had displayed great learning in the number of huge volumes which he published, yet, was always careless, inaccurate, and credulous ; collecting, without choice or discernment, whatever he found relative to the subject upon which he was writing ; and adopting whatever was offered to him, true or false, provided it contained any thing marvellous.

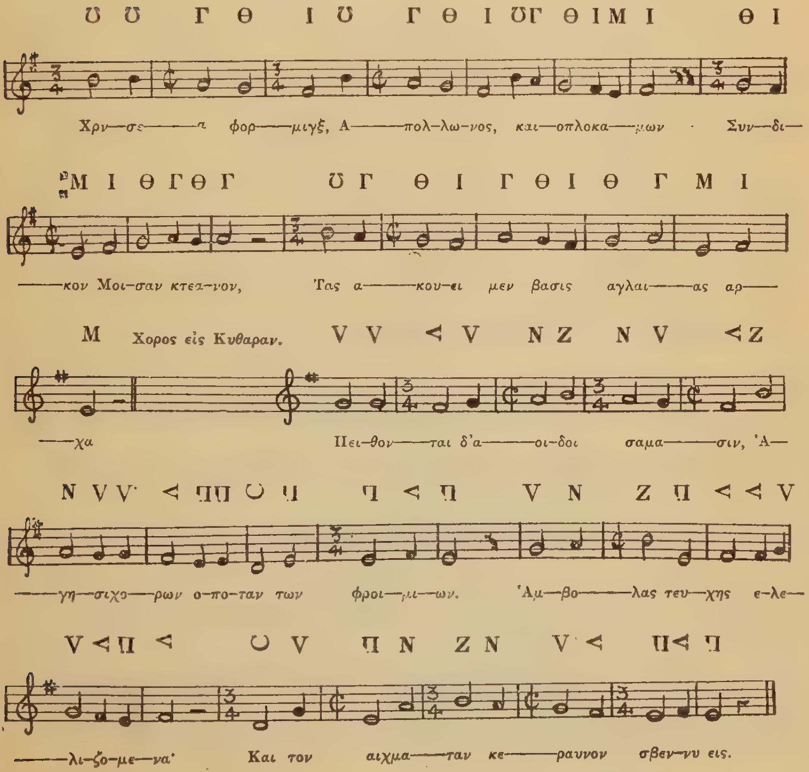
In his *Musurgia,* printed at Rome, 1650, in folio, after giving an account of the Greek musical characters, from Alypius, he tells us, that "nothing now remains for him to do relative to ancient music, but to give a genuine specimen of it, which he supposed the more necessary, as no one had hitherto thought fit to satisfy the eager curiosity of the learned upon a subject so interesting, and so utterly unknown." From this passage it appears, that the manuscripts published by the two Italian authors, Vincenzio Galilei, and Ercole Bottrigari, had escaped the researches of father Kircher, though both much anterior to him, the one appearing in 1581, and the other in 1602.

However, the specimen of ancient Greek music which father Kircher gives us, is the more interesting, as he tells us that it had never been edited before, but was found by himself in the famous Sicilian library of the monastery of St. Saviour, near the port of Messina. He calls it a very ancient fragment of Pindar ; it is accompanied with the ancient Greek musical notes, which are the same as Alypius attributes to the Lydian mode. Unluckily, what our good father calls *a very ancient fragment* of Pindar, was nothing more than the first eight verses of the first Pythic of this poet ; which gives no very favourable idea of his acquaintance with the ancient poets.

However, to remove all doubt concerning the authenticity of this manuscript, with respect to the music, the catalogue of Greek manuscripts in St. Saviour's library was examined, as published in Latin by P. Possevin, but without success. At length, application was made by M. Burette to father Montfaucon, who was known to be in possession of copies of all the most valuable manuscripts in the principal libraries of Europe ; and among these the manuscripts of St. Saviour's library had not been forgotten. But in consulting the catalogue of these, they were found to consist chiefly of the writings of the Greek fathers, with fewer prophane authors than are mentioned in the catalogue published by Possevin. However, in the last article were found the following words: *Πολλα δε ἀλλα βιβλια πεϱιεχουσι τα παντα πεϱι τον χοϱον* ; that is, *there are still many books in manuscript relative to the choral service,* which must mean *church music.* "It was doubtless," says M. Burette, "among such manuscripts as these that father Kircher discovered the fragment of an Ode of Pindar set to music, as it seems the natural place for such a relic to be found, and it is in vain to seek for a further justification of the editor."

Of these eight verses of the first Pythic of Pindar, which were found with such ancient musical characters over them, as belong to the Lydian mode (*m*), the four first have a melody set to them for one or many voices ; the four last compose a different melody, at the beginning of which were the following Greek words: *χοϱος εἰς κιϑαϱαν ; chorus sung to the sound of the Cithara ;* and over the words of each verse are written the characters peculiar to instrumental music ; which shews that the second melody was not only executed by voices, but accompanied by one or more *Citharas,* that played in unisons, or octaves, to the voice. The melody of these eight verses is extremely simple, and composed of only six different sounds; which is a cogent proof of the antiquity of the music, since the lyre of seven strings had more notes than were sufficient for its execution.

ODE OF PINDAR.


Ʊ Ʊ Γ Θ I Ʊ Γ Θ I ƱΓ Θ I M I Θ I
Χρυ—σε——α φορ——μιγξ, Α——πολ–λω–νος, και—οπλοκα—μων · Συν—δι—
M I Θ Γ Θ Γ Ʊ Γ Θ I Γ Θ I Θ Γ M I
——κον Μοι–σαν κτεα–νον, Τας α——κου–ει μεν βασις αγλαι——ας αρ——
M Χορος εἰς Κυθαραν. V V ⋖ V N Z N V ⋖ Z
——χα Πει–θον——ται δ'α——οι–δοι σαμα——σιν, 'Α—
N V V ⋖ ⊓⊓ ◡ ⊓ ⊓ ⋖ ⊓ V N Z ⊓ ⋖ ⋖ V
——γη—σιχο—ρων ο–πο–ταν των φροι—μι—ων. 'Αμ—βο——λας τευ—χης ε–λε—
V ⋖ ⊓ ⋖ ◡ V ⊓ N Z N V ⋖ ⊓ ⋖ ⊓
——λι–ζο–με—να' Και τον αιχμα——ταν κε——ραυνον σβεν–νυ εις.

(*m*) If it were not for the musical characters over the notes, which belong to the Lydian mode, this melody might with more propriety be said to be in the Phrygian mode.

This Ode has been happily translated by Mr. West.

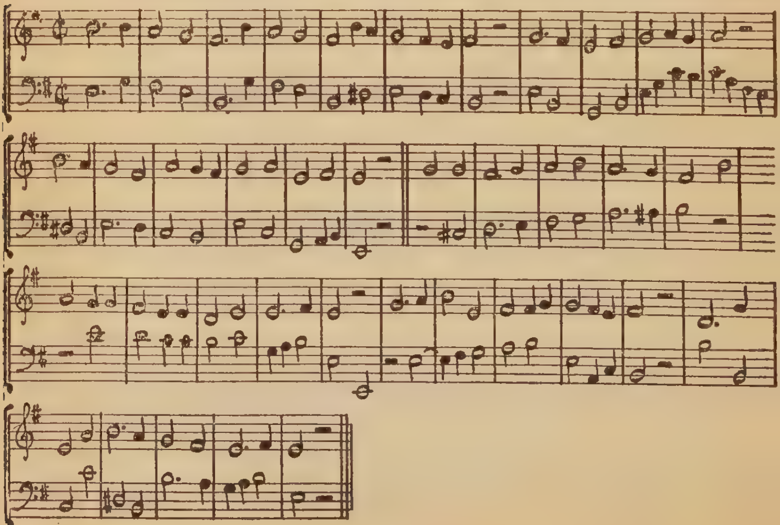
Part of the first Pythian ODE.

Hail, golden lyre! whose heav'n-invented string
  To Phœbus, and the black-hair'd Nine belongs;
Who in sweet chorus round their tuneful king
  Mix with thy sounding chords their sacred songs.
The dance, gay queen of pleasure, thee attends;
  Thy jocund strains her list'ning feet inspire:
And each melodious tongue its voice suspends,
  'Till thou, great leader of the heav'nly quire,
With wanton art preluding giv'st the sign—
  Swells the full concert then with harmony divine.

WEST'S Pindar, vol. 1, p. 84.

The music, reduced to modern notes, is manifestly in the key of E minor, as appears from the modulation and final note. The first part begins upon the fifth of the key, the second upon the third. Most of the closes in the course of the melody are made, not as is usual with us, by the sharp seventh of the key, but in ascending by a whole tone from the seventh to the eighth; a kind of cadence very common among the Oriental people ; at least, if we may judge by some Persian airs brought into Europe by the missionaries, of which most of the closes are of that kind ; and in none of the most ancient ecclesiastical chants is the sharp seventh to be found.

With regard to this melody, it was reduced to common notes by M. Burette, in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tome* V. with all possible care, though somewhat different from father Kircher's copy, inserted in his *Musurgia*. The reasons for deviating from this father are the following: in the first place he had written it in G with a minor third ; that is to say, three notes higher than



the original will allow ; secondly, he had made several mistakes in the melody, which have been adjusted by the Greek tablature ; and lastly, he had observed no kind of *rhythm*, or measure, whereas it is now minutely attended to, and exactly conformable to the quantity of syllables which answer to the musical notes. Indeed the *rhythm* could not be made regular, the feet of the verse being a mixture of dactyls and iambics.

This melody however is so simple and natural, that by reducing it to regular time, either triple or common, and setting a base to it, which it is very capable of receiving, it will have the appearance and effect of a religious hymn of the present century.

Dr. Jortin, in his letter concerning the Music of the Ancients, addressed to Mr. Avison, and annexed to the second edition of his *Essay on Musical Expression*, was somewhat unfortunate, when in his wishes for a specimen of ancient Greek melody he fixed upon Pindar's first ode ; the only piece of Greek poetry generally known, in which these wishes might have been gratified. "If," says he, "we had the old musical notes which were set to any particular *ode* or *hymn* that is extant, I should not despair of finding out the length of each note; for the quantity of syllables would *probably* be a tolerable guide (*n*); and I would consent to truck the works of Signor Alberti for the tune that was set to Pindar's *Χρυσεα φορμὶγξ’ Απολλωνος*——"

This author goes on informing us by his conjectures concerning what the Greek melody was, that he had never heard of the specimens which had been published of it by Vincentio Galilei, Bottrigari, Kircher, the Oxford editor of Aratus, or by M. Burette, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*.

In the postscript, however, he mentions the Oxford edition of Aratus ; but what use has he made of it, except to tell us that he saw there "some learned observations on ancient music, and a few fragments of ancient tunes to some Greek odes and hymns, reduced to our modern *notation*?"

Was not this the time and place to tell us what this music was? how far it excelled the modern? and that he was still ready to sacrifice the elegant works of poor Alberti for so invaluable an acquisition as the *tune* that was set to his favourite ode of Pindar? Not a word escapes from the author concerning his raptures upon seeing in venerable Greek characters, as well as in sharp-cornered Gothic notes, this divine music, nor of the effect it had on his passions when he heard it performed ; he only tells us that " it came into his mind he had perused it long ago; and upon looking now in the book, he found two remarks of the editor, agreeing with his own notions, about *time, quantity*, and *simplicity*."—He could not submit either to the humiliating task of confessing that he did not understand this music ; or that its excellence did not at all correspond with the high ideas he had, unheard, and unseen, formed of it.

(*n*) It is the *only* guide to the length of ancient notes.

I shall bestow a word or two more upon this Letter, now I am on the subject. The author supposes that "one great advantage which arose even from the simplicity of the ancient tunes, and which greatly set off their concert of vocal and instrumental music, was, that the singer could be understood, and that the words had their effect as well as the music; and then the charms of elegant and pathetic poesy, aided and set off by the voice, person, manner, and accent of the singer, and by the sound of instruments, might affect the hearer very strongly." We do not, however, often find this to be the case with Italian recitative, though it more than answers this description in every particular, when the poesy is Metastasio's, and the singer, besides his fine voice, figure, and action, possesses the most exquisite taste and expression. For even, at such time, the audience is, in general, yawning and languishing for the air, which, by its superior sweetness in melody to recitative, makes them forget poesy, declamation, propriety, and every thing but their ears. A line of recitative, ever so pathetically, or emphatically pronounced, seldom extorts that thundering applause from an audience, which is bestowed on a great actor for speaking only two or three words; though an air sung by the same performer, whose recitatives had been heard with coldness and indifference, is honoured with rapturous applause, and an universal *encore*!

The author, in speaking of "the harmonious and unrivalled sweetness of the Greek language," says, "as the Latin tongue surpasses ours in sweetness, so the Greek surpasses the Latin. When I taught my little boy his Greek nouns and verbs" (says Tanaquil Faber), "he told me one day a thing that surprised me, for he had it not from me. Methinks, said he, the sound of the Greek tongue is much more agreeable than that of the Latin. You are in the right, said I.—By this I perceived that the boy had a good ear, which I took as a *presage that his taste and his judgment would one day be good*; having often observed that this is one of the earliest and best marks of a child's capacity." This observation is, in my opinion, so unphilosophical, and wide of the truth, that it should only have been mentioned by our author to censure it. A good ear in a child may be a presage of his genius for music; and there have been many great musicians without taste or judgment in any thing but their own profession. But some of the wisest men, and of the greatest talents, in other particulars, I am sorry to say it, have not had ear enough for music to discover the difference, not only between good and bad music, but between one tune and another. And yet these great and wise men, in other particulars, think themselves qualified to write, talk, and decide, about music, in a more peremptory manner, than those of the greatest feeling and genius, who have long made it their particular study. Poor human nature is never to be perfect: however the musician pities the man without ears; and the man without ears, in revenge, heartily condemns the fiddling fool, who can be delighted with such nonsense.

Section VIII

Whether the Ancients had Counterpoint, or Music in Parts

THIS is a subject which has given birth to many learned disquisitions and disputes ; and as it long remained a mere matter of opinion, those who believed, and those who denied the point in question, consequently treated each other with all due polemic acrimony. The champions for antiquity thought themselves involved in the controversy ; and whether they were possessed of musical knowledge, or were sensible to the charms of harmony, or no, they determined to regard every man as an enemy to sound literature, who did not subscribe to the articles of their faith.

A poem, called *Le Siecle de Louis le Grand,* written by Charles Perrault, of the Academy of Sciences, and brother to Claude Perrault, the famous physician and architect, occasioned the long and acrimonious dispute between him and Boileau, and soon brought on a general war among the learned throughout Europe, concerning the superiority of the ancients or moderns, with respect to arts, sciences, and literature. This piece was first read by the author at the Academy of Sciences in 1687, and was soon followed by his *Parallele des Anciens et des Modernes.* The notes to Boileau's translation of Longinus were intended as a reply to Perrault ; and are full of bitter invectives, not only against him, but the moderns in general. Racine, La Bruyere, and Fontenelle, took sides in the quarrel, which in France was kept alive, with great animosity, for near thirty years.

In England, the controversy between Sir William Temple and Mr. Wooton, Mr. Boyle and Dr. Bentley, and Swift's *Battle of the Books,* were consequences of this quarrel.

Those who had written *ex professo* on music, had frequently differed in their opinions concerning counterpoint having been known by the ancients, previous to the learned, in general, interesting themselves in the dispute ; and before I give my own opinion, as an individual, it is incumbent on me, as an historian, to lay before my readers the sentiments of others, and the reasons, or prejudices, upon which they were founded. Many who doubt of far more important points, though such as human evidence can never determine, would, however, be glad to have them demonstrated. I have read and considered the several arguments which have been urged for and against the question, with a mind open to conviction, and certainly free from prejudice *against* the ancients; for, on the contrary, I have always admired and reverenced them in the models they have given us in every species of writing, as well as in the beautiful remains of their sculpture, painting, and architecture, and therefore should most willingly contribute my utmost in support of their claims to a melody and harmony superior to our own, if there were facts sufficiently numerous, clear, and indisputable, to found them upon.

However, as the whole dispute, at this distance of time, from the perishable materials upon which the ancient symbols of sound were traced, rests upon *conjecture,* or at most upon presumptive proof ; and as I have no favourite hypothesis to support, which would incline me to give *all* the evidence in favour of *one side,* and conceal, or misconstrue, whatever would be for the advantage of the other ; I shall put into two honest and even scales all that can be urged in support of *both sides,* and then suspend them by the balance, as steadily as *Justice* will enable me, in order to let the reader see, and judge for himself, which of them preponderates.

The most eminent writers on the side of ancient *Counterpoint* are, Gaffurio, Zarlino, Gio. Battista Doni, Isaac Vossius, Zaccharia Tevo, the abbé Fraguier, and Mr. Stillingfleet, author of *Principles and Power of Harmony.*

Those against it are, Glareanus, Salinas, Bottrigari, Artusi, Cerone, Kepler, Mersennus, Kircher, Claude Perrault, Wallis, Bontempi, Burette, the fathers Bougeant and Cerceau, Padre Martini, M. Marpurg, and M. Rousseau.

Claude Perrault, and Mr. Burette, indeed, seem inclinable to grant it them *by thirds ;* and M. Marpurg by *fourths* and *fifths.*

The learned father Martini has collected many of the depositions of the several writers on both sides, with great accuracy and fairness ; but as I am in possession of all the books he quotes, and of others, which it will be necessary to mention in the course of the dispute, I shall give some account of each, before I sum up the evidence.

Gaffurius Franchinus [1451-1522] flourished in the fifteenth century; his writings were the first that came from the press, upon the subject of music, after the invention of printing. One of them, under the title of *Theoricum Opus Armonicæ Disciplinæ* was published at Naples, 1480; but that in which he allows the ancients to have known counterpoint, appeared first at Milan, 1496, and afterwards at Brescia, 1502*; this has for title, *Practica Musicæ utriusque Cantus.*

This author quotes Bacchius senior as his authority for the ancients having practised simultaneous harmony ; but unluckily not a single word can be found in that writer, which has the least allusion to the subject. Counterpoint, as Bontempi observes, is the *Practice of Harmony,* and Bacchius senior, in his *Introduction to the Art of Music,* only treats of the *Theory of Melody.*

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* The second edition of the *Practica Musicæ* was published at Brescia in 1497. 1502 is the date of the third edition. A fourth edition was published at Venice in 1512.

Zarlino (*a*) [*c*. 1517-1590] supposes it impossible for the ancients to have made use of instruments of many strings, without playing in consonance; and that the hydraulicon, or water-organ, must have afforded them opportunities of discovering and using different parts. In answer to the first supposition, of the ancients having many strings upon the lyre, this did not happen till several ages after its invention, as at first the number was only 3, 4, 5, 7, or 8; but we might oppose to the ancient lyre of many strings, the Irish harp, which long had a greater number than the lyre, and yet these did not suggest to the performers upon the harp, the idea of counterpoint, or of playing in parts; as that instrument remained many ages a single or treble instrument, used only for the purpose of playing a simple melody, or single part.

This is not the place in which to discuss the second point; in a future chapter, upon the instruments of the ancients, I shall endeavour to give my readers some idea of the hydraulicon: the use made of it by Zarlino comes under those presumptions in favour of ancient harmony, which, having no other support than conjecture, can never amount to demonstration. However, if the first idea of an organ was taken from the *Syrinx*, or *Fistula Panis*, which, after being improved into *Tibiæ utriculares*, or bagpipes, was further perfected by the addition of keys, as is the opinion of Bartolinus and Blanchinus, it must have been a long time before that instrument was capable of being played in parts, supposing counterpoint to have been in use; and if the hydraulic organs, still to be found in Italy, are remnants of the ancient, they will furnish no very favourable idea of their powers.

John Baptist Doni* [1593-1647], a Florentine nobleman, who flourished in the last century, spent the greatest part of his life in the study and defence of ancient music. His writings and opinions were very much respected by the learned, though but little attended to by practical musicians ; on which account most of his treatises, which are very numerous, are filled with complaints of the ignorance and degeneracy of the moderns, with respect to every branch of music, both in theory and practice.

It is no uncommon thing for philosophers, mathematicians, and men of letters, absorbed in mere speculation, to condemn in their closets, unheard and unseen, the productions and performance of practical musicians; who, in their turn, contemn whatever theory suggests as visionary, and inadmissible in practice, without giving themselves the trouble to consider, or even to read, the principles upon which an hypothesis may be founded.

"Brother, brother, we are both in the wrong," is a concession that many disputants might make, with great truth, besides Peachum and Lockit.

It seems as if theory and practice were ever to be at strife; for the man of science, who *never hears music*, and the musician, who

(*a*) *Supplimenti Musicali*. *Venet*. 1580. [1588.]

* Published in 1635 a treatise on Greek music, *Compendio dal trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica*, which was completed by the publication of *Annotazioni sopra*, etc., in 1640.

never reads books, must be equally averse to each other, and unlikely to be brought to a right understanding.

That Doni was but little acquainted with the music which delighted the ears of his cotemporaries, appears in many parts of his works ; and as to his belief that the ancients knew and practised counterpoint, and that their music was superior to the modern in every particular, it seems to have been founded upon no better grounds than that of his predecessors, Gaffurio and Zarlino: but if it was such as Doni has imagined, and given in example, the ears of mankind, to have been delighted with it, must have been differently constructed formerly, from those of the present times, which are pleased with modern harmony.

This writer seems full of inconsistencies, with respect to ancient counterpoint. He is unwilling that the Greeks and Romans should be deprived of it; and yet, in speaking of its use among the moderns, he calls it *nemico della musica*. His reasons for allowing it to the ancients, are chiefly drawn from their vocal notes being different from the instrumental ; from the early invention of the hydraulic, and other organs; from the numerous strings upon some of their instruments ; and from a striking passage in Plutarch (*b*), which he thinks decisive, as it proves, that though the most ancient musicians used but few strings, yet these were tuned in consonance, and disposed with as much art as in our instruments at present. These points will be severally considered in the course of this section.

Doni left behind him at his death, besides many printed works upon ancient music (*c*), a great number of unfinished essays and tracts relative to that subject, and the titles of many more. Few men had indeed considered the subject with greater attention. He saw the difficulties, though he was unable to solve them. The titles of his chapters, as well as many of those of father Mersennus, and others, are often the most interesting and seducing imaginable. But they are false lights, which, like *ignes fatui*, lead us into new and greater obscurity ; or, like the specimens of fruit brought from the *Land of Promise*, which those in whom they excited the strongest desire, never lived to see.

The next Champion for ancient harmony was Isaac Vossius, who is greatly admired for his elegant and classical Latin, and more frequently quoted in favour of ancient music, than any other modern who has treated the subject ; but *good writing*, and *fair reasoning*, are sometimes different things ; that is, a selection of well-sounding words, formed into harmonious periods, may subsist without the support of either truth or logic. Vossius, in his celebrated book (*d*), seems more ready to grant every possible and impossible excellence to the Greek musicians, than, when alive, they could have been to ask. None of the poetical fables, or

(*b*) Περι Μουσικης.

(*c*) *Compend. del Trat. de' Genere e de' Modi della Musicæ. De præstantia Musicæ Veteris ; and* particularly his *Discorso sopra le Consonanze.*

(*d*) *De Poem. Cantu et Virib. Rythmi.* 1673.

mythological allegories, relative to the power and efficacy of their music, put the least violence upon his credulity. A religious bigot, who insists upon our swallowing implicitly every thing, however hard of digestion, is less likely to make converts to his opinions, than he who puts our faith to few trials ; and Vossius overcharged his creed so much, that it is of no authority.

He does not attribute the efficacy of the Greek and Roman music to the richness of its harmony, or the elegance, the spirit, or pathos, of its melody, but wholly to the force of *Rhythm*. "As long," says he, p. 75, "as music flourished in this *Rhythmical form*, so long flourished that power which was so adapted to excite, and calm the passions." According to this opinion there was no occasion for melifluous sounds, or lengthened tones ; a drum, a cymbal, or the violent strokes of the Curetes, and Salii, on their shields, as they would have marked the time more articulately, so they would have produced more miraculous effects than the sweetest voice, or most polished instrument. In another place he tells us, that "to build cities, surround them with walls, to assemble or dismiss the people, to celebrate the praises of Gods and men, to govern fleets and armies, to accompany all the functions and ceremonies of peace and war, and to temper the human passions, were the original offices of music: in short, ancient Greece may be said to have been wholly governed by the lyre (*e*)."

It appears from this passage, and from the tenor of his whole book, that this author will not allow us to doubt of a single circumstance, be it ever so marvellous, relative to the perfection and power of ancient music ; the probable and the improbable are equally articles of his belief ; so that with such a lively faith, it is easy to imagine that he ranks it among mortal sins to doubt of the ancients having invented and practised *Counterpoint* ; and he consequently speaks with the highest indignation against the moderns, for daring to deny that they were in possession of a simultaneous harmony, though, according to him, they used it with such intelligence and discretion, as never to injure the poetry by lengthening, shortening, or repeating words and syllables at their pleasure, nor by that most absurd of all customs, singing different words to several different airs at the same time.

This author's remarks, however, on the little attention that is paid by modern composers to prosody, merit some respect. He has already been quoted in the section upon *Rhythm* (*f*), and will, perhaps, more than once be occasionally mentioned in the course of this work. With regard to the present question, whether the ancients had counterpoint or not, he cites the usual passages in their favour from Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca, all which will be allowed due attention farther on.

(*e*) *Urbes condere, mœnia moliri, conciones advocare et dimittere, Deorum et virorum fortium laudes celebrare, classes et exercitus regere, pacis bellique munia obire,* &c.—*Lyra est quæ veterem rexerit Græciam.* P. 47.

(*f*) Page 85.

The name of Zacharia Tevo is but little known, though he is an ingenious and candid writer, who has read good books, and reflected deeply on the subject of music (*g*). However, as he is a favourer of ancient counterpoint, whose name appears in the list of its champions, he shall have a few words bestowed upon him among the rest.

This author very modestly styles himself a collector and compiler of the opinions of others concerning ancient harmony. Indeed new materials can now hardly be expected: new conjectures are all that time, and the many writers who have already handled the subject, have left. After citing passages from the most respectable writers of antiquity, which seem to favour the side of counterpoint, and giving the sentiments of the most eminent moderns upon these passages, he concludes, that "from the minute and accurate description of concords by ancient authors, it is natural to suppose they were not unacquainted with the use of them." But it is as necessary to know, and to ascertain intervals in *melody* as in *harmony*, otherwise there can be no truth, or certainty of intonation ; and this author dissembles the difficulty of thirds and sixths being ranked among the discords by ancient theorists. It is his opinion, however, that harmony was known before the time of Plato and Aristotle ; but that it was lost with other arts and sciences during the barbarism of the middle ages; and afterwards, about the year 1430, according to Vincentio Galilei, its practice was renewed, its limits were extended, and its rules established on certain principles, which for the most part remain in force at present. Indeed all that he says may be allowed to the ancients, without putting them in possession of such harmony as ours, consisting of different melodies performed at the same time.

The abbé Fraguier is the next in the list of defenders of ancient harmony. This learned academician was unable to persuade himself that antiquity, so enlightened, and so ingenious in the cultivation of the fine arts, could have been ignorant of the union of different parts, in their concerts of voices and instruments, which he calls *the most perfect and sublime part of music ;* and thinking that he had happily discovered, in a passage of Plato, an indubitable and decisive proof of the ancients having possessed the art of counterpoint, he drew up his opinion into the form of a memoir, and presented it to the Academy of Inscriptions and *Belles Lettres*, in 1716 (*h*).

The passage in question is in the seventh book of Laws, in which Plato determines that the proper time for young persons to learn music is from thirteen to sixteen years of age ; during which period he supposed they might be enabled to sing in unison with the lyre, and to distinguish good music from bad ; that is, such airs as were grave, decorous, and likely to inspire virtue, from those

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(*g*) *Il Musico Testore*, or the *Composer*, was published by him at Venice, 1706.

(*h*) M. Burette acquaints us that this abbé learned to play on the harpsichord at an advanced age, and concluding that the ancients, to whom he generously gave all good things, could not do without counterpoint, made them a present of that harmony, with which his aged ears were so pleased, that were of a light and vicious cast. This is speaking like a legislator, says the abbé Fraguier. But as harmonic composition was very bewitching to minds so remarkable for sensibility as the Greeks, and was, besides, of so difficult a study, as to require infinite time and labour to accomplish, he thought it necessary to caution them against too strong an attachment to it, and therefore established a kind of rule, by which they would be prevented from giving that time to musical studies, which might be better employed in more important concerns.

This is but the introduction to the passage in question, which is the following: "As to the difference and variety in the accompaniment of the lyre, in which the strings produce one air, while the melody composed by the poet produces another, (the poet then set his own verses,) whence results the assemblage of dense and rare, of quick and slow, acute and grave, as well as of *concord* and *discord* (*i*); besides, the knowing how to adjust the rhythm, or measure, to all the sounds of the lyre: these are not studies fit for youth, to whom three years only are allowed for learning merely what may be of future use to them. Such contrarieties of different difficulties in the study and practice of music, are too embarrassing, and may render young minds less fit for sciences, which they ought to learn with facility."

It does not seem necessary here to enter into a verbal criticism of this passage, as it has been understood and translated by the abbé Fraguier; nor to insert two other passages, one from Cicero, and one from Macrobius, which this author has given by way of corollaries, in support of his explanation of the passage in Plato ; as I shall consign him and his fancied proofs in favour of ancient counterpoint to his brother academician M. Burette, the most able writer, in many particulars, of all those who have interested themselves in the dispute concerning ancient music.

The last champion, though by no means the least formidable, for ancient harmony, was the late Mr. Stillingfleet, in his ingenious Commentary upon a musical Treatise by Tartini (*k*). If strong prejudices in favour of the ancients appear in this work, they are natural to a man of learning and taste, who has long drank of the pure fountain of knowledge at the source ; and Boileau has truly said, that those who have been the most captivated in reading the best writings of antiquity, have been men of the first order, and of the most exalted genius (*l*).

Though I am not so happy as to agree entirely with Mr. Stillingfleet in all his musical opinions, yet it is a justice due to his merit as a writer, to confess, that I am acquainted with no book in our language, upon the same subject, which a scholar, a gentleman,

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(*i*) Though the abbé Fraguier translates *ἀντιφωνον*, *dissonance*, it is not the true acceptation of the word, nor can it be found thus explained in any lexicon, or Greek writer on music ; its precise and technical meaning will be given farther on.

(*k*) *Principles and Power of Harmony.*

(*l*) *Des esprits du premier ordre, des hommes de la plus haute elevation.* Lettre à M. Perrault.

or a musician, can read with so much pleasure and profit as the *Principles and Power of Harmony*.

As Mr. Stillingfleet, in forming his judgment, was able to have recourse to original information, his opinions seem intitled to some respect.

Tartini, in his *Trattato di Musica*, p. 143 (*m*), advances the following proposition: "That, if simultaneous harmony was known to the Greeks, they could not, and ought not to use it, in order to arrive at the end proposed ; but ought to employ a single voice in their songs." This proposition he supports with arguments drawn from strong reason, and deep reflection. Tartini modestly declared himself to be no scholar ; however, he had perfectly informed himself of the famous dispute, whether the ancients knew and practised harmony, in our sense of the word. He seems to have been gifted with native discernment and penetration in all his musical enquiries, which usually conducted him to truth, though not always by the beaten or shortest road.

Mr. Stillingfleet peaceably allows him to doubt of the ancients having known counterpoint, during the examination of his book ; but in the appendix to *Principles and Power of Harmony*, §. 181, he takes the matter up seriously.

" Dr. Wallis," says he, "tells us, that the ancients had not *consorts* of two, three, four, or more parts or voices. Meibomius asserts much the same thing ; and this is, one may almost say, the universal opinion. Some, however, of the writers on music have produced passages out of the ancients, which seem to imply the contrary, but which are not looked on as conclusive by others: such as that out of Seneca, Epistle lxxxiv. *Non vides quam multorum vocibus*, &c., where perhaps nothing but octaves are implied. Another passage cited by Isaac Vossius, *De Poemat. Cant.* &c. out of the piece *De Mundo*, attributed to Aristotle, seems to be more to the purpose, *μουσικη ὀξεις*, &c., i.e. music, mixing together acute and grave, long and short sounds, forms one harmony out of different voices. Wallis also has produced a passage out of Ptolemy, which he thinks may infer music in parts. Ptol. *Harm.*, p. 317. But the strongest which I have met with, in relation to this long disputed point, is in Plato ; a passage which I have never seen quoted, and which I shall translate."

It appears from this declaration, that Mr. Stillingfleet knew not that the *Memoire* of the abbé Fraguier, just mentioned, was written merely to explain this passage of Plato, and to confute that in which Dr. Wallis denies counterpoint to the ancients. I shall, however, give Mr. Stillingfleet's translation of the passage in Plato, in order to let my readers see how he understood it, before I enter upon M. Burette's examination of the same passage.

"Young men should be taught to sing to the lyre, on account of the clearness and precision of the sounds, so that they may learn to render tone for tone. But to make use of different simultaneous

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(*m*) In Mr. Stillingfleet's Commentary, p. 70.

notes, and all the variety belonging to the lyre, this sounding one kind of melody, and the poet another—to mix a few notes with many, swift with slow, grave with acute, consonant with *dissonant*, &c., must not be thought of ; as the time allotted for this part of education is too short for such a work.'' Plato, 895.

''I am sensible,'' says Mr. Stillingfleet, ''that objections may be made to some parts of this translation, as of the words *πυκντης*, *μανοτης*, and ἀντιφωνοις ; but I have not designedly disguised what I took to be the true sense of them, after due consideration. It appears then, upon the whole, that the ancients were acquainted with music in parts, but did not generally make use of it.''

Having now ranged in chronological order the principal writers who have stood forth in defence of ancient harmony, and fairly stated the reasons which they have severally urged in support of their opinions, I shall next proceed in the same manner to relate all the different proofs alledged by those who have traversed the cause of the ancients.

Glareanus [1488-1563] and Salinas [1513-90] are so unanimous in thinking counterpoint a modern invention, that they make use of precisely the same words in denying it to the ancients (*n*). The *Dodecachordon* of Glareanus was published in 1547 ; and the *Treatise of Music* by Salinas, in 1577. Their opinion was, that the great musicians of antiquity, when they accompanied themselves on the lyre, played only in unison with the voice; and that nothing can be found in the books that are come down to us, which can be urged in proof that *music in parts* was known to the ancients.

The opinion of Glareanus upon this matter would not have much weight with me, had it not been confirmed by that of Salinas, a much better judge of the subject ; for though Glareanus, says Meibomius, was, in other respects, a very learned man, yet, in ancient music, he was an infant (*o*).*

The cavalier Hercules Bottrigari of Bologna [d. 1612], was possessed of much musical learning. He was the author of several treatises upon music, that were printed about the latter end of the sixteenth century, and left several others behind him in manuscript, which are now in the possession of Padre Martini, particularly one upon the *Theory of Fundamental Harmony*, in which there is the following passage, that puts his opinion concerning ancient counterpoint out of all doubt.

''As neither ancient musicians, nor ecclesiastics, had characters of different value to express time, or make sounds very long or very short, they had consequently no other measure of time in singing,

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(*n*) *Scio autem dubitari vehementer etiamnum hac ætate inter eximè doctos viros, fueritne apud veteres hujusmodi, quam nunc tradituri sumus, musicæ*, (Salinas ait, *cantus plurium vocum*), *cum apud nullum quod equidem sciam, authorem veterem quicquam hujus cantus inveniatur. Multo minus etiam videtur quibusdam quatuor pluriumve vocum concentus olim in usu fuisse.* Dodecachord. lib. iii. p. 195. Salinas de Musica, lib. v. p. 284.

(*o*) *Glareanus, homo ut cætera doctissimus, sic in antiqua musica infans.* In Aristox. p. 103.

* Glareanus is a more important figure than either Burney or Meibom allow. His most important work is the *Dodecachordon*, in which he endeavours to prove that each of the Greek modes had a corresponding one in the Church modes. There is an autograph copy of this work extant which is now in Washington, U.S.A. A German translation by Bohn was published in 1888.

as far as I have been able to discover, among the Hebrews, Greeks, or first ecclesiastics, than that of an articulately quick, or slow pronunciation ; nor were they acquainted with that diversity of different parts in consonance, which in modern music constitutes as many different airs as there are parts set to the principal melody (*p*)."

Artusi [d. 1613], another musical writer of the sixteenth century, whose opinions were much respected by his cotemporaries, expresses himself very clearly on the subject in question. "In the first ages of the world, during the infancy of music, there was no such thing as singing in parts, as counterpoint is a modern invention (*q*)."

The next in the list of writers of eminence, who denies harmony, in our sense of the word, to the ancients, is Cerone [*c*. 1566-1613], author of an excellent treatise upon music in Spanish, which is become extremely scarce. This writer says "it is necessary to observe, that the music of the ancients was not diversified with so many instruments ; nor were their concerts composed of so many different parts, or such a variety of voices as the present (*r*)."*

The famous Kepler was so far from allowing to the ancients such harmony as is practised by the moderns, that he says, though Plato in his Republic speaks as if something like it were in use, he supposes if they ever had any accompaniment to their melodies by way of base, it must have been such a one as is produced by the drone of a bagpipe (*s*). This is, perhaps, being as unjust to the ancients, as those are to the moderns, who will not allow them to have made any progress in music, because they are unable by their compositions and performance, to cure diseases, tame wild beasts, or build towns.

Father Mersennus says, "as to the Greeks, and people still more ancient, we know not whether they sung in different parts, or accompanied a single voice with more than one part. They might, indeed, vary the sounds of the lyre, or strike several strings together, as at present ; but there is no treatise on playing that instrument come down to us: however, as the ancient books on other parts of music which are preserved, are silent with respect to

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(*p*) *Non avendo avuto i musici antichi, anco ecclesiastici la differenza del diverso valore delle varie note, la importantia della misurata grande, o pieciola quantita del tempo di quelle ; imperocchè altra misura di tempo non ho fin qui trovato, che avessero in cantando, ne gli Ebrei, i Greci, i primi ecclesiastici, che quella della tarda, o veloce buona lor prononcia : ne la diversita delle tante arie in uno istante medemo, che tante sono, quante sono le parti, di che la cantilena è composta.* Il Trimerone de' Fondam. Arm.

(*q*) *Ne' primi secoli, nel nascere di questa scienza, non cantavano in consonanza, essendo che il cantare in consonanza, è un moderno ritrovato.* P. D. Gio. Maria Artusi. Arte del Contrapunto, delle Conson. imperf. et Disson. p. 29. Venet. 1598. [1586 & 9.]

(*r*) *Es menester advertir que la musica de los antiguos no era con tantas diversidades de instrumentos ——Ni tampoco sus concentos eran compuestos de tantas partes, ni con tanta variedad de bozes hazian su musica, como agora se haze.* El Melopeo y Maestro Tractado de Musica Theorica y Practica. Napoles, 1613.

(*s*) *Etsi vox,* harmonia, *veteribus usurpatur pro cantu ; non est tamen intelligenda sub hoc nomine modulatio per plures voces, harmonicè consonantes. Novitium enim inventum esse, veteribusque plane incognitum, concentus plurium vocum in perpetua harmoniarum vicissitudine, id probatione multa non indiget.* Harmon. Mundi, p. 80, 1650.

* Many authorities state that this work is merely a translation or resumé of a lost work by Zarlino.

counterpoint, it is natural to suppose that antiquity was ignorant of the art (*t*)."

Marsilius Ficinus, who in the fifteenth century wrote a commentary upon the *Timæus* of Plato, asserts that the Platonists could not have understood music so well as the moderns, as they were insensible to the pleasure arising from Thirds, and their replicates, which they regarded as *discords ;* notwithstanding the seventeenth, tenth, and third major, are the most grateful of our concords, and so necessary, that without them our music would be destitute of its greatest ornament, and counterpoint become monotonous and insipid.

Kircher says, though the ancients may have used some of the concords in counterpoint, yet there were others, such as the thirds and sixths, which are so grateful in our compositions, that were utterly prohibited ; and as to the use of discords, by which such fine effects are produced in modern music, it was an art of which they had not the least conception (*u*).

Claude Perrault, the famous architect, and member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, published a *Dissertation upon the Music of the Ancients,* in 1680, which is chiefly employed in proving that counterpoint was unknown to antiquity ; he has manifested himself to have been perfectly master of the subject ; he had read all the ancient authors who have written expressly upon it ; he had examined the passages which have been thought the most favourable to it, in some authors who have only mentioned it occasionally ; and had considered the marvellous effects attributed to it in others ; he reasons forcibly, and the facts he alledges in support of the side he has taken, are strong and well stated. This work was neither the cause, nor consequence of the quarrel between Boileau, and his brother, Charles Perrault, which did not break out till seven years after the publication of the *Essays in Natural Philosophy,* in the second volume of which the *Dissertation upon the Music of the Ancients* first appeared. Our author had indeed given his opinion upon the subject very freely in the notes to his excellent translation of Vitruvius in 1673 ; where, in his commentary of the chapter upon *Harmonic Music, according to the Doctrine of Aristoxenus,* he declares that "there is nothing in Aristoxenus, who was the first that wrote upon concords and discords, nor in any of the Greek authors who wrote after him, that

(*t*) *Quant aux Grecs, et aux plus anciens, nous ne scavons pas s'ils chantoient, a plusieurs voix, et bien qu'ils ne joignissent qu'une voix a leurs instrumens, ils pouvoient neanmoins faire trois ou plusieurs parties sur la lyre, comme l'on fait encore aujourdhui, et une autre avec la voix. Joint que les livres que les Grecs nous ont laisses de leur musique, ne tesmoignent pas qu'ils ayent si bien connu et pratique la musique, particulierement celle qui est a plusieurs parties, comme l'on fait maintenant, et consequemment il n'est pas raisonable de les prendre pour nos juges en cette matiere.* Harmonie Universelle, livre vi, p. 204. Paris, 1636.

(*u*) *Musurgia*, lib. vii. tom. i. p. 547.

The learned and laborious Meibomius, p. 35, who was most willing to bestow upon the ancients whatever would redound to their honour, at the expence of the moderns, gives no proofs of their knowledge of counterpoint. Two passages which he quotes from Bryennius and Psellus, writers of the middle ages, shew that even in their time, thirds and sixths made no part of their *Antiphonia* or *Paraphonia.*

manifests the ancients to have had the least idea of the use of concords in music of many parts (*x*)."

Satire is an excellent weapon when employed against vice and folly ; but it becomes a basilisk in the hands of a man of strong passions and little feeling, who only employs it to blast the reputation, and wither the laurels of those who differ from him in opinion, or whom mere caprice shall incline him to dislike : it is then a deadly instrument, an edged tool in the hands of a mischievous child, or a madman. I have never been able to discover, after a minute enquiry and perusal of the literary history and quarrels of the learned in France, during the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, any other cause for the hatred and detestation which Boileau long manifested for Charles Perrault, but that he was a friend to the poet Quinault, whom posterity has however allowed to be a modest and inoffensive man, of true genius ; yet Boileau not only hated him, and his manner of writing, but furiously attacked all who were connected with him. In his *Art of Poetry,* his *Satires,* and in a great number of *Epigrams,* he calls the most learned physician of his age and country, "an ignorant quack, an assassin, an enemy to health and good sense"; and of the best architect France has ever produced, he says, that "through pity to human kind, or rather want of practice, he quitted physic for the trowel, and in a few years raised as many bad buildings, as he had before ruined good constitutions."

This shews how dangerous it is to depend upon poetical information concerning the vice or virtue, the genius or dullness, of individuals. It does not appear that either Quinault, or Perrault, ever tried to retaliate Boileau's abuse ; but luckily posterity has done them justice ; and M. de Voltaire, among others, has rescued their characters from the infamy with which the surly satirist had loaded them. " Quinault," he says, "is no less admired for his beautiful lyric poetry, than for the patience with which he suffered the unjust severity of Boileau. During his life it was believed that he owed his reputation to Lulli; but his poetry will always be read, though the music of Lulli is already insupportable. Time sets a just value on all things."

And Claude Perrault he allows to have been not only a most accurate naturalist, profoundly skilled in mechanics, and an admirable architect, but that he was possessed of great abilities in all the arts, which he acquired without a master ; and finishes his character by saying, that he encouraged the talents of others under the protection of the great statesman Colbert, and enjoyed a high reputation, in spite of Boileau (*y*).

But to return to *Counterpoint.*—There is a famous passage in the *Treatise on the Sublime of Longinus,* cap. xxiv., which has been made use of in favour of ancient harmony. The subject of the chapter is the *Periphrasis.* "I believe," says Longinus, "no one

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(*x*) *Les dix Liv. d'Architecture de Vitruve,* lib. V. p. 161, 2d Edit. 1684.

(*y*) *Siecle de Louis* XIV.

will dispute the utility of the periphrasis in the sublime ; for as the *principal sound* is rendered sweeter by what are called the *Paraphoni,* so the *Periphrasis* often *accords* with the *proper* word, and by that *consonance* adorns the discourse."

Boileau has translated *φϑογγοι παραφωνοι, different parts,* from his *belief* that the ancients had *counterpoint*: "For I am not of the opinion of those moderns," says he, "who will not allow *different parts* to that music, of which such wonders are related, since, without *parts,* there could be no *harmony.*" But he did not know, that by *harmony* the ancients always understood what we mean by *melody,* as may be proved from ancient musical treatises, as well as from a passage in Longinus himself, cap. xxxiii., where *harmony* applied to the human voice in the singular number, must mean melody; a mistake that persons not versed in music, are apt to make. Mr. Addison talks of an *harmonious voice* (*z*).

However, Boileau, in this instance, only declared his religious principles and veneration for antiquity, in opposition to the sentiments of his antagonist, Perrault ; and in this he has been rather more humble and modest than usual ; for he concludes his note on the passage by saying, "I submit this matter, however, to the learned in music, for I have not sufficient knowledge in the art to determine the point."

Upon the whole, it must be allowed, that a periphrasis, which implies many words to express the same thing, gives a truer idea of melody than harmony, according to the modern acceptation of those words, and a passage *varied,* or a single note broken into divisions, has a great similitude to *circumlocution.*

(*z*) This is speaking *a la Grecque*, and reserving the ancient and original import of the word *harmony*, which implied precisely what the moderns mean by *melody*. The following definitions, with which I was some years since favoured by Mr. Mason, in consequence of a conversation on the subject of ancient music, are too applicable to the present purpose, not to excite in me a desire of communicating them to the reader ; to whom they will appear the more important, as Mr. Mason, however he may have wished it, has not been able to conceal from his friends, how little his genius and taste have been confined to poetry, or how great a progress he has made in the knowledge and practice of music. I hope, therefore, that he will pardon my vanity in thus divulging the interest he has kindly taken in the subject of these enquiries.

MUSICAL DEFINITIONS.

Harmony of the Ancients.	*Harmony* of the Moderns.
The succession of simple sounds, according to their Scale, with respect to acuteness or gravity.	The succession of combined sounds, or chords, according to the laws of counterpoint.
MELODY.	MELODY.
The succession of these harmonical sounds, according to the laws of Rhythm or Metre, or, in other words, according to Time Measure, and Cadence.	What the ancients meant by *Harmony* Rhythm and Metre being excluded.
	AIR.
	What the ancients understood by Melody.

According to these definitions it appears that Harmony, as we call it, was unknown to the ancients ; that they used that term as we use simple melody, when we speak of it as a thing distinguished from modulated air ; and that their term Melody was applied to what we call air, or song. It this be true, much of the difficulty in understanding ancient musical writers will vanish.

If an ancient Tibicen used an improper tone or semitone, or transgressed the rule of the mode or key in which he was playing, he committed an error in Harmony ; yet his melody might have been perfect, with respect to the laws of Rhythm and Measure. We should rather say of a modern musician, in the same instance, that *he sung or played wrong notes, or was out of tune, yet kept his time.* Whoever made this distinction would have been allowed by the ancients to possess a good *harmonical ear,* though the moderns would call it an *ear* for Melody, or Intonation. I put this familiar instance only to make the difference of the definitions more clear.

Angelini Bontempi,* the next opponent of ancient counterpoint, is truly a formidable one. He was not only an excellent practical musician, but a profound theorist, and a scholar. With these qualifications he read the ancient authors upon the subject of music, in the languages in which they were originally written, and composed a history of music, in one small volume, folio, which is better digested, and better executed in most of its parts than any other, of the same size, that has been produced.

This author, after examining all the ancient genera, systems, and proportions, declares that it is no longer a matter of doubt and conjecture, but a certainty, of the most clear and easy demonstration, that ancient music consisted of only a single part, as the treatises which are come down to us have considered nothing more than contiguous and successive sounds, and, consequently, the use of *counterpoint* was utterly unknown to the ancients: though the moderns, without reading or understanding the doctrines of the ancient fathers of this science, have imagined, and have persuaded others to imagine, that they were in possession of it (*a*).

The learned doctor Wallis has given great offence to the defenders of antiquity, by the contempt which he has thrown upon ancient music, both in his appendix to the *Harmonics of Ptolemy,* and in the *Philosophical Transactions*. His opinions are indeed the more to be feared by them, as it could never be said that they were founded upon ignorance ; for they were obliged to allow that he knew more of ancient music than any modern, except Meibomius, who, likewise, with all his knowledge of the subject, and admiration of the ancients, could discover nothing in their musical treatises upon which to found their claim to the knowledge of *counterpoint*.

Doctor Wallis, who had no prejudices against music in general, or that of the Greeks in particular, said, that as far as he was able to discover, the union of two, three, four, or more parts, as they are called, or sounds in consonance, which is admired in modern music, was unknown to the ancients (*b*); or, as he has translated the passage himself in the *Philosophical Transactions,* No. ccxliii. p. 298, for August, 1698: "I do not find amongst the ancients any footsteps of what we call *several parts* or *voices,* (as *base, treble, mean,* &c., sung in *consort*) answering each other, to complete the music."

(*a*) *Da questi pochi assiomi o dimostratione d'Aristosseno si scopre, non per dubbiosa conghiettura: ma per chiara e manifesta evidenza, che la musica antica, sicome quella, che non ha considerato se non i suoni contigui e susseguenti, altro non sia stata, che musica appartenente ad una sola voce ; e che l'uso del contrapunto, non sia giammai pervenuto alla notitia degli antichi ; siccome i moderni, senza havere o letto o inteso la dottrina degli antichi Padri di questa scientia, si sono persuasi ; et hanno co' loro scritti, procurato di persuaderne anco gli altri.* Historia Musica di Gio. And. Angelini Bontempi. Perugia, 1695, p. 168.

(*b*) *Ea vero, quæ in hodierna musica conspicitur, partium* (*ut loquuntur*) *seu vocum duarum, trium quatuor, pluriumve inter se consensio* (*concinentibus inter se, qui simul audiuntur, sonis*) *veteribus erat* (*quantum ego video*) *ignota.* Appendice ad Ptolem. Harm. p. 316 & 317, in 4to. 1682. fol. p. 175, Edit. 1699.

* Born at Perugia about 1630. After a short career as a singer at Venice and Dresden he applied himself to the study of science and architecture. Besides the *Historica Musica* (1695) he published in 1660 and 1690 two other theoretical works. He also composed three operas, "Paride" (1662), "Dafne" (1672), and "Jupiter and Io" (1673). He died in 1705.

Doctor Wallis has indeed produced one passage out of Ptolemy, which he thinks may infer music in parts. The abbé Fraguier, Chateauneuf, and Mr. Stillingfleet, have all eagerly availed themselves of this concession ; but M. Burette has cruelly deprived them and their adherents of that comfort, by a critical examination of their manner of translating the passage, in which he seems clearly to have proved that they have either wilfully or inadvertently mistaken the true acceptation of the most important terms in the Greek text ; and that the utmost which can be inferred from the passage in question is, that the ancients both played and sung together frequently in *unisons* and *octaves*.

In 1723, M. Burette published, in the fourth volume of the *Memoires des Inscriptions*, a Dissertation upon the *Symphony* of the Ancients, which has never yet been answered. The abbé Fraguier. indeed, indirectly endeavoured to invalidate the proofs he cited from ancient writers against counterpoint, by others which seemed to bear a different construction ; but though the abbé was a man of taste and classical learning, he wanted musical erudition sufficient to know the technical use of the Greek words, which he thought favourable to his argument, in writers who had only mentioned music incidentally ; whereas M. Burette, who had drawn his knowledge from the source, by studying such treatises of ancient Greek musicians as had been written expressly on the subject, soon proved the evidence of his antagonist to be feeble, and his reasoning fallacious.

M. Burette, after so complete a victory, was allowed to enjoy his laurels in peace for a considerable time, till, at length, the two Jesuits, Bougeant and Cerceau, commenced hostilities ; not for his having treated the ancients with too much rigour, but with too little: *Le sceptique Bayle,* says M. de Voltaire, *n'est pas assez sceptique*. M. Burette, in the opinion of these fathers, had granted too much to the ancients, in allowing them to have sung and played in concert *by thirds*.

In order to give my readers an idea of this dispute, I shall epitomize, and make some remarks upon M. Burette's Dissertation. But first it seems necessary to explain a few important terms, which frequently occur in ancient authors concerning music ; and the safest way of doing this will be to have recourse to the Greek musical writers themselves.

Such sounds as were tuneable, and fit for music, were called in all their treatises *ἐμμελεις, concinnous ;* and of these some were *concords,* and some *discords*. The *concords,* according to the testimony of every writer on ancient music, from Aristoxenus, to Boethius and Bryennius, the two last, of any authority, were the *fourth, fifth, eighth,* and their replicates or octaves. The *discords* were such intervals as are less than a fourth ; and all such as are found between the other consonant intervals ; consequently, the *third* and *sixth,* as well as the *second* and *seventh,* must have been numbered among the *discords*. Gaudentius, p. 11, tells us that

" *'Ομοφωνοι, homophonoi, unisons,* differ neither in gravity nor acuteness, but are duplicates of the same sound."

" *Συμφωνοι, symphonoi, concords,* are such sounds, as when struck at the same time on the lyre, or by flutes, so mix and unite together, that the tone of the lower sound is hardly to be distinguished from the upper."

" *Διαφωνοι, diaphonoi, discords,* are such sounds as, when struck together, never unite (*c*)."

" *Παραφωνοι, paraphonoi,* are neither *concords* nor *discords,* but between both: yet, when used together, they seem *symphonoi,* or *concords,* as is the case between *Parhypate Meson,* and *Paramese,* or F B ; and likewise between *Meson Diatonos* and *Paramese,* or G B." Now we have no sounds that come under this predicament of being neither concords nor discords, but between both, unless it is such concords as are *out of tune*. However, the passage seems to imply that about this time the *tritonus* and the *ditone* began to be used in *counterpoint*.

M. de Chabanon, *Memoires des Belles Lettres, tome* XXXV. gives it as his own *conjecture,* that the use of the *Paraphonoi,* mentioned by Gaudentius,* was the beginning of *counterpoint ;* yet it is but justice to say that M. Marpurg had conjectured the same thing in his *History of Music,* six years before the *Memoire* of M. de Chabanon was read. However, another conjecture of this learned academician seems ingenious and new, which is, that in proportion as the enharmonic grew into disuse, attempts at *counterpoint* became more frequent ; for there could be no fundamental base, or harmony, given to enharmonic melodies : hence, while that *genus* continued to be so much admired and practised, as Plato, Aristoxenus, and other ancient writers, who mention it, inform us, all attempts at harmony must have been precluded.

It has long been a matter of wonder, that sounds so agreeable to our ears, and so common in our harmony, as thirds and sixths, should by the Greeks be numbered among *discords,* and be banished from *symphony,* as their name ἀσυμφωνα, or διαφωνα, *unfit for symphony, discords,* implies ; but the Greek proportions and divisions of the scale, however practicable in melody, are certainly inadmissible in harmony.

Sir Isaac Newton, taking it, I suppose, for granted that the ancients *had* harmony like ours, says, "It is very strange that those whose nice scrutinies carried them so far as to produce the *small limmas,* should not have been more careful in examining the greater intervals (*d*)."

The triple progression, to which the Pythagoreans religiously adhered, and by which fourths and fifths were made perfect and

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(*c*) These were only admitted in melody, or a single part ; hence Plutarch (*de ἐι Delphico*) calls them μελῳδουμενα and μελῳδητα.

(*d*) *Nugæ Antiquæ*, p. 209.

* Nothing is known about the life of Gaudentius, but an elementary treatise on music has survived and was reprinted by Meibom. It is probable that he lived before Ptolemy as he does not appear to have been acquainted with his theories. Some writers, however, place him between the third and fifth centuries A.D.

unalterable, *soni immobiles,* could furnish no thirds and sixths, but what were intolerable ; as their tetrachords were built upon these
B E B D G C F | B♭
numbers 1 3 9 27 81 243 729 | 2187. And the divisions of Aristoxenus, who pretended to make the ear the sovereign judge of sounds, and yet gives to the octave six *equal* tones, twelve semitones, and twenty-four dieses, or quarter-tones, must, to our conceptions, have rendered the scale unfit, not only for *harmony,* such as ours, but *melody*. Aristoxenus, however, was a trimmer, and availed himself, in some particulars, of the doctrines of Pythagoras, at the very time he publicly condemned them. The abbé Roussier calls him *le chef des temperateurs;* and it would not be difficult to prove that a *temperament* was known to the ancients, even earlier than the time of Aristoxenus ; but as such a discussion does not seem properly to belong to this section, I shall reserve it for a future chapter, in which not only a short history of temperament will be given, but of *harmonics,* or the philosophy of sounds, as far as it appears to have been known to the ancients. At present I shall only observe, that though the *perfect harmony* of fourths and fifths was certainly corrupted by a temperament, which rendered the *perfect* concords *false,* in order to make the *imperfect* more *pleasing ;* yet it seems as if we were entirely indebted to *temperament* for *counterpoint,* or music in parts ; as, without a temperament, either occasional or fixed, thirds and sixths would always have remained intolerable.

M. Burette by the word *symphony,* which is the subject of his Dissertation, means the union of many harmonious sounds in *concert;* and this is at present the general acceptation of the word, when applied to modern overtures.

The Greeks gave the appellation of *harmony,* figuratively, to every thing that had proportion. The term, however, must be very cautiously used in treating of ancient music, as no decisive instance can be found in Greek authors, musicians by profession, where any thing more is meant by it than the arrangement of *single sounds,* agreeable to some genus, mode, and rhythm; never the *union* or simultaneous use of them (*e*).

Ἁϱμονια, harmony, is defined by Hesychius and Suidas *ἡ ἐνταϰτος ἀϰολουθια, a well-ordered succession ;* which clearly makes it *melody*. And the general title of the Greek musical treatises, in which nothing is mentioned but mere melody, fully confirms this definition.

Aristoxenus calls his work *Ἁϱμονιϰα Στοιχεια, Elements of Harmony;* that of Euclid and Gaudentius is called *Εισαγωγη ἁϱμονιϰη,* an *Introduction to Harmony ;* the tract of Nichomachus is styled *Ἁϱμονιϰης Εγχειϱιδιον, An Harmonic Manual* ; and that of Ptolemy *Ἁϱμονιϰα, Harmonics.*

(*e*) Theocritus, Idyll. xviii. describes the bride-maids of Helen in the act of dancing and singing altogether :

Αειδον δ'αρα πασαι ἐς ἐν μελος ἐγκροτεοισαι.

They all sung one and the same melody or tune, *beating the ground.*

Lucian (*f*), in speaking of the modes, which were only different kinds of melody, employs this word in the same sense. And Plato's definition of harmony (*g*) is a farther confirmation of its being constantly used for melody. "We call *cadence*," says that philosopher, "the order or succession of movement ; and *harmony*, the order or succession of sounds, as to acute and grave, differently arranged and intermixed." And finally, Aristotle (*de Mundo*) uses it in a sense which still fortifies this idea.

M. Burette therefore concludes, that the Greeks, in their chorusses and concerts, sung and played either *in unison*, which was called *Homophony ;* or in *octaves*, which was called *Antiphony*. The acceptation of *Homophony* has never been disputed ; but it may be necessary to give authorities for that of the word *Antiphony*, a term frequently used in sacred music during the first ages of the church.

Aristotle, Prob. XXXIX, Sect. 19, says *Antiphony* [Symphonous Singing] *is consonance in the octave*: *το μεν ἀντιφωνον συμφωνον ἐστι διαπασων*: and adds, that it "results from the mixture of the voices of boys and men (*h*)." The same philosopher, Prob. XVI. after asking why *Antiphony* is more agreeable than *Homophony*, gives this reason : that in *Antiphony* the voices are distinctly heard; whereas in unison they are often so confounded that one absorbs the other.

The ancients sung in concert not only in the octave, but the double octave, or fifteenth. This appears from another problem in Aristotle, XXXIV., where he asks why the double fifth, and double fourth, cannot be used in concert as well as the double octave? It likewise appears from the same author that the union of two voices in octaves was called *Magadizing*, from a treble instrument of the name of *Magadis*, *Μαγαδις*, strung with *double* strings tuned octaves to each other, like the octave stop in our harpsichords.*

Thus far M. Burette has advanced nothing but what is reasonable and indisputable ; but, when he adds, that besides these two ways of singing and playing together in unisons and octaves, there is room to conjecture that the ancients had still another method, which consisted of singing and playing *by thirds*, here the Jesuits, Bougeant and Cerceau, commence their attack ; and here I shall leave him, as I shall every author, however respectable, when his reasoning does not fully satisfy my mind ; that is, when it rather raises than removes difficulties.

(*f*) *In Harmonide, tome* i. p. 585. Ed. Græv.

(*g*) *De Legib.* ii. p. 664. Ed. Steph. In order to avoid, as much as possible, loading the page with Greek, I shall frequently give nothing more than references to the edition, and page of the authors in question.

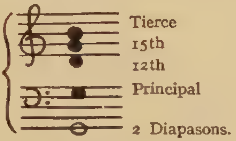
(*h*) In the ancient Greek music the literal meaning of *Antiphonia*, or *Antiphony*, is sound opposed to sound ; as a note and its octave, its fourth, or its fifth ; in the music of the Romish church it means opposition of voices, *response*, as when the congregation answers the priest ; or in chanting, when each side of the choir sings verse for verse, alternately.

* Again in Problem XIX, 18, he says, " Why is the consonance of the octave the only one which is sung ? for in fact this consonance is magadized, but not the others. Is it not because this consonance alone is antiphonous ? "

It is well known that there is nothing so agreeable in modern harmony as the alternate succession of sharp [Major] and flat thirds [Minor]; but it is likewise as well known that a whole movement in two parts, composed entirely of nothing else but of flat or of sharp thirds, from the beginning to the end, would be intolerable.

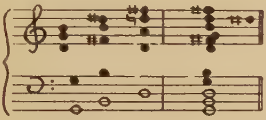
Let any one make the experiment with the two stops of an organ called the fifteenth and tierce, and he will find the effect detestable. No organist ever attempts to play on them together, without other stops; and in the full chorus they are so qualified by the great number of lower and more powerful sounds produced by pipes which are longer, and of a larger diameter, that they cannot be distinguished without great attention.

Full organ, when only
G is put down.

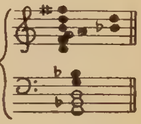


With these stops out, every single note upon the instrument is furnished with its full harmony; but if the small harmonic pipes were not governed by the greater, what a *cacophony* would a complete chord occasion!

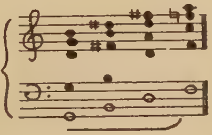
Common chord major.



The chord minor would be worse.



Add any one discord to these, and the chord seems to include every insult that can be put upon the ear.



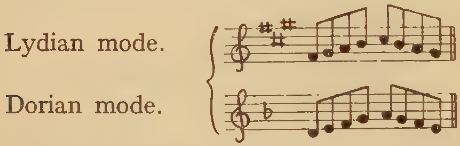
M. Perrault supposed a passage in Horace could only be explained by admitting that the ancients sometimes sung and played *by thirds,* that is, in two different modes, which were distant a third from each other.

> *Sonante mistum tibiis, carmen lyrâ*
> *Hac Dorium, illis Barbarum.* Epod. ix. v. 5.

M. Burette adopted this idea in the year 1717. In 1726 he seemed to give it up to the reasoning of father Bougeant; but in 1729 he resumed it again with more firmness than ever, upon being treated with some severity by father Cerceau, for having adopted M. Perrault's explication of the passage in Horace.

It was urged against him, that the ancients always regarded thirds as discords; but this was thought a trivial difficulty. And M. Burette had reconciled it to his mind, he surely could not to his ear, that it was a common thing among them to sing and play in two different modes, or keys, at once. He settles it, therefore, that Horace by the *Barbarian mode* meant the Lydian, which is a sharp third above the Dorian.

J. Baptisti Doni, in speaking of our imitating the ancients in musical dramas, proposes as a pleasing variety, the accompanying some airs in the course of the piece entirely *by thirds;* but whether two parts always sing in sharp thirds, or flat thirds, the effect will be equally disagreeable. Suppose, for instance, the melody was the following, and the upper part was the accompaniment:



These parts would be moving in two keys very different from each other; the relations would be mostly false, and there would be no precise idea of either of these keys impressed on the ear, in preference to the other; and yet M. Burette supposes that Horace, in speaking of the pleasures of the table, introduces a concert composed of a lyre, played in the Dorian mode, and accompanied by flutes in the Lydian; that is to say in the key of D♮, and F♯ with a minor third; as the general idea about the modes, before Ptolemy's time, was, that they were a semitone higher than each other.

But let them be placed how they will, either a fourth distant from each other, or thus; d c♯ B A G♯ F♯ E, no two of them can be used at the same time in thirds, without changing the intervals of one, which would be changing the *mode* or key.

Indeed a melody might be accompanied by thirds *in two different species of octave;* but that would be still in *one mode;* and the matter in debate is how two persons could sing and play in *two different modes at the same time.*

In the fifteen modes, as understood by Bontempi and others, the Hyperphrygian, or Hypermixolydian mode, and the Hypodorian are only octaves to each other; and in the explanation which Sir Francis Eyles Stiles gives of the fifteen modes, there is not only a repetition in these two, but in the Hyperlydian and Hypophrygian, which are likewise octaves to each other; and it seems to explain the *Magadizing,* or playing in two modes at once, more naturally and probably, if we suppose it was done in the modes that were octaves, than in any two that were thirds, fourths, or fifths to each other.

This will likewise explain a passage in Athenæus, lib. xiv. cap. 5, concerning what Pindar says in writing to Hiero, that "when a boy sings an air with a man, it is called *Magadizing,* because they sing the same melody in *two different modes.*" Now boys and women naturally sing an octave higher than a man, at the same time that they seem to be singing in unison.

Father Cerceau has pressed M. Burette very hard in this dispute, and driven him to a sophistical defence. However, M. Burette would persuade us that he has totally overthrown his adversary, in the instances he gives of thirds, sixths, and tenths, used *per saltum,* to the same syllable, in ancient melody; but because *one third,* or *sixth,* may be pleasing in melody, does it follow that a succession of nothing else but thirds of the same kind would have a good effect in harmony? If the ancients called thirds and sixths discords, on account of their being out of tune, from the two great perfection of fourths and fifths, which were never tempered, it but renders the fact insisted on by M. Burette, of a succession of thirds flat or sharp, the more improbable.

It is so humiliating a circumstance for a disputant to confess himself vanquished, where sagacity is the stake, that it is hardly ever done, publicly, with a good grace. M. Burette, a man of learning and candour, when he was not hard pushed himself, could never have defended so improbable and disagreeable a practice, as the succession of flat or sharp thirds throughout an entire piece, in the ancient music, for any other reason but that of having *once said it,* after Claude Perrault, perhaps without sufficiently reflecting upon the numerous objections to which such an assertion was liable. But I am as certain as it is possible to be, of what cannot be proved, that though he may have thought with Perrault at first, yet, after he had read the arguments urged against such a practice by the fathers Bougeant and Cerceau, he reasoned against conviction; and in supporting his first proposition, reputation, not truth, was the object of his defence.

But to return to M. Burette's Dissertation. He examines the structure of the ancient lyre, and the number of its strings, and shews how far it was capable of the harmony of double stops. After which he enquires whether the ancients availed themselves of all its powers in this particular; and concludes that he is able to discover no proofs in confirmation of such an opinion.

However, in speaking of the lyre in its improved state, when it was furnished with a great number of strings, M. Burette, after refusing counterpoint to the ancients, allows that the lyrists struck sometimes a chord composed of the key note, fifth and eighth, which was a fourth to the fifth; but though he supposes the ancients could bear a *whole movement of sharp thirds,* he will not suppose that a *single third* was ever used in those chords to complete the harmony. Upon other instruments he allows for accompaniment a kind of drone, composed of key note and fifth, like that of a vielle or bagpipe; but this is all conjecture; and if we must have recourse to that, why not generously grant the ancients counterpoint at once, upon a supposition that so ingenious and refined a people as the Greeks could not help discovering it, with the great time and pains they bestowed in the cultivation of music?

But not content with annihilating the *harmony* of the ancients, M. Burette adopts a remark of Perrault in his Vitruvius, which bears hard upon their *melody*. By comparing the ancient Greek tetrachord with our fourth, it appeared to these writers that we had the advantage in the number of sounds; but the specimen of Euclid's mixed genus, that has been given, p. 41, proves them to have been mistaken.

According to Aristotle, Prob. 17, Sect. XIX. *neither the fifth nor fourth,* though concords, *were sung together in concert* (*i*). In Plutarch (*k*), however, who wrote many ages after Aristotle, when it may be imagined that *symphony* had made some advances towards our harmony, it appears as if both the fourth and fifth were frequently sounded together; whence they are called *συμφωνα, concords;* but whoever is versed in modern counterpoint, must know that a succession of these concords is insufferable, and that a composition, in which no other concords than the fourth, fifth, and eighth, had admission, would be so dry and insipid, that it would scarce merit the name of harmony.*

On the other side, if, in spite of such formal and positive proofs to the contrary, we were, for argument's sake, to allow that the ancients made use of their four discords in concert, as well as of the three concords, we must at the same time grant them the art of combining different chords; of preparing and resolving discords, according to the rules, founded upon the nature of chords, and upon the effect which they produce upon the ear. Now we ought to conclude that a body of all these rules would form an essential part of the theory of music, with respect to *symphony,* as other parts have done with respect to melody, or a simple treble. However, in the most ample and complete treatises upon ancient music which are come down to us, not one rule with respect to composition in parts, is to be found. The authors of these treatises, after promising at the beginning that they would speak of every thing that concerned music, separate the heads of their work, which they all divide into seven articles: *sounds, intervals, systems, genera, tones,* or keys, *mutations,* and melody, or *melopoeia;* which with *rhythm,* or time, constituted the whole art and extent of their practical music. For there is not the least probability that they would have omitted in their didactic writings so considerable a part of it as *counterpoint,* if it had come to their knowledge.

That diligent enquirer, father Martini of Bologna, whose learning and materials have afforded me great assistance in my musical

(*i*) *Δια πεντε και δια τεσσαρων οὐκ ἀδουσιν ἀντιφωνα.*

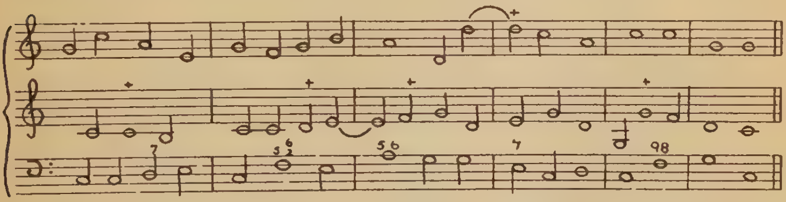
(*k*) *De ἐι Delphico, p.* 693. *Edit. Steph. Gr.*

* Far from this being the case, some of the examples of *Organum*, when sung in tune have a peculiarly pleasing and even restful effect. In the Gramophone History of Music, by Columbia. there is a particularly beautiful specimen of organum.

researches, ranks himself among the opponents of ancient *counterpoint.* The opinion of this respectable judge must have great weight with all those who consider that he has spent the chief part of a long and laborious life in the study of music, and musical literature; that all the repositories, all the archives of Italy, where the most precious reliques of antiquity are treasured up, have been opened to him; that his knowledge and materials are equally uncommon; and that the native candour and purity of his mind are such as exempt him from all suspicion of prejudice or partiality.

This author, after shewing a strong desire to favour the ancients in their claims, is obliged to confess, with seeming reluctance, that as they allowed no other intervals to be concords than the *octave, fourth* and *fifth,* with their replicates, it indubitably robs them of the merit of having invented and practised what we call *counterpoint* (*l*); and this decision receives additional force from the testimony of several writers of the middle ages, cited in his book, who call music in parts, the *new music,* the *new art,* the *new invention* (*m*).

Padre Martini, however, before he quits the subject, gives the following specimen of such meagre counterpoint as was likely to have been produced without the use of imperfect concords; in which he has been obliged to admit three sixths, a second, a seventh, and a ninth, contrary to the idea we have of what the delicate ears of the Greeks would allow.



But with all the care of so learned a composer, this little specimen seems made up of every thing that he would have avoided, in a composition of so few parts, if thirds and sixths had been allowed to be used.

M. Marpurg, of Berlin [1718-95], published, in 1759, the first part of a History of Music (*n*), the second has not yet appeared. His enquiries in this work have been chiefly confined to ancient music and musicians. He has read not only many of the authors already cited, but several others; and has considered the subject with the attention and sagacity of a musician of learning and experience. However, he is very cautious in delivering his opinions

(*l*) *Cio essendo, parmi questo bastevole a contrastare a' Greci il vanto, e la notizia del* contrappunto *che noi abbiamo ora in possesso.* Sortia della Musica, tom. i, p. 174. 1757.

(*m*) ***Musica nova ; ars nova ; novitium inventum.***

(*n*) Kritische einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsasze der alten und neuen MUSIK. 1 vol. thin 4to. *A Critical Introduction to the History and Theory of Ancient and Modern Music.*

concerning ancient harmony, and thinks it safer, and perhaps more likely to conciliate parties, to grant some kind of counterpoint to the ancients, than wholly to deprive them of it; though what he gives them seems more to flow from generosity, than a conviction of their just claim.

This writer sets off with allowing, that as nature does nothing by large strides, and all the arts have arrived at perfection by small degrees, the music of the most remote times must have consisted of only a *single part;* and when the *two part* system was at first adopted, discords could not have been in use. "There are no accounts to be met with," M. Marpurg is obliged to confess, "by which the date can be fixed when the *two part* system was invented, and generally received." However, he conjectures, that a kind of harmony in *pure consonance,* by which I suppose he means *perfect concords,* of fourths, fifths, and eighths, continued from that period, to about the time of Guido. Indeed this is not allowing the ancients to have made much progress in the art of combining sounds, as the example just given from Padre Martini will manifest.

M. Rousseau is very explicit upon this subject in his *Musical Dictionary,* at the article *Counterpoint,* which he terminates by saying, "It has long been disputed whether the ancients knew counterpoint; but it clearly appears from the remains of their music and writings, especially the rules of practice, in the third book of Aristoxenus, that *they never had the least idea of it.*"

His reflections upon this subject, in the article *Harmony,* are curious. "When we reflect, that of all the people on the globe, none are without music and melody, yet only the Europeans have harmony and chords, and find their mixture agreeable; when we reflect how many ages the world has endured, without any of the nations who have cultivated the polite arts knowing this *harmony;* that no animal, no bird, or being in nature, produces any other sound than unison, or other music than mere melody; that neither the Oriental languages, so sonorous and musical, nor the ears of the Greeks, endowed with so much delicacy and sensibility, and cultivated with so much art, ever led that enthusiastic and voluptuous people to the discovery of our *harmony;* that their music, without it, had such prodigious effects, and ours such feeble ones with it; in short, when we think of its being reserved for a northern people, whose coarse and obtuse organs are more touched with the *force* and *noise* of voices, than with the sweetness of accents, and melody of inflexions, to make this great discovery, and to build all the principles and rules of the art upon it; when," says he, "we reflect upon all this, it is hard to avoid suspecting that all our harmony, of which we are so vain, is only a Gothic and barbarous invention, which we should never have thought of, if we had been more sensible to the real beauties of the art, and to music that is truly natural and affecting."

This opinion is generally ranked among the paradoxes of M. Rousseau. However, the sentiments of this wonderful writer seem here to proceed more from a refined taste, enlargement of thought, and an uncommon boldness and courage in publishing notions so repugnant to established opinions, than from a love of singularity. Besides, M. Rousseau is not the only writer on music who has imagined it possible for melody to please without the assistance of harmony. Vincenzio Galilei and Mersennus went still farther, and thought that the contrary effects of grave and acute sounds in different progressions, must mutually weaken and destroy each other. Indeed Mersennus, in his *Harmonie Universelle* (*o*) declares, that he thinks it no reproach to the ancient Greeks, to have been ignorant of *counterpoint*.

" It is difficult," says this father, " to prevail upon modern composers to allow that simple melody is more agreeable than when it is accompanied by different parts, because they are in fear of diminishing the public esteem for the learning and contrivance of their own compositions; which, indeed, would be the case, if a method could be devised of finding the most beautiful melodies possible, and of executing them with the utmost perfection.

" For it seems as if the art of composing in parts, which has been practised only *for these last hundred and fifty, or two hundred years,* had been invented merely to supply the defects of air, and to cover the ignorance of modern musicians in this part of *melopoeia,* or melody, as practised by the Greeks, who have preserved some vestiges of it in the Levant, according to the testimony of travellers, who have heard the Persians and modern Greeks sing.

"And experience daily shews, that the generality of mankind are more attentive to pure melody, than to concertos, or pieces of many different parts, which they readily quit, in order to hear a simple air sung by a good voice; because they can more easily distinguish the beauty of a single part, or voice, than of harmonic relations; without taking into the account the beauties of poetry, which are certainly more easily comprehended in a single part, than when it is accompanied by two or more parts, moving in different proportions of time.

" But granting that great pleasure in music arises from hearing and distinguishing consonance, a *duo* must be more agreeable than a *trio,* as the harmony is less confused and compounded. For, if an eighth, a fifth, a fourth, a third, or a sixth, has anything beautiful in itself, and affects the ear with a peculiar species of delight, the sounding each of these concords with others of a different kind, must considerably weaken their force and effect.

" It is related of the famous composer, Claude le Jeun, that when he first presented his pieces of five, six, and seven parts, to the masters of Italy and Flanders, they regarded them with contempt; and his compositions would never have been performed by them, if he had not written something in two parts; in which,

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(*o*) *Liv.* IV. *de la Composition*, p. 197.

however, he, at first, succeeded so ill, that he confessed himself to have been ignorant of the true principles of music.''

And this father carries his predilection for simplicity so far as to say, that '' as the beauties of a *trio* cannot be so easily discovered and comprehended as of a *duo*, the mind and the ear having too many things to attend to at the same time; when lovers of music are more delighted with *trios* than *duos*, it must proceed from their being more fond of crowds and confusion, than of *unity* and *clearness''*; and compares them to '' those who love to fish in troubled waters, or who like fighting pell-mell with the multitude, better than in duel, where a want of courage and conduct is more easily discovered.''

At the time when Mersennus lived [1588-1648], the rage for music in many parts, and the utter neglect, and indeed ignorance, of true melody, were such, as to render his reasoning just and necessary; but, at present, however harmony may be sometimes abused, it must be allowed that great and pleasing effects are produced from it, by composers of genius, taste, and experience, who, from the study of contrast, know when to multiply the parts, and when to disentangle melody.

Having given the opinions of the most respectable writers on both sides of this long disputed question, it now remains to tell the reader ingenuously my own sentiments: and, to confess the truth, I will venture to say, that I do *not* believe the ancients ever did use *simultaneous harmony*, that is, *music in different parts*; for without thirds and sixths it must have been insipid; and with them, the combination of many sounds and melodies moving by different intervals, and in different time, would have occasioned a confusion, which the respect that the Greeks had for their language and poetry, would not suffer them to tolerate.*

It has been frequently urged, and with apparent reason and probability, that ignorance and knowledge, taste and inelegance, could not be so much united in the same people, as that they should be possessed of every kind of refinement and perfection in poetry, sculpture, and architecture, and yet be delighted with a rude, coarse, and ordinary music. But stop any one principle of improvement in an art, or single wheel in a watch, and it will check all the rest; tie up one leg of an animal, to whom nature has even given four, and it will impede his progressive motion. The Turkish religion has not only stopt the advancement of human reason wherever it has been established, but totally suppressed all the acquirements of former ages. If, therefore, it was a law with the ancients to regulate their melody by the length and number of syllables; and if every thing that was thought to injure poetry, by distracting the attention from it, and rendering it difficult to be understood, was avoided, the multiplicity of concords in simple counterpoint, and the contrary motion of parts in sounds of different lengths, in more florid compositions, must have been held in utter abhorrence.

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* This is the modern belief.

But music has not always kept pace with other arts in those countries, where they have been most successfully cultivated. Painting, Poetry, and Sculpture, in Italy, during the sixteenth century, greatly surpassed the Music of that period; and in France, though the compositions of Lulli, in Louis the fourteenth's time, were at least as much extolled by the natives, as those of the greatest musicians of ancient Greece, by such as either heard them, or heard of them; yet the French themselves, now, are of the same opinion as the inhabitants of other parts of Europe have long been, in thinking them not only greatly inferior to the best productions of the same period in all the other arts, but wholly intolerable and detestable.*

I well know that many passages in ancient authors are pointed out as favourable to the side of music in parts; but what can *not* be found there by those who are determined to see whatever they seek? However, counterpoint seems as much a *modern Discovery,* as gunpowder, printing, the use of the compass, or circulation of the blood; and if more proofs against its ever having existed are not given, it is not for want of them, but for fear of tiring the reader. One observation more, however, I must add, as it seems conclusive, and has not, to my knowledge, been urged by any other writer: it is generally allowed that the ecclesiastical modes, and *Canto Fermo* of the Romish church, are remains of the ancient Greek music; and as these have ever been written in manuscript missals, *without parts,* and been always chanted in *unisons* and *octaves,* it is a strong presumptive proof, among others, against the ancients having had *counterpoint,* as this species of melody is so slow and simple, as to be more capable of receiving, and, indeed, to stand more in need of, the harmony of different parts, than any other.

The chief use, therefore, which the ancients made of concords in music, seems only to ascertain intervals and distances; as in our first lessons of solmisation it has been customary to spell intervals, as it were, by naming the intermediate sounds; as *do re mi, do mi*; *do re mi fa, do fa*; *do re mi fa sol, do sol,* &c.

Upon the whole, therefore, it seems demonstrable, that *harmony,* like ours, was never practised by the ancients: however, I have endeavoured to shew, that the stripping their music of counterpoint does not take from it the power of pleasing, or of producing great effects; and, in modern times, if a Farinelli, a Gizziello, or a Cafarelli, had sung their airs wholly without accompaniment they would, perhaps, have been listened to but with still more pleasure. Indeed the *closes* of great singers, made wholly without accompaniment, are more attended to than all the contrivance of complicated parts, in the course of the airs which they terminate.

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* This statement may have been correct in the eighteenth century, but it does not hold good to-day.

An elegant and graceful melody, exquisitely sung by a fine voice, is sure to engage attention, and to create delight without instrumental assistance; and in a solo, composed and performed by a great master, the less the accompaniment is heard, the better. Hence it should seem as if the harmony of accumulated vocal parts, or the tumult of instrumental, was no more than a succedaneum to a mellifluous voice, or single instrument of the first class, which is but seldom found. However, to diversify and vary our musical amusements, and to assist in dramatic painting, a full piece, and a well written chorus, have their peculiar merit, even among songs and solos, however elegant the composition, or perfect the performance.

Section IX

Of Dramatic Music

ARISTOTLE tells us, in his *Poetics*, that music, *μελοποιΐα,* is an essential part of tragedy; but how it became essential, this philosopher does not inform us. M. Dacier has endeavoured to supply this omission, by suggesting, that custom, and a natural passion implanted in the Greeks for music, had incorporated it into their drama. Indeed Aristotle calls it, in the same work, " the greatest embellishment that tragedy can receive." And innumerable passages might be quoted from other ancient writers, to prove, that all the dramas of the Greeks and Romans were not only sung, but accompanied by musical instruments.

However, many learned critics, not reflecting upon the origin of tragedy, and insensible, perhaps, to the charms of melody, have wondered how so intelligent a people as the Greeks could bear to have their dramas sung. But as antiquity is unanimous in deriving the first dramatic representations at Athens from the *Dithyrambics*, or songs, sung in honour of Bacchus, which afterwards served as chorusses to the first tragedies, we need not wonder at the continuation of music in those chorusses, which had been *always* sung.* Nor will the custom of setting the *Episodes,* as the acts of a play were at first called, appear strange to such as recollect that they were written in *verse,* and that *all verse was sung,* particularly such as was intended for the entertainment of the public, assembled in spacious theatres, or in the open air, where it could only be heard by means of a very slow, sonorous, and articulate utterance (*a*).

It is true that tragedy is an imitation of nature; but it is an exalted and embellished nature; take away music and versification, and it loses its most captivating ingredients. Those who think it unnatural to *sing* during distress, and the agonies even of death, forget that music is a language that can accommodate its accents and tones to every human sensation and passion; and that the

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(*a*) Quintilian, *lib.* i. *cap.* 8. says, that " children should be taught to read verse differently from prose ; for verse is a kind of music ; and the poets tell us themselves *that they sing* ; but this must not be overdone, in a whining effeminate tone, as if they were really singing a song.—Some, he continues will have it, that children should recite verses *like actors on the stage* ; but this is not my opinion ; nothing more is necessary than a gentle inflection of the voice, merely to distinguish what the poet says himself, from what he makes others say."

* " Peisistratus revived or amplified the vintage festival, which had been held from early ages in honour of Dionysus . . . At this new festival which was called the Great Dionysia, the old dances and songs performed originally by peasants dressed up as satyrs, were in course of time combined with dialogue and with representations of old legends, and this ' goat song ' performance developed little by little into the Attic drama " (H. B. Cotterill, *Ancient Greece*, 1913, p. 175).

colouring of these on the stage must be higher than in common life, or else why is blank verse, or a lofty and figurative language, necessary (*b*).

From these, and other circumstances, mentioned in the course of this section, there can remain no doubt but that the ancient dramas were *sung*: dramatic recitation having been constantly called by the Greeks, μελος, *melody*; and by the Latins, *modulatio, modus, canticum,* and other musical terms, which imply *singing*.

Indeed, so immense was the size of the theatres of Greece and Italy, that we may naturally conclude a *musical* declamation for the stage to have been a necessary consequence of speaking loud; for whoever shouts, hallows, or bawls, with sufficient force to be heard further than common speech can penetrate, makes use of fixed tones, which, if softened, would become musical: and it is well known that the tones of speech are too transient and undetermined to be ascertained by those of music, or to be audible at a great distance, or in a wide space (*c*).

This want of natural power of voice sufficient to be heard in the open air, for the ancient theatres had no cover, and by a great multitude, gave rise not only to *singing* upon the stage, but, perhaps, to *chanting* in the church. The necessity of augmenting the force of a performer's voice by every possible means, likewise first suggested the idea of *metallic masks,* which were used by the actors upon the principle of speaking-trumpets, and to that of the *Echeia,* or *harmonic vases*; two expedients so peculiar to the ancient drama, that it seems necessary to give some account of them.

The mask was called by the Latins *persona,* from *personare,* to *sound through*; and delineations of such masks as were used in each piece, were generally prefixed to it, as appears from the Vatican Terence. Hence *dramatis personæ, masks of the drama*; which words, after masks ceased to be used, were understood to mean *persons of the drama*.

Quintilian, lib. ii. gives a list of invariable masks appropriated to different characters, to which the public had for many ages been accustomed. And Julius Pollux (*d*) is still more ample in his account of theatrical masks, used in Tragedy, Satyr, and Comedy.

(*b*) The stage cannot subsist without exaggeration; as verse is the exaggeration of common speech, so music is that of verse; in like manner exaggerated gesture becomes dancing. M. Marmontel in the Encyclopedie, Art. *Declamation*, says, that the whole merit of speaking on the stage consists in being natural; and of acting, in being well acquainted with the customs and manners of the world. Now nature cannot be taught, nor can the manners of society be learned from books; yet I shall give here an excellent reflection from this author, which seems to approximate parties, by making allowance for a small deviation from the nature of common life, in favour of the poet and the actor, whose writings and speech are somewhat more inflated when the buskin is on, than at other times.

"For the same reason as a picture, which is to be seen at a distance, requires bolder strokes and higher colouring, the theatrical voice must be pitched higher, the language be more lofty, and the pronunication more accentuated, than in society, where we communicate our ideas with more facility, but always in proportion to the perspective; that is to say, in such a manner that the tone of voice should be softened and diminished to the degree of nature, before it arrives at the ear of those to whom it is addressed."

(*c*) The theatre built by Augustus, and dedicated to the memory of his nephew Marcellus, though one of the smallest in Rome, contained 22,000 people; and, according to Pliny, *lib.* xxxvi. *cap.* 15. the theatre of Pompey was sufficiently spacious to admit 40,000 people, and that of Scaurus 80,000.

(*d*) *Lib.* iv. *cap.* 19. Περι προσωπων τραγικων Σατυρικων, και Κωμικων.

Niobe, weeping; Medea, furious; Ajax, astonished; and Hercules, enraged. In comedy, the slave, the parasite, the clown, the captain, the old woman, the harlot, the austere old man, the debauched young man, the prodigal, the prudent young woman, the matron, and the father of a family, were all constantly characterised by particular masks. This custom is, in some measure, still preserved in the Italian comedy, and in our pantomime entertainments, which originated from it (*e*).

"The spectators," says du Bos, speaking of the ancient theatre, "lost but little on the side of *face-playing*, by the introduction of *masks*; for not one third of the audience were near enough to the actor to discern the play of muscles, or working of the passions in the features of his face; at least to have received pleasure from them; for an expression must have been accompanied with a frightful grimace and distortion of visage, to be perceptible at so great a distance from the stage (*f*)."

With respect to the *Echeia*, or *vases*, used in theatres for the augmentation of sound, Vitruvius, book V. cap. 5, tells us, that they were placed in cells or niches, between the rows of seats occupied by the spectators, to which the voice of the actor had free passage; that they were made of brass, or earthen ware, and proportioned in magnitude to the size of the building; and lastly, that in the small theatres, they were tuned in harmonical proportions of fourths, fifths, and eighths, with their replicates; and in theatres of great magnitude, there was a vase to correspond with every sound in the disdiapason, or great musical system, in all the genera.

The Romans, according to the same author, were obliged to the Greeks for this invention, as well as for tragedy itself. For the *Echeia* were brought first into Italy from Corinth, by Mummius (*g*). Perhaps they had something of the effect of the whispering gallery at St. Paul's church, which, by its orbicular form, augments sound in the same manner as the belly of an instrument, a hogshead, or a draw-well.

(*e*) The ancients had three several kinds of masks; the tragic, comic, and satiric. Lucian, *de Saltat.* speaks still of a fourth kind, peculiar to dancers, of which the mouths were shut; whereas the others were always open, and of an enormous size.

(*f*) For the form of these masks, see Plate IV. No. 1, 2, and 3. No. 1 is taken from an antique figure in metal, of Greek sculpture; the mask covered the whole head of a person singing on the stage. No. 2, is likewise taken from an antique mask in metal. It has a large mouth in the shape of a shell; and by the horror expressed in the countenance, it seems to have been the mask of a tragic actor, reciting some terrible event upon the stage. "The wide mouth, in the form of a shell," says Ficoroni, "so common in the ancient masks, served to augment the power of the voice, upon the principle of a speaking trumpet." *Quella bocca a conchiglia, che si vede in altre maschere, serviva per ingrandire la voce, come succede nelle trombe a proporzione.* Le Maschere Sceniche, cap. xvii. and xxii. See likewise Dacier's and Colman's Terence. No. 3 is taken from the mask held in the hand of Thalia, the comic muse, one of the most perfect and beautiful of the ancient paintings in the musæum at Portici; it was dug out of Pompeii. See *Antich. de Ercolano, tom. ii.* That the mask was an Egyptian invention seems certain, by one that is preserved in the Brandenburg collection, and a drawing of it published by Berger. It represents Isis, is gigantic, and covered with hieroglyphics, some of which have extended wings, like those to be seen in the Isiac table.

(*g*) Vitruvius continues to these vessels the Greek name—*Vasa Ærea—que Græcè* Echeia *vocantur*, as more expressive of their use than any term he could find in the Latin language. Ηχειον, from Ηχεω, implying not only a *vase*, but one that is sonorous and musical. As the word *bell*, in English, conveys at once an idea of the *form*, as well as *use*, of such an instrument.

Sir Francis Bacon long since observed, that sound diffuses and wastes itself in open air, but if inclosed and confined in a canal, or narrow limits, its force is augmented ; and adds, that inclosures not only encrease and fortify sound, but *preserve* it (*h*). Resonance is but an aggregate of echos, or of quick repetitions and returns of the same sound, which soon uniting into one point, are consolidated and embodied; and by this means, the force of the tone first given is greatly augmented upon the delivery, and preserved some time after the first cause ceases. This constitutes the *ringing* of musical instruments, and places favourable to sound ; but with respect to the *whisper,* which is instantly carried from the person who utters it, to the opposite side of the gallery, it runs along the smooth surface of the wall, and arrives at the place of its destination with nearly the same degree of force as it is delivered.

It is not easy now, however, to describe, or even to conceive, the form and effects of the theatric vases ; it is enough for the present purpose that their existence and use are recorded by so scientific a writer as Vitruvius. Our smaller theatres, luckily, are in want of no such helps ; but this is certain, if these vessels were tuned to musical tones and intervals, nothing but noise and confusion could be produced from them by *common speech,* or such as is used in *modern declamation.* For if any one cough, speak loud, or strike forcibly upon the case of a harpischord, with the lid propped up, or on any hard body near it, the shock will make every string in the instrument sound at the same instant ; but if a fixed and musical tone be produced by the voice, or upon a violin or flute, none but the unison will be heard upon the harpsichord ; and though the cloathing of the jacks be in close contact with all the strings, which renders it impossible to produce a clear tone from any one of them, by the common means of quills, or hammers, yet if any person sing near them, every note will be exactly echoed by the instrument.

If, therefore, these *Echeia* were of the use related by Vitruvius, it must have been from the voice approaching them in fixed and musical tones, modulated in unison with the tones of the vases (*i*).

Every thing was upon a large scale in the ancient theatres. The figure, features, and voice, were all gigantic. The voice was, in a particular manner, the object of an actor's care ; nothing was omitted, says father Brumoy, that could render it more sonorous ; even in the heat of action it was governed by the tones of instruments, that regulated the intervals by which it was to move, and to express the passions.

What kind of music was applied to the *Episodes* and *Chorusses* of tragedy, is another enquiry : some idea may perhaps be obtained concerning it, without having recourse to conjecture; for Plutarch

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(*h*) *Nat. Hist. Cent.* 2d and 3d.

(*i*) The best commentary upon this obscure subject in Vitruvius is that of Perrault, who has given an engraving of part of an ancient theatre, on purpose to exhibit the situation of the harmonic vases. *Les dix Livres d'Architecture de Vitruve,* Par. 1684, 2d Edit. folio. Kircher, whose pen was never impeded by doubts or difficulties, has not only described, but given them imaginary forms resembling bells. See *Musurgia,* tom. ii. p. 285.

(*k*) tells us, that the dithyrambic and tragic poets, adopted for their pieces that kind of musical execution, of which Archilochus [*c.* 714-676 B.C.] is said to have been the inventor (*l*). The same author likewise informs us, that Archilochus performed the music to his Iambic verses in two different ways ; *reciting* some of them with an accompaniment, and *singing* others, while instruments servilely performed the *same notes* as the voice ; and this was the method which the tragic poets afterwards adopted (*m*).

We learn from this same work of Plutarch, that even the declamatory Iambics were accompanied by the *Cithara,* and other instruments ; but as the employment of the *Cithara* upon these occasions was not constant, it seems as if only the general tone of declamation was given to the actor by the musician, as the chord is given to the singer in modern recitative ; whereas in the chorus, and other poetry that was *sung,* the instrument constantly accompanied the voice, *note* for *note.*

Hence it appears that the ancient dramatic writers used a different kind of *melos* for the declamation of the actors, and for the songs of the chorus (*n*). The one may perhaps be compared to modern *recitative,* and the other to *chanting* in the Romish church (*o*).

That this music was simple, and intended to render speech more articulate, as well as to fortify passion, both reason, and the authority of ancient writers enable us to believe.

Plutarch (*p*) says, " that the chromatic genus was never used in tragedy." Now, if the ancient dramas were declaimed in a species of *recitative,* it will bring it still nearer the recitative of modern musical dramas, in which no chromatic is ever admitted.

Plutarch likewise informs us, that a strict *rhythm,* or measure, was not observed in tragedy ; another circumstance resembling modern recitative, in which no time is kept but that of the accent and cadence of the verse. And this assertion of Plutarch seems to agree with what Aristotle says in his *Poetics,* chap. 1. " That dithyrambics, nomes, tragedies, and comedies, use alike number, verse, and harmony, with this difference, that in some all three are employed at once, in others, they are used separately."

By *number,* or *rhythm,* is here meant regular time: and by *harmony,* music, or song. In dithyrambics and nomes the verse

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(*k*) *De Musica.*

(*l*) Archilochus flourished about six hundred and sixty years before Christ.

(*m*) Iambics, or satyrs, are supposed to have given birth to comedy, as dithyrambics did to tragedy ; and it is somewhat remarkable that religious mysteries should have furnished subjects for the first dramatic exhibitions among the ancients as well as the moderns.

(*n*) Aristotle, in his *Poetics,* chap. xxvii. speaks of two different kinds of rhapsodists ; one of which *recited* epic poems, and the other *sung* them.

(*o*) Father Menestrier conjectures, that the practice of *chanting* and *singing* in the church, was derived from the ancient manner of declaiming and singing in public. *Traité des Representations en Musique, Anc. et Mod.*

(*p*) *Ubi supra*

was always accompanied by melody, rhythm, and dance (*q*) ; and in tragedy and comedy, the verse was only *recited* during the course of the acts ; but in the choruses it was accompanied by singing and dancing.

As candour forbids the loading the ancients with more customs, that are repugnant to modern ideas of propriety, than can be warranted by good authority, I shall endeavour to acquit them of some part of that excessive fondness for dancing, which many writers have laid to their charge, by supposing that not only the chorus, but the principal characters of the drama, were continually dancing all the time they were upon the stage. Indeed *Χορος, chorus,* equally means a band of singers, and a company of dancers. Many instances occur however, in ancient authors, where dancing in the old drama of the Greeks, seems but another word for moving and acting gracefully ; and the term *hypocritic,* which the Greeks likewise call *orchesis,* and the Latins *saltatio,* though it sometimes means dancing, more frequently is used to express Gesture, or theatrical action. In the younger drama, according to Lucian (*r*), a single dancer, or *mime,* was able to express all the incidents and sentiments of a whole tragedy, or epic poem, by dumb signs, but still to music, as the actors recited it ; though Aristotle expressly says, that dancers want neither poetry nor music, as by the assistance of measure and cadence only, they can imitate human manners, actions, and passions.

The strange custom of dividing the declamation and gestures, or speaking and acting, between two persons, was never thought of by the Greeks. It is mentioned by Livy as an invention of Livius Andronicus, an old Roman poet, who flourished two hundred and forty years before Christ, in order to save himself the fatigue of singing in his own piece; to which he, like other authors of his time, had been accustomed. But being often *encored,* and hoarse with repeating his canticle or song, he obtained permission to transfer the vocal part to a young performer, retaining to himself only the *acting,* which he was able to go through with the more fire and propriety, says Livy, by being exempted from the labour of singing. M. Duclos endeavours to prove, that as the *Canticum* of Andronicus was composed of songs and dances, the words of Livy, *canticum egisse aliquanto magis vigenti motu, quia nihil vocis usus impediebat,* imply no more than that the old poet, who at first sung his *Canticum,* or, if you will, his *Cantata,* and afterwards

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(*q*) *Dithyrambics* and *nomes* were equally hymns sung in honour of the Gods. The *nomes* were for Apollo, as the *dithyrambics* were for Bacchus. Now the literal meaning of νομος, *nome*, being a *law* or *rule*, it should seem as if, after the invention of musical characters, the *nomes* were the first melodies, or tunes, that were written down, and rendered permanent and unalterable ; whereas, before that period, music must have been played extempore, or by memory ; and as Terpander, the inventor of a musical notation, is likewise said to have set the νομοι, or *laws* of Lycurgus, to music, the conjecture has both a literal and a figurative foundation. Aristotle, Prob. XVII. 28, asks why such different things as *laws* and *songs* had the same appellations ? and answers the question himself, by saying, that before the knowledge of letters, *laws* were *sung*, in order to their being the better retained in memory. If, according to Josephus, the word νομος is not to be found in all the writings of Homer, it must, consequently, be a more modern term. The word, however, *does* occur in Homer's Hymn to Apollo, v. 20, though not in the Iliad or Odyssey.

(*r*) *De Saltatione.*

danced in the interludes alternately, having sung till he was hoarse, transferred the singing to another performer, in order to dance with more force and activity; and thence came the custom of making singing and dancing two different professions (*s*). And it does seem as if the *separation* in question was that of the *singing* from *the dancing*, according to the opinion of M. Duclos; the story which, when applied to *speaking* and *acting*, is absurd and incredible, becomes both natural and probable, in the other sense. It has just been observed, that acting and dancing were frequently confounded in ancient authors, and perhaps Livy meant no other acting than what *dancing* literally implied.

The Greek dramas consisted of soliloquy, dialogue, and chorus; but as the chorus was never adopted in the Latin comedy, it has been imagined, that such *Cantica*, or soliloquies, as were full of sentiment and passion, had a different, more elaborate, and refined melody and accompaniment set to them, than the *Diverbia*, or dialogues; and that, like the chorus of the Greek tragedy, they served as interludes, or act tunes. But I have been able to meet with no satisfactory proof of these *cantica*, or songs, being a part of the piece, like the Greek chorus: for though Flaccus is mentioned as composer of the modes, or melodies, to which all the six comedies of Terence were sung, no notice is taken of a different music for the *cantica*, or even interludes, if such there were, used between the acts. Some of the soliloquies in Terence seem too short and trivial to be sung to different music from the *diverbia;* and others, that are longer and more sentimental, have no distinction of versification, like the odes and choruses of Greek tragedy, to point them out as *cantica;* but are all in the same free Iambic verse as the *diverbia*.

Donatus, who flourished three hundred and fifty years after Christ, tells us, indeed, that " though the dialogues were spoken, the *cantica* were set to music, not by the poet, but by an able composer (*t*)." I should therefore rather imagine that these *cantica* of the Latin comedy were real *Intermezzi*, or *Interludes*, wholly detached from the piece, and, perhaps, not only the productions of a different composer, but of a different poet (*u*).

The melody of ancient declamation being then only a species of recitative, could receive nothing but a poetical rhythm, far less exact than one strictly *musical;* exact, indeed, as to long and short syllables, but as it approached nearer to common speech than air, so it must have been more lax and incommensurate as to time, than measured melody, such as constitutes air at present. Long and short syllables are rigorously attended to in modern recitative, the words are strongly accentuated, and yet the musical measure, or time, is never attended to, or beaten.

(*s*) *Encyclop.* Art. *Declamation des Anciens.*

(*t*) *Diverbia histriones pronuntiabat; cantica verò temperabant modis, non à poetâ, sed à perito artis musices factis.* Scholia in Terent.

(*u*) That the Tibicines exhibited between the acts seems evident from a passage in Plautus, who makes one of his characters say, at the conclusion of the first act of the *Pseudolus*; I must go in: "*Tibicen vos interea hic delectaverit.*"

M. de Voltaire, so much attached to the ancient drama, and so little to modern music, says, we can no where find such an exact resemblance of the Greek stage, as in the Italian opera. "The Italian recitative is precisely the *melopoeia* of the ancients; and though this recitative is tiresome in ill written pieces, yet it is admirable in good ones; and the choruses in some of them, which are interwoven in the subject, resemble the ancient chorus so much the more, as they were set to a different kind of music from the recitative; for the strophe, epode, and antistrophe, were sung by the Greeks quite differently from the *melopoeia* of the rest ot the play.

"I know," continues M. de Voltaire, "that these tragedies, so bewitching by the charms of the music, and magnificence of the decorations have a *defect* which the Greeks always avoided; a defect which has transformed the most beautiful, and, in other respects, the most regular tragedies that ever were written, into monsters: for what can be more absurd than to terminate every scene by one of those *detached airs,* which interrupt the business, and destroy the interest of the drama, in order to afford an opportunity to an effeminate throat to shine in trills and divisions, at the expence of poetry and good sense (*x*)."

The last period of this quotation proves the impossibility of satisfying all parties in theatrical disputes; for those very airs which are so delightful to lovers of music, and which alone render an opera supportable to them, are regarded by the exclusive lovers of poetry as the only blemishes in this kind of drama, which render it inferior to the Greek. However, notwithstanding the acknowledged merit of particular scenes of recitative in an opera, I am inclined to believe, if the *airs* were omitted, that the rendering this kind of spectacle more Grecian, would neither encrease the number of its admirers, nor enrich the managers of the theatre.

Indeed all modern musicians, who have imagined that they have discovered what ancient dramatic music was, suppose it to have been a species of Recitative, as will be shown hereafter, in the specimens that will be given of the music of the first operas and oratorios.

The abbé du Bos has not scrupled to assert boldly, that the actor, in the ancient dramas, was accompanied by a *basso continuo,* not like that of the French opera, but like the base accompaniment to Italian recitative; and determines, from a passage and plate in Bartholinus (*y*), that the instrument upon which this *continued base* was played, was a *flute* (*z*)! With the same courage, and the same truth, this lively author asserts (*a*), that the *semeia,* or musical characters of the Greeks, were nothing more than the initial letters of the names of the sixteen notes in the great system, or diagram! Opinions which merely to mention, is to confute.

(*x*) *Dissert. sur la Tragedie Ancienne et Moderne.*

(*y*) *De Tibiis Veterum.*

(*z*) *Reflex. Crit. tom.* iii. p. 111, 120 and 126. Edit. de Par. 1733.

(*a* Ib. p. 80.

M. Duclos, contrary to the general opinion, denies, in the article above cited, that the *melos* of Greek tragedy was *singing*, or even *recitative*, to fixed and musical tones; but if not, why does Aristotle tell us, that music was an *essential part of tragedy*? or how could the lyres and flutes, with which declamation was accompanied, and of which the tones were fixed and musical, be either useful to the actor, *or an embellishment to the piece*? There are several passages in Cicero, concerning Roscius, which, if the ancient actors, Roman, as well as Greek, did not declaim in musical notes, would be wholly unintelligible. He tells us, *de Orat*, that Roscius had always said, when age should diminish his force, he would not abandon the stage, but would proportion his performance to his powers, and make music conform to the weakness of his voice; which really happened; for the same author informs us, *de Leg.* that in his old age he sung in a lower pitch of voice, and made the *tibicines* play slower (*b*).

M. Duclos, who has censured so many of the bold and hazarded assertions of the abbé du Bos, falls into one of his worst mistakes, by saying, that the ancient declamation, which he denies to have been *musical*, was accompanied by a base part played on the flute. But it seems demonstrable, that no kind of base accompaniment was known to the ancients (*c*).

We have the authority of Plutarch, however, for the recitation of tragedy among the Greeks having been accompanied by the *cithara*, and other stringed instruments, after the manner in which Archilochus had accompanied his iambics (*d*).

The Roman comedy, in the time of Terence was accompanied *tibiis paribus et imparibus*, with *equal* and *unequal flutes*, occasionally. This is upon record in all the most ancient manuscripts of that author. What these *double flutes* were, or how played upon by one person, has much perplexed the learned, as well as practical musicians. For my own part, I had long been of opinion, that the *equal* flutes were *unisons*, and the *unequal* octaves to each other, blown by one mouth piece, before my journey into Italy; and the numerous representations I saw of them there

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(*b*) *Solet idem Roscius dicere, se, quo plus sibi accederet ætatis, eo tardiores tibicinis modos et cantus remisssiores esse facturum.—In senectute numeros in cantu ceciderat, ipsasque tardiores fecerat tibias.*

(*c*) Though the idea of a *base* part to mere declamation is not probable, yet the supposition of its being played upon a Flute is perhaps less absurd than it will at first appear to those who regard all Flutes as *treble instruments*. Arist. Quint. who gives a kind of scale of Lyres (see Description of Plates) gives likewise one for wind instruments. The σαλπιγξ, or Trumpet, at the grave, or, as he calls it, *masculine* extremity; and the Phrygian ἀυλος, or Flute, at the *feminine*. Of the middle class he mentions the *Pythic* Flute as of a masculine character, on account of its *gravity*: δια το βαρος. Now, according to Diomedes, this Pythic Flute was the very instrument used in the *Cantica*, or declamation. The *melos* of tragedy is said to be *Hypatoides* (Arist. Quint. p. 30); that is, of the *lowest* pitch. Accordingly, Aristotle tells us, expressly, in his Problems, that the modes appropriated to declamation, were the Hypodorian and Hypophrygian; that is, the two lowest in the system. The Flute that accompanied these could not well be a *treble instrument*, without playing in octaves, or double octaves, to the voice. However, if we were to suppose a base accompaniment to these low modes, different from the voice part, it must have been performed on a Flute of an enormous size.

(*d*) As to the recitation of tragedy being accompanied by the *Cithara*, there is a strong support for the opinion in Aristotle's 49th Problem, where he calls the Hypodorian mode used in declamation, κιθαρωδικωτατη των ἁρμονιων; that is, *the most adapted to the Cithara of all the modes.* And Athenæus, *lib .i. cap.* 17. p. 20, speaks of Sophocles *playing the Cithara himself*, in his tragedy of Thamyris.

in ancient sculpture, did not furnish me with any more probable conjecture. But frequent occasions will occur of making some further reflections upon these instruments, of which drawings will be given, in the course of the work.

It now remains to speak of the *Chorus,* so celebrated in the tragedy of the ancients.

In the most flourishing times of the Athenian republic, so great was the passion of the people for shews and public spectacles, that the government, which was at the charge of these exhibitions, has been accused by Plutarch, of supporting them at a greater expence than their fleets and armies.

The performers of the odes, or full chorusses, were multiplied in the time of Æschylus to fifty persons. Indeed their number was afterwards reduced by a law to fifteen. Their chief, or leader, who was called *Coryphæus,* frequently spoke in the course of the drama, as a single person, and sometimes for the whole band, either in dialogue with the characters of the piece, or to acquaint the audience with what was going forwards, as well as to pity virtue in distress, or to deplore the unruly passions of the vicious. Father Brumoy calls him *l'honnête-homme de la piece.*

The great choruses, or interludes, were generally four in number; and, in the beginning of tragedy, they served as act tunes. Æschylus first interwove them into the texture of the drama; and, according to Dacier, there was something different in the versification and melody of each chorus, which distinguished it from the rest so much, that let a person enter the theatre when he would, it was easy for him to discover by the music of the chorus what part of the piece was then representing.

As the acts of a play were at first but episodes, or interludes, between the dithyrambics, or choruses; in process of time they changed hands, and the choruses became a species of act tunes, or interludes, to the episodes, or *cantica* and *diverbia,* formed into scenes and acts. Dr. Franklin denies this division into acts; and he seems right in denying the number to have been constantly five; but that the great choruses were wrought into a more lofty and sublime kind of poetry, and of different measure from the soliloquies and dialogues, is so certain in all the ancient tragedies which are come down to us, that it has been said, if during the acts the performers spoke the language of heroes and kings, in the choruses they spoke that of the Gods; and it is equally certain that they were generally performed in the absence of the interlocutors of the play. Indeed the stage was never empty, nor were the performers idle; so that when the choruses were incorporated in the piece, as in some of the tragedies of Sophocles, it may be said strictly to consist of only one act.

The Greek name for act being δραμα, drama, it encourages an opinion, that in the beginning of theatrical exhibitions, each chorus and episode was a distinct and entire piece. The Romans, however, understood, by the term *actus,* a part of a play, divided from another part; and the intermediate space of time between these divisions was usually filled up by a Chorus, a Dance, or a Song. In the time of Horace, the number of five acts seems to have been settled for the Roman theatre; and in the comedies of Terence, and tragedies of Seneca, that number is constant.

The Greek tragedies being composed of fifteen or sixteen hundred verses, would be too long, if sung to airs like ours, and too short, if spoken. Relaxation, however, was necessary both to the actors and the audience; and this, if it did not give birth to the chorus, at least established it into a custom to have a chorus between the principal divisions of the piece.

A drama is composed of many circumstances, out of which the poet chuses such as are most proper for the stage, and most interesting in the representation: the rest are understood to be transacting elsewhere; and in order to allow time for these external circumstances, the space between the acts of ancient dramas was filled up by the chorus, or other *intermediate* amusements.

In all the Greek tragedies that are come down to us, the action is interrupted from time to time by the intervention of choruses, which fill up the intermediate space between the principal events of the piece while the interlocutors are either absent, or remain silent and inactive upon the stage: and these form the true divisions of the drama into acts. But that these acts always amount to four, five, or any stated number, cannot be proved by the ancient manuscripts of the Greek dramatic poets, however new editions and modern critics may have divided them.

If the number of odes, or great choruses, is to determine the division into acts, they amount most frequently to six or seven.

Each of these principal odes, or choruses, consisted of three couplets, or stanzas; the *Strophe*, *Antistrophe*, and *Epode*.

Demetrius Triclinius, in his book upon the verses of Sophocles, says, that the *strophe* was sung by the chorus moving to the right; the *antistrophe* to the left, and the *epode*, after performing these two evolutions, without moving at all. He asserts that, by these evolutions, which were borrowed from the Ægyptians, the Greeks meant to imitate the course of the heavenly bodies; that by the *strophe*, and wheeling to the right, they designed the movement of the fixed stars; by the *antistrophe*, and turning to the left, was indicated the course of the planets; and that the *epode*, which was performed without any motion, shewed the fixed situation of the earth. Pindar, in his Odes, has introduced the same changes; probably because in singing them, the same evolutions were performed. Theseus, when he returned from Crete, invented a dance consisting of different turnings, in memory of the labyrinth, which was afterwards adopted by the tragic chorus. But as to the manner of moving from the right to the left, it is very difficult to form any idea of it. M. Dacier says, "I am of opinion that the chorus was parted into two divisions, as among the Hebrews; the band to the right began, advancing to the left half the breadth of the theatre, and this was the *strophe*; the other troop did the same, and this was called the *antistrophe* (*e*)."

The profession of an actor was long honourable among the Greeks. Their poets, who were likewise orators, statesmen, and generals, performed the principal parts in their own pieces; and Sophocles, who was the first that did not appear on the stage in his tragedies, was compelled to decline it, by the want of voice.*

Livy, *lib*. vii. *cap*. 2, tells us, that Andronicus, who first wrote regular plays among the Latins, acted in his own pieces, as every author, at that time, did: and all antiquity asserts, that the first poets were musicians, and that music was inseparable from poetry: but the Greek dramatic poets not only set their own pieces to music, but regulated all the steps and attitudes of the dancers in the chorus, and the gestures of the actors. It was the opinion of Fontenelle, that musical dramas could never satisfy men of learning and taste, till the poet and musician were again united in the same person; and when the *Devin du Village*,** which was both written and set by M. Rousseau, was so universally approved, and had so long a run during its first representation at Paris, he attributed its great success to this union.

" Ancient Greece had many musicians," says M. Dacier (*f*), " who were not poets, but not one poet who was not a musician, and who did not compose the music of his own pieces: *Musici qui erant quondam iidem poetæ*, says Cicero ; for in Greece, music was the foundation of all sciences ; the education of children was begun by it, from a persuasion that nothing great could be expected from a man who was ignorant of music. This probably gave the Greek poetry such a superiority over the Latin, as well as over that of modern languages ; for at Rome poetry and music were two distinct arts, and poets were there obliged to give their pieces to be set by professed musicians, as is the case at present every where else."

Such were the sentiments of this profound critic, and these were likewise the opinions of the late Dr. Browne, and are those of most learned men, who, being out of the way of good music, and good performers of the present times, have formed a romantic idea of ancient music upon the exaggerated accounts of its effects, which they have read in old authors.

The abate Metastasio, more a man of the world, and more reasonable, confesses, that the study of modern music requires too much time for a man of letters ever to be able to qualify himself for the business of a composer.

(*e*) *Theatre des Grecs, du pere Brumoy, tome* I.

(*f*) *Remarques sur la Poetique d'Aristote*, p. 105.

* In his sixteenth year, however, he was famous for his skill as a musician and dancer, and led, lyre in hand, a chorus which danced and sang about the trophy which had been erected in Salamis to celebrate the defeat of the fleet of Xerxes.

** Burney himself made an adaptation of this under the title *The Cunning Man*, which was produced at Drury Lane in 1766 with no great success.

The Greeks, indeed, during the time of their education, had no language to learn but their own: hence they had more time for other studies. But with all the simplicity of their music, the poets themselves being able to set their own pieces, and to sing them so well to the satisfaction of the public, is to me a certain proof that their music had not only fewer difficulties, but fewer excellencies than the modern.

This is not the place to discuss the point ; but it appears to me as if the being at once a great poet, and a great musician, were utterly impossible ; otherwise why should not such a coincidence of talents frequently happen? Milton studied music, and so have many of our poets ; but to know it equally well with a professor, is a drudgery to which they cannot submit ; besides, a genius for poetry is so far from including a genius for music, that some of our greatest poets have not only been enemies to harmony, but have had ears so unfortunately constructed, as not to enable them to distinguish one sound from another.

The Grecian sage, according to Gravina (*g*), was at once a philosopher, a poet, and a musician. " In separating these characters," says he, " they have all been weakened ; the sphere of philosophy has been contracted ; ideas have failed in poetry, and force and energy in song. Truth no longer subsists among mankind ; the philosopher speaks not, at present, through the medium of poetry, nor is poetry any more heard through the vehicle of melody." Now, to my apprehension, the reverse of all this is exactly true ; for, by being separated, each of these professions receives a degree of cultivation, which fortifies, and renders it more powerful, if not more illustrious. The music of ancient philosophers, and the philosophy of modern musicians, I take to be pretty equal in excellence.

Having now mentioned the principal subjects of the ancient drama, as far as they concern music, such as the *Masks, Echeia, Melopoeia* of the *Cantica, Diverbia,* and *Choruses,* divided into *Strophe, Antistrophe,* and *Epode* ; the *Accompaniments* of these by the *cithara* and *flutes, equal* and *unequal* ; the *union* of *poet* and *musician,* in the authors of ancient dramas ; all which, singly, and collectively, prove the declamation of the Greeks and Romans to have been musical, and regulated, like the recitative of modern operas, by a notation: I shall now bestow a few words upon the expediency and possibility of reducing modern declamation in the natural tones of speech, unaccompanied by musical instruments, to a *notation,* such as would accurately mark the elevation, depression, and inflexions of voice, as well as determine its degree of force, and the accentuation of words and syllables. As to the expediency of such an invention, it seems on many occasions devoutly to be wished ; but, for the possibility of its being practicable, that is certainly problematical. However, Dionysius

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(*g*) *Della Ragion Poetica.*

Hallicarnassus, *de Struct. Orat.* (*h*), tells us, in a famous passage which has often been discussed, that " the fifth was the common boundary to the melody of speech: that is," says the abbé Arnaud (*i*), " the tones which constitute language, were commonly all comprised within the compass of a fifth, and the inflexions of voice extended to all the several degrees of that interval. Each word had its accent ; the syllable was elevated by the acute accent, and lowered by the grave. This rule was fixed and unalterable ; the degree of high and low was free and various ; and it was this variety and freedom, which threw not only grace and variety into the pronunciation, but which served to shew the limits and even shades of elocution."

Many passages from Cicero, Quintilian, Plutarch, and Boethius, might be cited, to prove, that not only musicians and actors, but even orators, had a notation, by which the inflexions of voice, peculiar to their several professions of singing, declaiming, and haranguing in public, were ascertained (*k*).

But orators, though not constantly accompanied by an instrument, had their voices sometimes regulated by one, which Quintilian calls a *tonorium,* Cicero, a *fistula,* and Plutarch, *συϱιγγιον,* or *syrinx** which is the same thing ; and this instrument served as a kind of *pitch-pipe.* Both Cicero (*l*) and Plutarch (*m*), relate the well known story of the voice of the furious tribune, Caius Gracchus, being brought down to its natural pitch, after he had lost it in a transport of passion, by means of a servant placed behind him with one of these instruments (*n*). It is not easy, however, to conceive of what use this expedient could be, unless rhetorical tones were regulated by those of music.

M. Duclos (*o*) denies the possibility of a notation for speech, as the intervals are too minute to be ascertained ; and adds that, " even if such an invention were possible, the use of it would do more harm than good, as it would serve no other purpose than to render actors cold and insipid ; for by a servile imitation they would destroy the natural expression which the sentiments inspire ; and such notes would not give the refinement, delicacy, grace, or

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(*h*) Sect. ii. p. 76. Edit. Upton.

(*i*) *Mem. de Litterature, tome* xxxii. p. 442.

(*k*) As there were combats, or contests, established by the ancients for the voice, as well as other parts of the *Gymnastice*, those who taught the management of the voice were called *φωνασκοι*, *phonasci*, and under their instructions were put all those who were destined to be orators, singers, and comedians. Roscius had an academy for declamation, at which he taught several persons, preparatory to their speaking in public, or going on the stage. He had a lawsuit with one of them, in which Cicero pleaded his cause.

(*l*) *De Orat.* lib. iii.

(*m*) *In Vit. C. Gracch.*

(*n*) Cicero tells us that this *tibicen*, with his *flapper*, *qui staret occulte post ipsum*, and was not seen by the people, does not confine his employment to appeasing the passion of his master : he was, upon occasion, to incite it : *Qui inflaret celeriter eum sonum, quo illum aut* remissum excitaret, *aut* à contentione revocaret.

(*o*) *Encyclop.* Art. *Declamat. des Anc.*

* Syrinx or Pan Pipes. See an article by A. H. Fox Strangways in *Music and Letters* for January, 1929 (vol. 10, No. 1).

passion, which constitute the merit of an actor, and the pleasure of an audience." To refute this assertion it should be remarked, that a well-written, and well-set scene of *recitative*, from the mouth of a great singer, and good actor, oversets all his reasoning ; for though confined to musical notes, it has frequently great power over the passions of that part of an audience who understand the language. Give it to a man without voice, it will still be a fine piece of recitative ; a bad singer, indeed, may spoil it: however, it escapes annihilation, and still remains to be taken up by a future performer of superior talents ; as a speech in Shakespeare does, that has been mangled by a stroller in a barn. But it is not to be wished, perhaps, that the tones of speech preserved by such notes, should be more permanent than those of music. Every new singer of peculiar powers is furnished with new compositions to old words, in order to display those powers; so might an actor: the plays of Shakespeare might be *reset*, as well as the operas of Metastasio ; and upon such an occasion it were to be wished that Mr. Garrick would undertake to be the *Composer*.

M. Duclos throws the impracticability of such an expedient upon the multiplicity of notes that would be necessary for such minute inflexions; a difficulty that seems obviated by the passage just cited from Dionysius; which says, that the compass of voice in declamation, even during a scene of passion, seldom exceeds the interval of a fifth. I therefore cannot help giving a place to the invention of characters, for theatrical elocution among musical *desiderata* (*p*). Mr. Garrick, indeed, with seeming reason, objects to the use of them for himself, as " they would render his declamation cold and monotonous, and deprive him of the power of varying the tones of his voice, according to his present feelings." But in answer to this it might be urged, that a great singer, notwithstanding the outline that is given him by the composer, seldom performs an air twice in the same manner; though, on account of the accompaniments, and regularity of the measure, to which every change, or embellishment, must correspond, it is much more difficult to vary musical sounds in melody, than the tones of speech in declamation, which are not only unconnected with other parts, but uncontrouled by time.

It is far from being my wish ever to hear our tragedy *sung*, or pronounced in *recitative*, however desirable it may be to preserve the tones of voice used by great actors, if it were only to assist the young, the ignorant, and unfeeling candidates for theatrical fame.

Moliere, when he performed in his own plays, and Beaubourg, the actor, are confidently affirmed, by the abbé du Bos, to have *noted* their particular scenes of declamation (*q*). This author says that he does not wonder at actors by profession being, in general,

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(*p*) Since the publication of the first edition of this vol. the particular *desideratum* in question has been as amply supplied as seems possible, by Mr. Steele, in his ingenious *Essay towards establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech.*

(*q*) *Reflex. Crit. tome* iii. sect. 18.

against such restraint; mankind is naturally fond of liberty in all things: *il ne veut pas être contraint dans ses allures;* they will not be confined in their natural gait, says Montaigne. But though actors and actresses of the first class are sure to charm an audience, let their humour be what it will, yet the notation of the tones, in which a favourite and affecting speech was spoken by a Garrick, or a Cibber, would not only be an excellent lesson to inferior actors but would be a means of conveying it to posterity, who will so frequently meet with their names and elogiums, in the History of the Stage, and be curious to know in what manner they acquired such universal admiration.

Section X

Of the Effects Attributed to the Music of the Ancients

MATERIALS for this part of my Dissertation are so numerous, that if I were only to present the reader with all the stories that have been related by the most grave and respectable historians and philosophers of Greece and Rome, concerning the moral, medicinal, and supernatural powers of ancient music, this section would be as full of the *miracles* of musicians, as the *Golden Legend* is of those operated by the saints. The credulous and exclusive admirers of antiquity have, however, so long read and reverenced all these narrations, that they are impressed by them with an extravagant idea of the excellence of ancient music, which they are very unwilling to relinquish; and yet, after a most careful investigation of the subject, and a minute analysis of this music, by examining its constituent parts, I have not been able to discover that it was superiour to the modern in any other respects than its simplicity, and strict adherence to metrical feet, when applied to poetry. For, *as music*, considered abstractedly, it appears to have been much inferiour to the modern, in the two great and essential parts of the art, *melody* and *harmony*.

It shall therefore be my business in this section to collect and examine the principal facts, purely historical, that have been related by ancient writers, and which are urged by the moderns in its favour, under the three following heads:

First, of the effects of ancient music in softening the manners, promoting civilization, and humanizing men, naturally savage and barbarous:—

Secondly, its effects in exciting, or repressing the passions:

And, thirdly, its medicinal power, in curing diseases.

Among the effects of the *first* class, one of the most singular and striking is related by Polybius the historian, a grave, exact, and respectable writer, who, in speaking of several acts of cruelty and injustice exercised by the Ætolians against their neighbours the Cynætheans, has the following remarkable passage, which I shall give at full length from Mr. Hampton's excellent translation.

"With regard to the inhabitants of Cynætha, whose misfortunes we have just now mentioned, it is certain, that no people ever were esteemed so justly to deserve that cruel treatment to which they were exposed. And since the Arcadians, in general, have been always celebrated for their virtue throughout all Greece; and have obtained the highest fame, as well by their humane and hospitable disposition, as from their piety also towards the Gods, and their veneration of all things sacred; it may perhaps be useful to enquire, from whence it could arise, that the people of this single city, though confessed to be Arcadians, should, on the contrary, be noted for the savage roughness of their lives and manners, and distinguished by their wickedness and cruelty above all the Greeks. In my judgment then, this difference has happened from no other cause, than that the Cynætheans were the first and only people among the Arcadians, who threw away that institution, which their ancestors had established with the greatest wisdom, and with a nice regard to the natural genius, and peculiar disposition of the people of the country; I mean, the discipline and exercise of music: of that genuine and perfect music, which is useful indeed in every state, but absolutely necessary to the people of Arcadia. For we ought by no means to adopt the sentiment that is thrown out by Ephorus in the preface to his history, and which indeed is very unworthy of that writer, "That music was invented to deceive and delude mankind." Nor can it be supposed, that the Lacedæmonians, and the ancient Cretans, were not influenced by some good reason, when, in the place of trumpets, they introduced the sound of flutes, and harmony of verse, to animate their soldiers in the time of battle: or that the first Arcadians acted without strong necessity, who, though their lives and manners, in all other points, were rigid and austere, incorporated this art into the very essence of their government; and obliged not their children only, but the young men likewise, till they had gained the age of thirty years, to persist in the constant study and practice of it. For all men know, that Arcadia is almost the only country, in which the children, even from their most tender age, are taught to sing in measure their songs and hymns, that are composed in honour of their gods and heroes: and that afterwards, when they have learned the music of Timotheus and Philoxenus, they assemble once in every year in the public theatres, at the feast of Bacchus; and there dance, with emulation, to the sound of flutes, and celebrate, according to their proper age, the children those that are called the puerile, and the young men, the manly games. And even in their private feasts and meetings, they are never known to employ any hired bands of music for their entertainment; but each man is obliged himself to sing in turn. For though they may, without shame or censure, disown all knowledge of every other science, they dare not on the one hand dissemble or deny, that they are skilled in music, since the laws require, that every one should be instructed in it; nor can they, on the other hand, refuse to give some proofs of their skill when asked, because such refusal would be esteemed dishonourable. They are also taught to perform in order all the military steps and motions, to the sound of instruments: and this is likewise practised every year in the theatres, at the public charge, and in sight of all the citizens.

" Now to me it is clearly evident, that the ancients by no means introduced these customs, to be the instruments of luxury and idle pleasure: but because they had considered with attention, both the painful and laborious course of life, to which the Arcadians were accustomed; and the natural austerity also of their manners, derived to them from that cold and heavy air, which covered the greatest part of all their province. For men will be always found to be in some degree assimilated to the climate in which they live: nor can it be ascribed to any other cause, that in the several nations of the world, distinct and separated from each other, we behold so wide a difference, in complexion, features, manners, customs. The Arcadians, therefore, in order to smooth and soften that disposition, which was by nature so rough and stubborn, besides the customs above described, appointed frequent festivals and sacrifices, which both sexes were required to celebrate together; the men and women, and the boys with virgins; and, in general, established every institution, that could serve to render their rugged minds more gentle and compliant, and tame the fierceness of their manners. But the people of Cynætha, having slighted all these arts, though both their air and situation, the most inclement and unfavourable of any in Arcadia, made some such remedy more requisite to them than to the rest, were afterwards engaged continually in intestine tumults and contentions; till they became at last so fierce and savage, that, among all the cities of Greece, there was none in which so many and so great enormities were ever known to be committed. To how deplorable a state this conduct had at last reduced them, and how much their manners were detested by the Arcadians, may be fully understood from that which happened to them, when they sent an embassy to Lacedæmon, after the time of a dreadful slaughter which had been made among them. For in every city of Arcadia, through which their deputies were obliged to pass, they were commanded by the public crier instantly to be gone. The Mantineans also expressed even still more strongly their abhorrence of them: for as soon as they were departed, they made a solemn purification of the place; and carried their victims in procession round the city, and through all their territory.

" This then may be sufficient to exempt the general customs of Arcadia from all censure; and at the same time to remind the people of that province, that music was at first established in their government, not for the sake of vain pleasure and amusement, but for such solid purposes, as should engage them never to desert the practice of it. The Cynætheans also may perhaps draw some advantage from these reflexions; and, if the Deity should hereafter bless them with better sentiments, may turn their minds towards such discipline, as may soften and improve their manners, and especially to music; by which means alone, they can ever hope to be divested of that brutal fierceness, for which they have been so long distinguished (*a*)."

Though Polybius in this passage seems to attribute the happy change that was brought about in the manners of the Arcadians to music alone, it does not appear to merit all the honour, as a considerable part was doubtless due to the poetry that accompanied it; which being grave, majestic, and full of piety and respect for the Gods and heroes, whose glorious actions and benefits were celebrated in it, must have had great influence upon the minds of young persons, in whose education those two arts had so considerable a share.

Homer places a musician over Clytemnestra during the absence of Agamemnon, as a guard over her chastity; and till he was sent away, her seducer, Ægisthus, had no power over her affections:

> At first with worthy shame, and decent pride,
> The royal dame his lawless suit deny'd.
> For virtue's image yet possest her mind,
> Taught by a master of the tuneful kind:
> Atrides parting for the Trojan war,
> Consign'd the youthful consort to his care;
> True to his charge, the bard preserv'd her long
> In honour's limits, such the power of song.
>
> POPE'S Homer's Iliad, Book iii.

It is not, however, to be supposed, that mere lessons of *Music* could be lessons of prudence and virtue: it must have been the *Poetry* in which the bard's instructions and precepts were conveyed, that kept the queen from infidelity, and not the sound of his lyre; though Pausanias, in his *Attics, calls him* ἀοιδος ἀνηϱ, a *Singer,* and not a Poet.

But if these accounts from Polybius and Homer were to be taken literally, they would prove the sensibility of the Greeks, more than the excellence of their music, in such remote antiquity; for though all writers agree in saying that the Grecian lyre was at first furnished with only three or four *open* strings, and for many ages after, had, at most, but seven or eight, by which small number of sounds the voice was wholly regulated and governed; yet the miraculous effects of music are thrown into those dark and fabulous times, when the art may be supposed to have been in its infancy; and the hearers at least as ignorant as the performers (*b*).

But now, since Gods and Goddesses are humanized, and ancient heroes are reduced to the common standard of mankind, why, it may be asked, are we to retain only the marvellous stories

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(*a*) Book IV, Ch. 3.

(*b*) From the heavy complaints made by Plato and Aristotle of the degeneracy of music in their time, from its *too great refinement*, we may suppose that its miraculous powers had then ceased.

concerning the *music* of those remote periods, when all the rest are given up?

I shall now consider, under the *second head,* what has been related by ancient authors, concerning the empire of music over the passions.

Plutarch, in his *Dialogue on Music,* tells us, that Terpander appeased a violent sedition among the Lacedæmonians by the assistance of music.

The same author, in his Life of Solon, relates, that this celebrated legislator, by singing an elegy of his own writing, consisting of a hundred verses, excited his countrymen, the Athenians, to a renewal of the war against the Megarians, which had been put an end to in a fit of despair, and which was forbidden to be mentioned on pain of death; but by the power of his song, they were so enflamed, that they never rested till they had taken Salamine, which was the object of the war. This circumstance is not only related by Plutarch, but by Diogenes Laertius, Pausanias, and Polyænus.

Pythagoras, according to Boethius (*c*), seeing a young stranger enflamed with wine, in so violent rage, that he was on the point of setting fire to the house of his mistress, for preferring his rival to him; and, moreover, animated by the sound of a flute playing to him in the Phrygian mode, had this young man restored to reason and tranquillity, by ordering the *Tibicina,* or female performer on the flute, to change her mode, and play in a grave and soothing style, according to the measure usually given to the *Spondee* (*d*). The same kind of story is recorded by Galen, of Damon, the music-master of Socrates; and Empedocles is, in like manner, said to have prevented murder by the sound of his lyre.

Plutarch relates of Antigenides, what others have given to Timotheus, that in playing a spirited air to Alexander, it so enflamed the courage of that prince, that he suddenly arose from table, and seized his arms.

The painter, Theon, who knew the virtue of this martial music, availed himself of its power; for, according to Ælian (*e*), at an exhibition of a picture, in which he had represented a soldier ready to fall on the enemy, he first took the precaution of making a *Tibicen* sound the charge; and as soon as he saw the spectators sufficiently animated by this music, he uncovered his picture, which gained universal admiration.

Thucydides, as quoted by Aulus Gellius (*f*), says, when the Lacedæmonians went to battle, a *Tibicen* played soft and soothing music to temper their courage, lest by an ardent temerity they should have rushed on with too great impetuosity; for, in general, they had more need of having their courage repressed than excited.

(*c*) *De Musica*, lib. i. cap. 1.

(*d*) This measure the French imagine to have been the same as that of the airs known in their old serious operas by the name of *sommeils*, so proper to tranquillize, and excite drowsiness.

(*e*) *Lib.* ii. *cap.* 44.

(*f*) *Lib.* i. *cap.* 11.

However, in an engagement with the Messenians, they were very near being discomfited, when the celebrated Tyrtæus, who performed the part of a *Tibicen* that day, finding the troops give way, immediately quitted the Lydian mode, and played in the Phrygian, which so reanimated their courage, repressed by the preceding mode, that they obtained a complete victory (*g*).

Such are the wonderful effects upon the passions, which the ancient music is said to have produced. Now, without disputing the truth of the facts, let us enquire whether, in those early ages, it was necessary for the art to have been brought to great perfection, in order to operate so powerfully.

To begin with the sedition at Sparta, that Terpander was able to appease so opportunely; upon which I shall only observe, that it does not appear as if the lyre had had the principal share in the business; that instrument only serving as an accompaniment to the voice of the musician, who was likewise an excellent poet, and whose verses upon this occasion, it is most likely, were far more persuasive than his music. It has already been observed how much his melody and modulation must have been confined by the small compass of the lyre; and yet, however desirous Terpander might have been to extend its limits, he would hardly have been so imprudent as to expose himself a second time to the penalty which the ephori had before made him pay, for only adding a single string to his lyre (*h*).

As to the adventure of Solon,* with respect to Salamine, the favourable disposition in which he found the Athenian youth for war, and the persuasive strains of his elegy, the poetry of which was rendered interesting and pathetic, by every circumstance that could be urged upon such an occasion, contributed no less to his being favourably heard than the music. For *melody* at this time confined to few notes, could not be susceptible of great variety: and we may easily form an idea of the rhythm, as it must have been regulated by dactyls, spondees, and anapæsts, the only feet admissible in elegiac verse.

With respect to the power attributed to the flute, it lessens the marvellous very much, when we consider that, in the instances just given, this power was only exercised upon persons agitated by the fumes of wine; for, at present, it certainly would not be difficult to render a company of drunken fellows furious, by a bad hautbois, or tabor and pipe; but, when the first rage had spent

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(*g*) *Patritius, lib.* ii. *cap.* 2.

(*h*) The Spartans, though the first cultivators of music among the Greeks, were such enemies to *variations* in that art, that Terpander was not the only reformer and innovator who felt their resentment; Phrynis and Timotheus underwent a still severer punishment. And Plutarch speaks of a lyrist whom they heavily fined for playing with his fingers, instead of the *plectrum*, as their forefathers had done.

* Born *c.* 639 B.C. In early life Solon was famous for poetry of a light and amatory character. He discarded this mode of writing and before long was considered one of the seven sages. A dispute arose between Athens and Megara with regard to the possession of Salamis. The Athenians were about to relinquish their claims, which roused Solon to such indignation that, feigning madness, he rushed into the market place and declaimed an elegaic poem of 100 lines, in which he called upon the Athenians to reconquer Salamis. His appeal was effective; Solon was elected to conduct a war against the Megarians, the issue of which was later decided by the arbitration of Sparta.

itself, if the hautbois were to play a graver strain, and retard the measure by degrees, we should soon see these pot-valiant heroes fall fast asleep, without reflecting any great honour upon the excellence of the music, or performance.

The flutes, therefore, that were used under the direction of Pythagoras and Damon, cannot easily be regarded in a more wonderful light, any more than the lyre of Empedocles, which is said to have had the power of preventing murder; for all that can be inferred from what has been related of this poet and musician is, that he restored a furious young man to reason and moderation by the assistance of poetical counsel, conveyed to him in a song; for the chief use made of the lyre at that time, as before observed, was to accompany the voice.

With regard to the particular power of the flute of Timotheus, or of Antigenides, over Alexander, where is the wonder that a young and martial prince, extremely sensible to the charms of music, should suddenly rise from table upon hearing some military charge or march sounded, and, seizing his arms, dance a Pyrrhic dance? Must a musician's abilities be very extraordinary, or the music miraculous, to operate such a natural effect?

A Thracian prince, mentioned by Xenophon (*i*), was roused in the same manner by the sound of flutes and trumpets, made of raw hides, and is said to have danced with as much impetuosity and swiftness, as if he had tried to avoid a dart. But must we conclude from this circumstance, that in the city Cerasontes, where it is said to have happened, music was arrived at a greater degree of perfection than elsewhere?

The trumpeter, Herodorus, of Megara, had the power, according to Athenæus of animating the troops of Demetrius so much, by sounding two trumpets at a time, during the siege of Argos, as to enable them to move a machine towards the ramparts, which they had in vain attempted to do for several days before, on account of its enormous weight. Now the whole miraculous part of this exploit may safely be construed into a *signal* given by the musician to the soldiers for working *in concert* at the battering ram, or other military engines; for want of which signal, in former attempts, their efforts had never been united, and consequently were ineffectual.

Nor can any thing be inferred very much in favour of either the music or musician, mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus (*k*), who, under the reign of Eric the second of Denmark, could work his hearers up to a fury at his pleasure; for it was in a dark and barbarous age, when music was extremely degenerated. However, imperfect as it was, its power over the passions seems to have been as great as in the days of Alexander. Giraldus assures us, that he saw the same effects produced at the court of Leo X. Music was then, indeed, a little emerged from barbarism, though very remote from its present degree of perfection.

(*i*) *Κυρ. αναβας, lib.* vii.

(*k*) *Lib.* xii. p. 226.

All this only proves, that the best music of every age, be it ever so coarse and imperfect, has great power over the human affections, and is thought delightful, perfect, and inimitable: hence those hyperbolical praises at all times, and in all countries, concerning music, that becomes intolerable to persons of taste in future ages: and, perhaps, the more barbarous the age and the music, the more powerful its effects (*l*).

I shall now lay before my readers, under the *Third head,* the *Medicinal* powers that have been attributed to music by the ancients.

Martianus Capella (*m*) assures us, that fevers were removed by song, and that Asclepiades cured deafness by the sound of the trumpet. Wonderful, indeed! that the same noise which would occasion deafness in some, should be a specific for it in others! it is making the viper cure her own bite. But perhaps Asclepiades was the inventor of the *Acousticon,* or ear-trumpet, which has been thought a modern discovery; or of the speaking-trumpet, which is a kind of cure for distant deafness. These would be admirable proofs of musical power (*n*)! We have the testimony of Plutarch (*o*), and several other ancient writers, that Thaletas the Cretan delivered the Lacedæmonians from the pestilence by the sweetness of his lyre.

Xenocrates, as Martianus Capella further informs us, employed the sound of instruments in the cure of maniacs ; and Apollonius Dyscolus (*p*), in his fabulous history, *Historia Commentitia,* tells us, from Theophrastus's *Treatise upon Enthusiasm,* that music is a sovereign remedy for a dejection of spirits, and a disordered mind ; and that the sound of the Flute will cure an epilepsy, and a sciatic gout. Athenæus quotes the same passage from Theophrastus, with this additional circumstance, that as to the second of these disorders, to render the cure more certain, the Flute should play in the Phrygian mode (*q*). But Aulus Gellius, who mentions this remedy (*r*), seems to administer it in a very different manner, by prescribing to the Flute-player a soft and gentle strain ; *si modulis lenibus*, says he, *tibicen incinat*: for the Phrygian mode was remarkably vehement and furious. This is what Cœlius Aurelianus calls *loca dolentia decantare, enchanting the disordered places* (*s*). He even tells us how this enchantment is brought about upon these occasions, in saying that the pain is relieved by causing a vibration in the fibres of the afflicted part: *Quæ cum*

(*l*) "For still the less they understand,
The more they admire the slight of hand."

In the first ages of Greece, when music was a new art, and the hearers, unaccustomed to excellence, gave way to their feelings, without asking their judgment leave to be pleased, its operations were most miraculous.

(*m*) *Lib.* ix. *De Musica.*

(*n*) It has been asserted by several moderns, that deaf people can hear best in a great noise ; perhaps to prove, that Greek noise could do nothing which the modern cannot operate as effectually ; and Dr. Willis, in particular, tells us of a lady who could hear only while a drum was beating, in so much that her husband, the account says, hired a *Drummer* as her servant, in order to enjoy the pleasure of her conversation.

(*o*) *De Musica.*

(*p*) *Cap.* xlix. *De Musica,* p. 42.

(*q*) *Deipnos. lib.* xiv. *cap.* 15.

(*r*) *Lib.* iv. *cap.* 13.

(*s*) *Chron. lib.* v. *cap.* 1. *sect.* 23.

saltum sumerent palpitando, discusso dolore mitescerent. Galen speaks seriously of playing the Flute on the suffering part, upon the principle, I suppose, of a medicated vapour bath (*t*). The sound of the flute was likewise a specific for the bite of a viper, according to Theophrastus and Democritus, whose authority Aulus Gellius gives for his belief of the fact. But I find nothing more extraordinary among the virtues attributed to music by the ancients, than what Aristotle relates of its supposed power in softening the rigour of punishment. The Tyrrhenians, says he, never scourge their slaves, but by the sound of flutes, looking upon it as an instance of humanity to give some counterpoise to pain, and thinking, by such a diversion to lessen the sum total of the punishment (*u*). To this account may be added a passage from Jul. Pollux (*x*), by which we learn, that in the *triremes,* or vessels of three banks of oars, there was always a *Tibicen,* or flute-player, not only to mark the time, or cadence, for each stroke of the oar, but to sooth and cheer the rowers by the sweetness of the melody. And from this custom Quintilian took occasion to say, that music is the gift of nature, to enable us the more patiently to support toil and labour (*y*).

These are the principal passages which antiquity furnishes, relative to the medicinal effects of music ; in considering which, I shall rely on the judgment of M. Burette, whose opinions will come with the more weight, as he had not only long made the music of the ancients his particular study, but was a physician by profession. This writer, in a Dissertation on the subject, has examined and discussed many of the stories above related, concerning the effects of music in the cure of diseases. He allows it to be possible, and even probable, that music, by reiterated strokes and vibrations given to the nerves, fibres, and animal spirits, may be of use in the cure of certain diseases; yet he by no means supposes that the music of the ancients possessed this power in a greater degree than the modern, but rather, that a very coarse and vulgar music is as likely to operate effectually on such occasions as the most refined and perfect. The savages of America pretend to perform these cures by the noise and jargon of their imperfect instruments ; and in Apulia, where the bite of the tarantula is pretended to be cured by music,* which excites a desire to dance, it is by an ordinary tune, very coarsely performed (*z*).

(*t*) Many of the ancients speak of music as a recipe for every kind of malady ; and it is probable that the Latin word *præcinere,* to charm away pain, *incantare,* to enchant, and our word *incantation,* came from the medicinal use of song.

(*u*) It seems, by the lightness of the music, from a very different reason, that the Prussian soldiers are scourged to the sound of instruments, at present.

(*x*) *Lib.* iv. *cap.* 8.

(*y*) *Instit. Orat. lib.* i. *cap.* x.

(*z*) M. Burette, with our Dr. Mead, Baglivi, and all the learned of their time, throughout Europe, seem to have entertained no doubt of this fact, which, however, philosophical and curious enquirers have since found to be built upon fraud and fallacy. See Serrao, *della Tarantola o vero Falangio di Pulgia.*

* The old legend connecting the tarantella with the Tarantula is without foundation. The word tarantella derives from the town of Taranto. The Tarantella was often used as an urge to rapid movement in the disease or rather the nervous disorder known as Tarantism, which was prevalent in Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Credulity must be very strong in those who can believe it possible for music to drive away the pestilence. Antiquity, however, as mentioned above, relates, that Thaletas, a famous lyric poet, cotemporary with Solon, was gifted with this power; but it is impossible to render the fact credible, without qualifying it by several circumstances omitted in the relation. In the first place it is certain, that this poet was received among the Lacedæmonians during the plague, by command of an oracle; that by virtue of this mission, all the poetry of the hymns which he sung, must have consisted of prayers and supplications, in order to avert the anger of the Gods against the people, whom he exhorted to sacrifices, expiations, purifications, and many other acts of devotion ; which however superstitious, could not fail to agitate the minds of the multitudes, and to produce nearly the same effects as public feasts, and, in catholic countries, processions, at present, in times of danger, by exalting the courage, and by animating hope.

The disease having, probably, reached its highest pitch of malignity when the musician arrived, must afterwards have become less contagious by degrees; till, at length, ceasing of itself, by the air wafting away the seeds of infection, and recovering its former purity, the extirpation of the disease was attributed by the people to the music of Thaletes, who had been thought the sole mediator, to whom they owed their happy deliverance.

This is probably what Plutarch means, who tells the story; and what Homer meant, in attributing the cessation of the plague among the Greeks, at the siege of Troy, to music.

> With hymns divine the joyous banquet ends,
> The Pœans lengthen'd till the sun descends:
> The Greeks restor'd, the grateful notes prolong ;
> Apollo listens, and approves the song.
>
> Pope's Homer's Iliad, Book 1.

For the poet, in this passage, seems only to say, that Apollo was rendered favourable, and had delivered the Greeks from the scourge with which they were attacked, in consequence of Chryseis having been restored to her father, and of sacrifices and offerings.

M. Burette thinks it easy to conceive, that music may be really efficacious in relieving, if not removing, the pains of the Sciatica; and that, independent of the greater or less skill of the musician. He supposes this may be effected in two different ways: first, by flattering the ear, and diverting the attention ; and, secondly, by occasioning oscillations and vibrations of the nerves, which may, perhaps, give motion to the humours, and remove the obstructions. which occasion this disorder. In this manner the action of musical sounds upon the fibres of the brain, and in animal spirits, may sometimes soften and alleviate the sufferings of Epileptics and Lunatics, and even calm the most violent fits of these two cruel disorders. And if antiquity affords examples of this power, we can oppose to them some of the same kind, said to have been effected by music, not of the most exquisite sort. For, not only M. Burette, but many modern philosophers, physicians, and anatomists, as well as ancient poets and historians, have believed that music has the power of affecting, not only the mind, but the nervous system, in such a manner, as will give a temporary relief in certain diseases, and, at length, even operate a radical cure.

In the Memoires of the Academy of Sciences for 1707, and 1708, we meet with many accounts of diseases, which, after having resisted and baffled all the most efficacious remedies in common use, had, at length, given way to the soft impressions of harmony.

M. de Mairan, in the Memoires of the same Academy, 1737, reasons upon the medicinal powers of music in the following manner. "It is from the mechanical and involuntary connexion between the organ of hearing, and the consonances excited in the outward air, joined to the rapid communication of the vibrations of this organ to the whole nervous system, that we owe the cure of spasmodic disorders, and of fevers attended with a delirium and convulsions, of which our Memoires furnish many examples."

The learned Dr. Bianchini, professor of physic at Udine, has lately collected all the passages preserved in ancient authors, relative to the medicinal application of music by Asclepiades; and it appears from this work (*a*), that it was used as a remedy by the ancient Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, not only in acute, but chronical disorders. And this writer gives several cases within his own knowledge, in which music has been efficacious ; but the consideration, as well as the honour, of these, more properly belong to *modern* music, than to the ancient.

And now, after an examination of the power attributed to ancient music over the human species, in *softening the manners, governing the passions*, and *healing diseases*, this section might be considerably swelled, by accounts of its influence over the *brute creation*. But I shall wave the discussion of these, as some of them belong to poetical fables, moral allegories, and mythological mysteries ; and others are too puerile and trivial to merit attention, unless among *stories to be laughed at*.

Indeed, with respect to this boasted influence of music upon animals, though not only antiquity, but several eminent and philosophical modern writers seem to have entertained no doubt of it, yet the articles of my creed, upon this subject, are but very few. Even *Birds*, so fond of their own music, are no more charmed and inspired by ours, than by the most dissonant noise ; for I have long observed that the sound of a voice, or instrument of the most exquisite kind, has no other effect upon a bird in a cage, than to make him almost burst himself in envious efforts to surpass it in loudness ; and that the stroke of a hammer upon the wainscot, or a fire shovel, excites the same rival spirit. A singing-bird is as unwilling to listen to others, as a loquacious disputant.

(*a*) *La Medicina d'Asclepiade per ben curare malatie acute.* Ven.

As to quadrupeds, it is by no means certain, that music affects them naturally with any thing but surprize and terror. A dog and cat, not accustomed to hear music, will howl, when an instrument is touched in the same room with them, as if the sound were too much for their nerves to bear. Some have, indeed, construed this effect into ecstatic pleasure ; but, open the door, and they will run away from the music, as hastily as from a whip and a bell. By education and discipline, several animals have indeed been taught to attend to it: the sound of a trumpet will rouse a horse (*b*) ; and a pack of hounds will obey orders issued through a French horn.

But if the truth of every strange story related by Ælian, Pliny, and other authors, concerning the great sensibility of all kinds of animals for ancient music, could be ascertained, the power it had over them would by no means prove its superior excellence. Indeed, if it should be granted that any supernatural effects upon *man* were ever produced in former times by mere *practical music*, it would be so far from proving its *superiority* to the modern, that it seems to demonstrate the direct contrary. For, at present, it is not the most refined and uncommon melody, sung in the most exquisite manner, or the most artificial and complicated harmony, which has the greatest power over the passions of the multitude: on the contrary, the most simple music, sung to the most intelligible words, applied to a favourite and popular subject, in which the whole audience can occasionally join, will be more likely to rouse and transport them, than the most delicate or learned performance in an opera or oratorio.

But in proportion as an age, or nation, grows refined, and accustomed to musical excellence, it becomes more difficult to please. The dose of any medicine must be doubled, if frequently taken ; an opiate, or cathartic, that would cause eternal sleep, or the most violent convulsions, if administered to a patient at first in a large quantity, would become mild and anodyne by use, and a gradual encrease of the quantity. The nearer the people of any country are to a state of nature, the fonder they are of noisy music: like children, who prefer a rattle and a drum to a soft and refined melody, or the artful combinations of learned harmony.

It is not, therefore, difficult to conceive, that the music of the ancients, with all its simplicity, by its strict union with poetry, which rendered it more articulate and intelligible, could operate more powerfully in theatric, and other public exhibitions, than the artificial melody, and complicated harmony of modern times ; for though poetry was assisted by ancient music, it is certainly injured by the modern.

And here I can believe great effects to have arisen from little causes, however, many hyperbolical accounts of its supernatural powers that have been handed down from age to age, are not only too improbable for belief, but too ridiculous to be treated seriously.

(*b*) *Fremit equus quum signa dedit tubicen.* Ovid.

Poetical fables, and ingenious allegories, come not under this class. Amphion building the walls of Thebes with the sound of his lyre, may be solved into the sweetness of his poetical numbers, and the wisdom of his counsel prevailing upon a rude and barbarous people to submit to law and order, to live in society, and to defend themselves from the insults of savage neighbours, by building a wall round their town.

It is not quite so easy to unfold the mysteries of *singing Swans*, or *intelligent Grasshoppers*. However, the chevalier de Jaucourt tells us, *seriously*, that "the Swan, whose sweet song is so celebrated by the poets, does not produce the sounds by his *voice*, which is very coarse and disagreeable, but by his *wings*, which, being raised and extended when he sings, are played upon by the winds, like the Æolian harp, and produce a sound so much the more agreeable, as it is not monotonous, which is the case in the warble of most other birds ; but on the contrary, this sound is continually changing, being composed of many different tones, which form a kind of harmony, in proportion as the wind happens to fall on different parts of the wings, and in different positions (*c*)." But whoever heard this harmony? and why was it more remarkable and mellifluous in the *dying swans* of antiquity, than in those of youth and vigour?

The story of a Grasshopper supplying the place of a broken string in the musical contest between Eunomes and Ariston, at the Pythian games, is gravely related by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and Pausanias. The first of these authors gives a very plausible reason for one particular breed of grasshoppers singing better than another, though not for the sagacity of the individual insect in question. He says, that though the two cities of Rhegium and Locris were only separated by the river Alex, the grasshoppers sung on the side of Locris, and were utterly mute on that of Rhegium: for at Rhegium, the country being moist and woody, the insect is languid and dull: whereas on the Locrian side, which is dry and open, the grasshoppers are more lively, and fond of singing.

The Dolphins seem, at all times, to have had a great attachment to human kind (*d*), but particularly to poets and musicians. I shall give the celebrated story of Arion from Herodotus, in the words of his English translator.

"Periander, the son of Cypselus, was king of Corinth; and the Corinthians say, that a most astonishing thing happened there in his time, which is also confirmed by the Lesbians. Those people give out, that Arion of Methymna, who was second to none of his time in playing on the harp, and first inventor of dithyrambics, both name and thing, which he taught at Corinth, was brought

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(*c*) *Encyc.* Art. *Voix.*

(*d*) Pliny, *lib.* ix. *cap.* 8, tells us of a dolphin that became so fond of a child, by whom he had been regaled with some crumbs of bread, and the sweet name of *Simon*, that he carried him every day, during several years, across the sea, to school, from Baii to Puzzuoli, and back again.

by a dolphin to Tænarus; and thus they tell the story: Arion having continued long with Periander, resolved to make a voyage to Italy and Sicily, where, when he had acquired great riches, determining to return to Corinth, he went to Tarentum, and hired a ship of certain Corinthians, because he put more confidence in them than in any other nation. But these men, when they were in their passage, conspired together to throw him into the sea, that they might get his money; which he no sooner understood, than offering them all his treasure, he only begged they would spare his life. But the seamen being inflexible, commanded him either to kill himself, that he might be buried ashore, or to leap immediately into the sea. Arion seeing himself reduced to this hard choice, most earnestly desired that, as they had determined on his death, they would permit him to dress in his richest apparel, and to sing, standing on the side of the ship, promising to kill himself when he had done. The seamen, highly pleased that they should hear a song from the best singer in the world, granted his request, and went from the stern to the middle of the vessel. In the mean time, Arion having put on all his robes, took up his harp, and began an Orthian ode, which, when he had finished, he leapt into the sea as he was dressed, and the Corinthians continued their voyage homeward. They say a Dolphin received him on his back, from the ship, and carried him to Tænarus, where he went ashore, and thence proceeded to Corinth, without changing his cloaths; that, upon his arrival there, he told what had happened to him; but that Periander, giving no credit to his relation, put him under a close confinement, and took especial care to find out the seamen: that when they were found, and brought before him, he enquired of them concerning Arion; and they answering, that they had left him with great riches at Tarentum, and that he was undoubtedly safe in some port of Italy, Arion in that instant appeared before them in the very dress he had on when he leaped into the sea; at which they were so astonished, that having nothing to say for themselves, they confessed the fact. These things are reported by the Corinthians and Lesbians; in confirmation of which, a statue of Arion, made of brass, and of a moderate size, representing a man sitting upon a dolphin, is seen at Tænarus (*e*)."

Plutarch, in his Banquet of the seven Wise Men, puts a ridiculous account of the death of Hesiod into the mouth of Solon, who, after telling us that the poet was killed at the Nemean temple at Locris, seriously assures us, that his body being cast into the sea, was instantly caught up by a shoal of Dolphins, and carried to Rhium, and Molycrium, where it was soon recognized, and buried by the inhabitants in the temple of Nemean Jove.

All these stories, and many more, have frequently been quoted in favour of ancient music; yet, to realize or demonstrate its excellence now, seems out of the power even of those who have spent the greatest part of their lives in the study of it. Meibomius, the

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(*e*) Littlebury's *Herod.* vol. i. p. 13.

great and learned Meibomius, when prevailed on at Stockholm to sing *Greek Strophes*, set the whole court of Christina in a roar, as Naudé did in executing a Roman dance (*f*); but who would venture to appear at court now, in a dress that was worn a thousand years ago? Yet men delight in the marvellous; and many bigoted admirers of antiquity, forgetting that most of the extraordinary effects attributed to the music of the ancients had their origin in poetical inventions, and mythological allegories, have given way to credulity so far as to believe, or pretend to believe, these fabulous accounts, in order to play them off against modern music; which, according to them, must remain in a state far inferior to the ancient, till it can operate all the effects that have been attributed to the music of Orpheus, Amphion, and such wonder-working bards.

(*f*) *Vie de Christine, Reine du Suede.*

A GENERAL HISTORY OF MUSIC

HARMONY seems a part of nature, as much as light or heat; and to number any one of them among human inventions would be equally absurd. Indeed nature seems to have furnished human industry with the principles of all science: for what is *Geometry*, but the study and imitation of those proportions, by which the world is governed? *Astronomy*, but reflecting upon and calculating the motion, distances, and magnitude, of those visible, but wonderful objects, which nature has placed before our eyes? *Theology*, but contemplating the works of the Creator, and adoring him in his attributes? *Medicine*, but the study of nature, or the discovery and use of what inferior beings instinctively find, in every wood and field through which they range, when the animal œconomy is disturbed by accident or intemperance?

The ancients, by experiments on a single string, or monochord, found out the relations and proportions of one sound to another; but the moderns have lately discovered that nature,* in every sounding body, has arranged and settled all these proportions in such a manner, that a single sound appears to be composed of the most perfect harmonies, as a single ray of light is of the most beautiful colours; and when two concordant sounds are produced in just proportion, nature gives a third, which is their true and fundamental base (*a*).

This is only speaking of *natural* harmony, and the science of harmonical proportion: but even the *art* or *practice* of music cannot be said to have been *invented* by any one man, for that must have had its infancy, childhood, and youth, before it arrived at maturity (*b*).

I shall not, therefore, amuse my readers with puerile accounts of the *invention* of music; as I believe it may be asserted with truth, that no one man was the *inventor* of any *art, science,* or complicated piece of mechanism, without some *præcognita*, some leading principles, or assistance from others.

(*a*) This will be explained hereafter.

(*b*) *Omnium rerum principia parva sunt, sed suis progressionibus usu augentur.* Cic. de Fin. bon. et mal. *Lib.* v.

* The harmonies of the human voice were noted by Rameau early in the eighteenth century, but in the seventeenth century Mersenne notices them in connection with a string.

Among the ancient Greeks, says Pausanias, rude and shapeless stones held the place of statues, and received divine honours. A stone was adored in Bæotia for Hercules ; at Thebes, for Bacchus: and Herodian pretends, that the image, or symbol, of the Venus of Paphos, was at first only a stone, in form of a landmark, or pyramid. The first house was, doubtless a cavern, or a *hollow tree ;* and the first picture, a shadow ; even temples at first were so small, that the Gods could hardly stand upright in them:

> *Jupiter angusta vix totus stabat in æde* (*c*).
> Ovid, Fast. lib. i.

and yet it has been thought necessary, in histories or architecture and of painting, to tell us who were the *inventors* of those arts.

As in these, so in music, the first attempts must have been rude and artless: the first flute, a *whistling reed* (*d*), and the first lyre, perhaps, the *dried sinews* of a dead tortoise. However, particular persons have been mentioned as the inventors of such clumsy instruments as were made by nature, and found by chance ; and yet, notwithstanding the little probability there is that music could have been brought to perfection by those who first attempted it, we are told by the ancient poets, historians, and even philosophers, that the miraculous powers of this art were exercised with the greatest success by its first cultivators.

Who these first cultivators were, and what region of the earth they inhabited, it is not easy to determine. According to Herodotus (*e*), it was long disputed by the Egyptians and Phrygians, which of them could boast the higher antiquity ; and we are told by the same writer, that it was put to a very weak and precarious issue, which turned out favourable to the Phrygians (*f*). But as all the most ancient historians speak of the stupendous and splendid remains of grandeur and civilization to be found in Egypt, at a time when Phrygia could produce no such vouchers ; and as Sanconiatho, the most ancient historian of the Phœnicians, a people, who have a just claim to a very high antiquity, confesses (*g*) his cosmogony to have been taken from that of Taautus, who was the same with the Egyptian Thoth, or Hermes ; I shall not enter upon a minute discussion of the point, but proceed immediately to the history of music in that country, where the most indisputable proofs and testimonies remain of the extreme high antiquity of its religion, government, arts, and civil policy.

(*c*) No sumptuous temples are upon record, till the days of Solomon : new kingdoms then began to build sepulchres to their founders, in a magnificent manner ; such were constructed by Hiram in Tyre, Sesac in all Egypt, and Benhadad in Damascus. *Newton's Chron.*

(*d*) *Et zephyris cava per calamorum sibila primum*
Agresteis docuere cavas inflare cicutas. Lucret. *lib.* v.

(*e*) Euterpe.

(*f*) In order to make the experiment, Psammetichus, king of Egypt, ordered two children, just born, to be shut up in a cottage with dumb nurses ; and these children, as they grew up, were always heard, when hungry, to pronounce the word *bekkos*, which, upon enquiry, was found to be the Phrygian name for bread.

(*g*) *Apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev.* l. i. c. 10.

THE HISTORY OF EGYPTIAN MUSIC

THAT Egypt was one of the first countries on the globe which cultivated arts and sciences, is certain, from the testimony of the most ancient and respectable historians. Indeed, we have no authentic accounts of any nation upon the earth, where a regular government was established, civilization advanced, the different orders and ranks of the people settled, property ascertained, and the whole regulated by long custom, and by laws founded upon wisdom and experience, in such high antiquity as in Egypt.*

For all this, we have the testimony of the Jewish legislator and historian, Moses, who allows the Egyptians to have been a powerful and polished people, before the arrival of Jacob's single family among them, consisting of only seventy persons, in order to obtain corn, during the time of a great famine, which raged throughout Syria (*f*). And even much earlier, Abraham was obliged to visit that country upon a similar occasion (*g*), where he found the state settled under a *king*, the second of whom mention is made in the sacred writings, and who had ideas of justice and rectitude, and treated him with hospitality and kindness.

That Architecture was known here in a grand and magnificent style, much earlier than in other parts of the world, is certain, from the wonderful remains of it still subsisting in the Pyramids, of which the antiquity was so remote in the days of Herodotus, the oldest historian of Greece, that he could neither discover the time of their construction, nor procure an explanation of the Hieroglyphics they contained, though he travelled through that country expressly in search of historical information.

To the Egyptians has been assigned the invention of Geometry, an art necessary for measuring and ascertaining the portions of land belonging to each individual, after the overflowing of the Nile, by which all boundaries were obliterated. Now as it is allowed by all antiquity that Pythagoras travelled into Egypt, and was obliged to the priests of that country for the chief part of his science, particularly in music (*h*), it is natural to suppose that the doctrine of Harmonics,

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(*f*) *Gen.* xlvi. 6, 27. (*g*) *Gen.* xii. 10. (*h*) See Diog. Laert.

* Modern discovery has upset this belief, but it does not detract from the importance of Egypt in the history of the development of science and art.

or the geometrical mensuration of sounds, and the laws of their proportions to each other, were the invention of these early geometricians, who had brought the science of calculation to great perfection, long before the arrival of the Samian sage among them.

It is in vain, therefore, to endeavour to trace music from a higher source than the history of Egypt ; a country, in which all human intelligence seems to have sprung. Its ancient inhabitants boasted a much higher antiquity than those of any other country ; or, indeed, than has ever been granted them by any modern system of chronology ; for from the time of Osiris to Alexander the Great, they counted ten thousand years. However, there are no annals of their history, or computations of time, which do not allow them an extreme high antiquity : those who strictly adhere to the Hebrew chronology, are obliged to it, for the reasons assigned above ; and the followers of other systems can find no transactions concerning any other countries prior to those recorded of the Egyptians ; for they were a great people long before the use of letters was known, till which period, they had no other memorials of times past than Hieroglyphics, which being, at first, vague and fanciful, must soon have grown out of use and unintelligible, when the more simple, certain, and expeditious method of conveying their transactions and thoughts to distant places and times, was agreed upon, by writing.

With respect to Music, I know it is asserted by Diodorus Siculus (*i*), " that the cultivation of it was prohibited among them ; for they looked upon it not only as useless, but noxious, being persuaded that it rendered the minds of men effeminate." To this passage has been opposed one from Plato, by a writer who has well discussed the point (*k*) ; and as Plato travelled into Egypt with a view of getting acquainted with the arts and sciences that flourished there (*l*), and was particularly attached to music ; it is natural to suppose that his enquiries would be judicious, and his account of it accurate. The following quotation from him will, therefore, have the more weight.

Athen. The plan which we have been laying down for the education of youth, was known long ago to the Egyptians, viz. that nothing but beautiful forms, and fine music, should be permitted to enter into the assemblies of young people. Having settled what those forms, and that music should be, they exhibited them in their temples ; nor was it allowable for painters, or other imitative artists, to innovate, or invent, any forms different from what were established ; nor is it now lawful, either in painting, statuary, or any of the branches of the music, to make any alteration. Upon examining, therefore, you will find, that the pictures and statues made ten thousand years ago, are, in no one particular, better or worse than what they make now.

(*i*) *Lib.* i.

(*k*) Mr. Stillingfleet, in *Principles and Power of Harmony*, p. 123.

(*l*) According to Strabo, he remained in that country thirteen years.

Clin. What you say is wonderful.

Athen. Yes, it is in the true spirit of legislation and policy. Other things practised among that people may, perhaps, be blameable ; but what they ordained about music is right ; and it deserves consideration, that they were able to make laws about things of this kind, firmly establishing such melody as was fitted to rectify the perverseness of nature. This must have been the work of the Deity, or of some divine man ; as, in fact, they say in Egypt, that the music which has been so long preserved, was composed by Isis, and the poetry likewise. *Plato,* p. 789.

This testimony of Plato contains a sufficient answer to Diodorus ; but one still more full may be extracted from his own writings, as, in this particular, he is in contradiction with himself ; for he not only tells us that music, and musical instruments, were invented by the Egyptian deities, Osiris, Isis, Orus, and Hermes ; but that Orpheus had from Egypt the fable of his descent into hell, and the power of music over the infernals ; and enumerates all the great poets and musicians of Greece who had visited that country, in order to improve themselves in the arts. Herodotus too, who travelled into Egypt more than three hundred years before Diodorus, and a hundred before Plato, is so far from mentioning any prohibition against the practice of music there, that he gives several instances of its use in their festivals, and religious ceremonies.

" The Egyptians," says he (*m*), " were the first inventors of festivals, ceremonies, and transactions with the Gods, by the mediation of others. It is not thought sufficient in Egypt," continues this father of history, " to celebrate the festivals of the Gods once every year, but they have many times appointed to that end: particularly in the city of *Bubastis,* where they assemble to worship Diana, with great devotion. The manner observed in these festivals at Bubastis is this: men and women embark promiscuously, in great numbers ; and, during the voyage, some of the women beat upon a tabor, while part of the men play on the pipe ; the rest, of both sexes, singing, and clapping their hands together at the same time. At every city they find in their passage, they haul in the vessel, and some of the women continue their music."

In the same book, he tells us, that in the processions of Osiris or Bacchus, the Egyptian women carry the images, *singing* the praises of the god, *preceded by a flute.* And afterwards, in speaking of funeral ceremonies, he has the following remarkable passage. " Among other memorable customs, the Egyptians sing the song of Linus, like that which is sung by the Phœnicians, Cyprians, and other nations, who vary the name according to the different languages they speak. But the person they honour in this song, is evidently the same that the Grecians celebrate: and as I confess my surprize at many things I found among the Egyptians, so I more particularly wonder whence they had this knowledge of Linus, because they seem to have celebrated him from time immemorial.

(*m*) *Euterp.*

The Egyptians call him by the name of *Maneros,* and say he was the only son of the first of their kings, but dying an untimely death, in the flower of his age, he is lamented by the Egyptians in this mourning song, which is the only composition of the kind used in Egypt."

Strabo (*n*) says, that the children of the Egyptians were taught letters, the Songs appointed by law, and a certain species of Music established by government, exclusive of all others.

Indeed the Greeks, who lost no merit by neglecting to claim it, unanimously confess, that most of their ancient musical instruments were of Egyptian invention ; as the triangular Lyre, the Monaulos, or single Flute ; the Symbal, or Kettle-drum ; and the Sistrum, an instrument of sacrifice, which was so multiplied by the priests in religious ceremonies, and in such great favour with the Egyptians in general, that Egypt was often called, in derision, the *country of Sistrums ;* as Greece has been said to be governed by the Lyre.

Herodotus (*o*), in tracing the genealogy of the Dorians, one of the most ancient people of Greece, makes them natives of Egypt: and as the three musical modes of highest antiquity among the Greeks, are the Dorian, Phrygian and Lydian, it is likely that the Egyptian colony, which peopled the Dorian province, brought with them the music and instruments of their native country.

The profession of music was hereditary among the Egyptians, as was every other profession. This custom was imitated by the Hebrews; and Herodotus (*p*) tells us, that the Lacedæmonians, who were Dorians, agreed with their progenitors, the Egyptians, in this, that their musicians were all of one family. Their priests too, like those of Egypt, were at once taught medicine, to play on stringed instruments, and initiated into religious mysteries.

The prohibition, therefore, mentioned by that excellent and judicious writer, Diodorus Siculus, inconsistent as it may seem with what he elsewhere says of the music and musicians of Egypt, may be accounted for, by the study of music, in very ancient times, having been confined there to the priesthood, who used it only on religious and solemn occasions. And, as we are told by Plato, that not only the music, but the sculpture of the Egyptians, was circumscribed by law, and continued invariable for many ages, which accounts for the little progress they made in both, it seems as if, during the time that arts were thus rendered stationary, only *new* music was prohibited; and that the old was sacred, and so connected with religion, that it was, perhaps, forbidden to be used on light and common occasions.

But the Egyptians are mentioned by all writers, as if their government, customs, religion, laws, and arts, had remained the same through all the revolutions of time, and vicissitude of things. Yet it should be remembered that they became subjects of different invaders at different periods, who must have greatly changed, not

(*n*) Βιβ. I. (*o*) Erato. (*p*) Erato.

only the form of their government, but their manners and amusements: they were, by turns, after the reign of the Pharaohs, conquered by the Ethiopians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. In the time of the Ptolemies, it seems as if no other than Greek literature, arts, and sciences, were cultivated among them, and the musical games and contests instituted by those monarchs, were all of Greek origin, and chiefly supplied by Greek musicians.

However, a sufficient number of passages have been cited from ancient authors, to evince the use of music, at all times, in Egypt, and there still remain, both at Rome, and at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, such proofs of its high antiquity, as appear to be wholly incontestable.

There are no memorials of human art and industry, at present subsisting in Rome, of equal antiquity with the obelisks that have been brought thither from Egypt; two of them, in particular, are supposed to have been erected at Heliopolis, by Sesostris, near four hundred years before the Trojan war (*q*). These Augustus, after reducing Egypt to a Roman province, caused to be brought to Rome. One of them he placed in the great Circus, and the other in the *Campus Martius*; this last, the largest of all those that have been transported from Egypt to Rome, was thrown down and broken, at the time of the sacking and burning of that city by the constable duke of Bourbon, general to the emperor Charles V. 1527, and still lies in the *Campus Martius*. This column is known at Rome by the name of the *Guglia rotta*, or broken pillar. Upon this, among other hieroglyphics, is represented a musical instrument of two strings, with a neck to it (*r*), much resembling the *Calascione*, which is still in common use throughout the kingdom of Naples. The drawing of this instrument, which was made under my own eye, is of the exact size of the figure or hieroglyphic on the Obelisk, which is the most ancient piece of sculpture at Rome (*s*).*

This instrument seems to merit a particular description here, not only from its great antiquity, but from its form; for by having been furnished with a neck, though it had but two strings, it was capable of producing from them a great number of notes; for

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(*q*) *Not. ad Tacit. An. lib.* ii. *cap.* 60, p. 251. *Edit. Gronov. Vales. Not. Ammian. lib.* xvii. *cap.* 14, and the bishop of Gloucester on the Hieroglyphics.

(*r*) See Plate I.

(*s*) Figures of musical instruments have been found upon the Isiac table, particularly the *Harp* and *Sistrum*; but this obelisk is a monument of far more certain antiquity than the table of Isis, which has been supposed by the learned Jablonski, to be a calendar of Egyptian festivals, fabricated at Rome for the use of the Egyptians established there, during the time of the emperor Caracalla, in imitation of the figures and workmanship of Egypt. The Comte de Caylus, however, thinks that it certainly was engraved in Egypt, and brought into Italy about the end of the Republic, when the worship of Isis was first introduced there. *Recueil d'Antiquitiés*, 1767, tom. vii. p. 37.

* The drawing of this instrument has been reduced to the scale of one-third of original.

In his remarks upon the instrument, Plate V., No. 9, Burney calls it a Dichord. Actually it is a *tamboura*, or as the Egyptian called it, a *nofre*. In early representations it is usually depicted with four pegs, but later two only are shown. It is difficult to be certain as to the number of strings employed on the *nofre*. Engel in the *Music of the Most Ancient Nations* (1909, p. 204, *et seq.*) is inclined to the theory " that the number of strings varied " and that " three is believed to have been the usual number." In some representations of the *nofre* frets are clearly indicated.

instance, if these two strings were tuned fourths to each other, they would furnish that series of sounds which the ancients called a heptachord, consisting of two *conjunct tetrachords*, as B, c, d, e; E, f, g, a; and if the strings of this instrument, like those on the *Calascione*, were tuned fifths they would produce an octave, or two *disjunct tetrachords*; an advantage which none of the Grecian instruments seem to have possessed for many ages after this column was erected. Indeed I have never yet been able to discover in any remains of Greek sculpture, an instrument furnished with a neck; and father Montfaucon says, that in examining the representations of near five hundred ancient lyres, harps, and citharas, he never met with one in which there was any contrivance for shortening strings, during the time of performance, as by a neck and finger board.

This instrument, therefore, is not only a proof that music was cultivated by the Egyptians in the most remote antiquity, but that they had discovered the means of extending their scale, and multiplying the sounds of a few strings, by the most simple and commodious expedients.

Proclus tells us (*t*), "That the Egyptians recorded all singular events, and *new inventions*, upon columns, or stone pillars." Now if this be true, as the *guglia*, or great obelisk, is said to have been first erected at Heliopolis, in the time of Sesostris, it will in some measure fix the period when this *dichord*, or two-stringed instrument, was invented.

An exact chronology, however, in transactions of such remote ages, can hardly be expected. Sir Isaac Newton,* whom I shall frequently follow, has more opponents to his Egyptian Chronology, than to any of his other writings. The bishop of Gloucester has attacked him with all his powers of learning and argument: it is not my business to enlist, on either side, in so learned and hopeless a dispute, in which both parties have the authority of ancient writers to confirm their opinions (*u*).

Sir Isaac Newton supposes the elder Bacchus, Osiris, Sesac, and Sesostris, to be one and the same person (*x*): the bishop of Gloucester, on the contrary, denies their identity, especially that of Osiris and Sesostris, whom he makes totally different persons, and to have flourished at very different periods. To Osiris he gives the character of legislator, inventor of arts, and civilizer of a rude and barbarous people; and to Sesostris that of a conqueror who carried those arts and that civilization into remote countries (*y*): and Osiris whom sir Isaac Newton places but 956 years before Christ, the bishop makes cotemporary with Moses, and seven

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(*t*) *In Timæum, lib.* i.

(*u*) When respectable authors differ very widely in fixing the periods of time in which any of the personages I have occasion to mention, lived, I shall give the several dates of these writers for my readers to please themselves, by chusing among them that which they may think the most probable.

(*x*) *Chronol. of Ancient Kingdoms*, p. 193.

(*y*) *Div. Leg.* b. iv. sect. v.

* *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms*, published posthumously in 1728.

hundred years higher than Sesac or Sesostris, the cotemporaries of Solomon and Jeroboam.

The Egyptian mythology, as well as the Grecian, is so much connected with the first attempts at music, and so many of the Pagan divinities have been said to be its first cultivators, that some slight mention of them is unavoidable.

The sun, moon, and stars seem to have struck all mankind with wonder, awe, and reverence; and to have impressed them with the first idea of religious veneration. To the adoration of these succeeded hero-worship, in the deification of dead kings and legislators. This was the course of idolatry every where, as well as in Egypt: indeed the inhabitants of this country seem, from their early civilization, conquests, and power, to have spread their religious principles over the whole habitable earth; as it is easy to trace all the Pagan mythology of other countries, in the first ages of the world of which we have any account, from Egypt; and Isis and Osiris may be proved to have been the prototypes of almost every other God and Goddess of antiquity. For the *Moon,* or Luna, under the name of *Isis,* means all the most ancient female divinities of Paganism; as the *Sun,* under that of *Osiris,* does the male. Diodorus Siculus confesses, that there was ever a great confusion of sentiments concerning Isis and Osiris.* The former is called Ceres, Thesmophora, or Juno, Hecate, Proserpine, and Luna; Osiris has been likewise called Serapis, Dionysius, Helios, Pluto, Ammon, Jupiter, and Pan.

However, the history of these does not so immediately concern the present enquiries, as that of Mercury or Hermes, one of the *secondary Gods* of Egypt, who received divine honours on account of his useful and extraordinary talents (*z*). This God must therefore be taken out of his niche, and examined.

There is no personage in all antiquity more renowned than the Egyptian Mercury, who was surnamed Trismegistus, *or thrice illustrious*. He was the soul of Osiris's counsel and government and is called by sir Isaac Newton, his secretary; "Osiris," says he, "using the advice of his secretary Thoth, distributes Egypt into thirty-six *nomes* (*a*); and in every *nome* erects a temple, and appoints the several Gods, festivals, and religions of the several *nomes*. The temples were the sepulchres of his great men, where they were to be buried and worshipped after death, each in his own temple, with ceremonies and festivals appointed by him; while he and his queen, by the names of Osiris and Isis, were to be worshipped in all Egypt; these were the temples seen and

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(*z*) By *secondary divinities* is here meant such princes, heroes, and legislators, as were deified after death, for the benefits they had conferred on mankind when living, in distinction to the *heavenly luminaries*, or sun, moon, and stars, which were the first divinities of paganism.

(*a*) Districts, or provinces.

* One of the chief aspects of Osiris was as a Corn God, and of Isis, Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (abridged ed., 1922, p. 382, *et seq.*) writes: "The original meaning of the Goddess Isis is still more difficult to determine than that of her brother and husband, Osiris. Her attributes were so numerous that in the hieroglyphics she is called "the many named," "the thousand named," and in the Greek inscriptions "the myriad named."

described by Lucian, who was himself an Egyptian, eleven hundred years after, to be of one and the same age: and this was the original of the several *nomes* of Egypt, and of the several Gods and several religions of those *nomes* (*b*)." And Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Mercury was honoured by Osiris, and afterwards worshipped by the Egyptians, as a person endowed with extraordinary talents for every thing that was conducive to the good of society. He was the first who, out of the coarse and rude dialects of his time, formed a regular language, and gave appellatives to the most useful things: he likewise invented the first characters or letters, and even regulated the harmony of words and phrases: he instituted several rites and ceremonies relative to the worship of the Gods, and communicated to mankind the first principles of astronomy. He afterwards suggested to them, as amusements, wrestling, and dancing, and invented the lyre, to which he gave three strings, an allusion to the seasons of the year: for these three strings producing three different sounds, the grave, the mean, and the acute; the grave answered to winter, the mean to spring, and the acute to summer (*c*).

Among the various opinions of the several ancient writers who have mentioned this circumstance, and confined the invention to the Egyptian Mercury, that of Apollodorus is the most intelligible and probable. "The Nile," says this writer (*d*), "after having overflowed the whole country of Egypt, when it returned within its natural bounds, left on the shore a great number of dead animals of various kinds, and, among the rest, a tortoise, the flesh of which being dried and wasted by the sun, nothing was left within the shell, but nerves and cartilages, and these being braced and contracted by desiccation, were rendered sonorous; Mercury, in walking along the banks of the Nile, happening to strike his foot against the shell of this tortoise, was so pleased with the sound it produced, that it suggested to him the first idea of a lyre, which he afterwards constructed in the form of a tortoise, and strung it with the dried sinews of dead animals."

It is generally imagined that there were two Thoths, or Mercuries, in Egypt, who lived at very remote periods, but both

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(*b*) *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms*, p. 22.

(*c*) Not only the Egyptians, but the ancient Greeks, divided their year into no more than three seasons, spring, summer, and winter, which were called ὡραι, or *hours*; Hesiod speaks of no more:

> The Hours to Jove, did lovely Themis bear,
> Eunomia, Dice, and Irene fair:
> O'er human labours, they the pow'r possess,
> With *seasons* kind, the fruits of earth to bless.
>
> *Theogony.*

However, Oπωρα, *Autumnus*, occurs in Homer, Od. λ. 191, in a Fragment of Orpheus, and in Xenophon; and M. de Boze has described, in the *Mem. de Litterature*, an ancient marble monument found among the ruins near Athens, upon which the *four* seasons of the year are represented in sculpture. Indeed, according to Tacitus, "the ancient Germans knew all the seasons of the year, *except autumn*, of which they had no idea." *Hiems, et ver, et æstas intellectum ac vocabula habent: autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.* De Morib. German, cap. xxvi.

(*d*) *Biblioth, lib.* ii.

persons of great abilities (*e*). From the small number of strings in this lyre, it is reasonable to suppose that the invention of it was due to the *first* Egyptian Mercury: for that attributed to the Grecian had more strings, as will be shewn hereafter. Most of the writers on music among the ancients have supposed, that the three sounds of this *primitive lyre* were E, F, G; though Boethius, who makes the number of strings four, says they were tuned thus: E, A, B, e; but this tuning, if not invented by Pythagoras, was at least first brought into Greece by that philosopher.

No less than forty-two different works are attributed to the Egyptian Hermes by ancient writers (*f*); of these the learned and exact Fabricius has collected all the titles (*g*). It was usual for the Egyptians, who had the highest veneration for this personage, after his apotheosis, to have his works, which they regarded as their Bible, carried about in processions with great pomp and ceremony: and the first that appeared in these solemnities was the Chanter, who had two of them in his hands, while others bore symbols of the musical art. It was the business of the *Chanters* to be particularly versed in the first two books of Mercury, one of which contained the hymns to the Gods, and the other maxims of government: thirty-six of these books comprehended a complete system of Egyptian philosophy: the rest were chiefly upon the subjects of medicine and anatomy (*h*).

These books upon theology and medicine are ascribed by Marsham (*i*) to the second Mercury, the son of Vulcan, who, according to Eusebius (*k*), lived a little after Moses; and this author, upon the authority of Manetho, cited by Syncellus, regarded the second Mercury as the Hermes, surnamed Trismegistus. Enough has been said, however, to prove that the Egyptian Mercuries, both as to the time when they flourished, and their attributes, were widely different from the Grecian Hermes, the son of Jupiter and Maia.

Though so ancient and honourable an origin has been assigned to the *Dichord* and *Trichord*, which can both be fairly traced from Egypt, yet the single flute, or *Monaulos*, is said by several writers not only to be a native of that country, and of much higher antiquity than the lyre, but, according to Anthenæus, from Juba's

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(*e*) The Egyptians themselves distinguish two Thoths, or Hermeses; and yet the histories of the *first* and *second* are as much confounded together, as those of Osiris and Sesostris. *Div. Leg.* book iv. sect. 5.

The Greek Christians had so high an opinion of the antiquity of the first Egyptian Hermes, who lived at Sais, that they supposed him, and the antediluvian patriarch, Enoch, to have been the same person, and give to both the same inventions. We are told likewise, that Manetho extracted his history and dynasties of the Egyptians from certain pillars in Egypt, on which inscriptions had been made by Thoth, or the first Mercury, in the sacred letters, *before the flood!* Vid. Dodwell *Dissert. de Sanchon. Fabric. Bib. Gr. Stillingfleet. Orig. Sacr. et alios.*

(*f*) *Clem. Alex. Strom.* lib. vi.

(*g*) *Bib. Græc.* tom. i.

(*h*) Several of these works, however, if we may judge by their titles, seem to have been upon the subject of music and poetry, as. 1. Ὑμνοι Θεων. 19. Περι ὑμνων. 39. Περι ὀργανων, &c. and among his inventions are enumerated, *Musica*, or the nature and properties of sound, φωνων; and the use of the lyre.

(*i*) *Chro. Sæc.* 1.

(*k*) *In Chron.*

Theatrical History, to have been invented by Osiris himself (*l*). The Egyptians called it *Photinx*,* or crooked flute; its shape was that of a bull's horn, as may be seen in many gems, medals, and remains of ancient sculpture. Not only the form of this instrument, but the manner of holding it, is described by Apuleius, in speaking of the mysteries of Isis: "Afterwards," says this author, "came the flute players, consecrated to the great Serapis, often repeating upon the *crooked flute* turned towards the right ear, the airs commonly used in the temple (*m*)." All the representations which I have seen of this instrument, have so much the appearance of *real horns*, that they encourage a belief of its great antiquity; and that the first instruments in use of this kind, were not only suggested by the horns of dead animals, but that the horns themselves were long used as musical instruments, at least those sounded by the Hebrew priests at the siege of Jericho, we are repeatedly told, were *trumpets made of ram's horns* (*n*).

Before the invention of the flute, music could have been little more than metrical, as no other instruments, except those of percussion, were known; and when the art was first discovered of refining and sustaining tones, the power of music over mankind was probably irresistible, from the agreeable surprize, which soft and lengthened sounds must have occasioned. But proofs can be given of the Egyptians having had musical instruments in use among them, capable of much greater variety and perfection than those hitherto mentioned, at a time when all the rest of the known world was in a state of the utmost barbarism.

Thebes or Diospolis, that is the city of Jupiter, in Upper Egypt, was built, according to Sir Isaac Newton, by Osiris, and dedicated to his father Ammon, which was the original Egyptian name for Jupiter, who was the first mortal that can be found in profane authors, to whom temples were erected, and divine honours paid (*o*). Of this city, perhaps the most ancient in the world, amazing remains are still subsisting. It was chiefly built on the right side of the Nile in Upper Egypt. Its hundred gates celebrated by Homer (*p*) are well known. The Greeks and Romans

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(*l*) *Τον Μοναυλον Οσιριδος ειναι ευρημα, καθαπερ και τον καλουμενον φωτιγγα πλαγιαυλον*, *Deipnosoph*, lib. iv. However, Plutarch says, that Apollo was not only the inventor of the *Cithara* but likewise of the flute: *ου μονη δε κιθαρα Απολλωνος, αλλα και αυλητικης, και κιθαρισικης ἑυρετης ο θεος.* Indeed it was a very common practice with antiquity, to attribute to the Gods all the discoveries and inventions to which there were no lawful claimants among mortals. And though we may now venture to doubt of all the *marvellous* facts, which have been so seriously related by the most respectable historians of Greece and Rome, yet we must allow that the giving the invention of music, and musical instruments to the Gods, proves them to have been of the most remote antiquity, and held in the highest estimation by such as bestowed upon them so honourable an origin.

(*m*) *Ibant et dicati magno Serapidi tibicines, qui per obliquum calamum ad aurem pertractum dextram, familiarem templi deique modulum frequentabant.* Metamorph. lib. xi.

(*n*) Joshua, chap. vi.

(*o*) *Chronology, p.* 18.

(*p*) Book ix.

Not all proud Thebes unrival'd walls contain
The world's great empress on the Egyptian plain,
That spreads her conquests o'er a thousand states,
And pours her heroes thro' a hundred gates. *Pope.*

Hence this city obtained the epithet of *Hecatompylos*.

* The Photinx was not a crooked flute, but the name given by the Greeks of Alexandria to the transverse flute. It is not to be confused with the Plagiaulos, which was held transversely, but was played by means of a reed mouthpiece.

have perpetuated its magnificence, though neither ever saw more than its ruins (*q*).

Herodotus says, that Egypt in general surpassed all other countries in things admirable, and beyond expression remarkable (*r*); and Dr. Pococke, and captain Norden, who visited that country but lately (*s*), agree in giving such a splendid account of Egyptian antiquities, as confirms all that ancient writers have related of its former magnificence.

It is agreed by all writers that the pyramids are works of the most remote antiquity, though the time and object of their construction still remain a mystery (*t*).

The city of Thebes in the time of Strabo was ten miles long (*u*), and the magnificent tomb of Ismandes, or Osymanduas, so particularly described by Diodorus Siculus (*x*), Dr. Pococke thinks, from its stupendous ruins still remaining, which extend more than half a mile, must greatly have exceeded all that the Greek writers have said of it (*y*). But the circumstance of the greatest importance to the present purpose is, that the same author in his account of the remains of this sepulchre, tells us that the walls of its rooms are still adorned with sculpture, and with *instruments of music.* M. Pau, a writer by no means partial to the Egyptians, is of opinion that the paintings in the grottos near Thebes are of undoubted antiquity (*z*). Now as the prince whose tomb this is imagined to be, reigned, according to Diodorus Siculus, and other authors, who mention him, many ages before Sesostris, we cannot allow less than 3,000 years to the antiquity of these representations of such musical instruments as were then known and practised in Egypt (*a*). The mention of these in the books above cited, had awakened an ardent desire in me to know of what kind they could be ; but as neither Dr. Pococke had described them, nor captain Norden given them a place in his drawings from Egyptian Antiquities ; and as the death of both these travellers had put it out of my power to consult them,

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(*q*) The name of this city is not to be found in Scripture, and it is not known what it was called by the Hebrews.

(*r*) Euterpe.

(*s*) Both these travellers were in Egypt at the same time ; that is, during the years 1737 and 1738, though neither of them was acquainted with the other's person or design ; however, there is no material difference in their accounts of the extraordinary things they saw in that country.

(*t*) M. Diderot has ingeniously imagined that long before the invention of letters, they were the Bibles of Egypt and constructed as the receptacles and repositories of all human science, expressed in hieroglyphics ; which though time has effaced, yet the pyramids themselves have resisted the destructive power of the elements, to which they have been for so many years exposed. *Encyclop.* Art. EGYPTIENS.

(*u*) *Lib.* xvii. p. 816.

(*x*) *Lib.* i. *sect.* 2.

(*y*) *Description of the East.*

(*z*) Indubitablement Antiques. Voyez *Recherchez Philos. sur les Egypt. et les Chinois.* Tom. I p. 198, and 212.

(*a*) According to Dr. Blair, the kingdom of Egypt, of the Diospolitan succession, had subsisted 1663 years, when it was conquered by Cambyses, king of Persia, 525 years before the Christian æra. And as the same excellent chronologer fixes the reign of Sesostris 1485 years B.C. ; and Diodorus Siculus tells us that Osmanduas lived twenty-seven generations earlier than that conqueror, it throws the invention and use of musical instruments in Egypt, full 2000 years B.C. and near 4000 from the present period.

I had no resource till the arrival of Mr. Bruce;* the celebrity of whose extensive knowledge of eastern countries, as well as of his excellent drawings, and philosophical reflections, made me hope for a full gratification of my wishes. And I was not disappointed ; for, upon application to this intrepid and intelligent traveller, who had explored so many regions of the earth unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, he not only furnished me with exquisite drawings of two instruments of the most curious kind, and of the greatest importance to my work, but honoured me with a letter relative to them, as well as to the state of music in Abyssinia, with a permission to publish it ; a circumstance the more flattering to myself, and which must afford my readers greater satisfaction, as Mr. Bruce, among his innumerable acquirements of other kinds, has, by study, practice, and experience, rendered himself an excellent judge of the subject of music.

I shall therefore hasten to gratify the curiosity of my readers by laying before them the information with which I have been favoured relative to my particular subject, which will doubtless be the more acceptable to them, as it contains the first and only intelligence of any kind from Mr. Bruce, to which he has hitherto set his name, or that he allows to be authentic.

Kinnaird, Oct. 20, 1774.

Dear Sir,

I have employed the first leisure that bad weather has enabled me to steal from the curiosity and kindness of my friends, to make you two distinct drawings of the musical instruments you desired of me. I sit down now to give you some particulars relative to them and to other instruments of less consequence, which I found in my voyage in Abyssinia to the fountains of the Nile.

I need not tell you that I shall think myself overpaid, if this, or any thing else in my power, can be of service to you, or towards the history of a science, which I have always cultivated, with more application than genius ; and to which I may say, however, that I owe some of the happiest moments of my life.

I have kept both the lyre and harp of such a size as not to exceed the bounds of a quarto page ; but I hope you will find that all the parts appear distinctly. I did not choose to embarrass the harp with the figure which is playing upon it, because this would necessarily conceal great part of the instrument ; and your business is with the instrument, not with the figure.

There are six musical instruments known in Abyssinia ; the *Flute,* the *Trumpet,* the *Kettle-drum,* the *Tambourine,* the *Sistrum,* and the *Lyre.*

The four first are used in war, and are by much the most common ; the fifth is dedicated to the service of the church ; and the sixth is peculiarly an attendant on festivity and rejoicings.

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* The celebrated African traveller and discoverer of the source of the Nile (b. 1730, d. 1794). There are many references to him in the *Early Diary* of Fanny Burney.

His account of the antiquity of this instrument was received with such incredulity that he received the name of "Theban Lyre."

There are two principal languages in Abyssinia, the *Æthiopic,* which is the literal, or dead language ; and the *Amharic,* or language of *Amhara,* spoken by the court.

The flute, in the Æthiopic, is called *Kwetz,* a word difficult to be written or sounded in English: in the *Amharic,* it is called Agădă ; it is about the shape and size of the German flute, but played upon long-ways, with a mouth-piece resembling that of the clarinet ; its tone is not loud, but accompanied with a kind of jar, like a broken hautbois ; not owing to any accidental defect, but to construction and design, as it would not be esteemed without it (*b*).

The kettle-drum is called in both languages *Nagareet,* because all proclamations are made by the sound of this drum, (these are called Năgăr) if made by governors, they have the force of laws in their provinces ; but if made by the king, they are for all Abyssinia. The kettle-drum is a mark of sovereign power: whenever the king promotes a subject to be governor, or his lieutenant-general in a province, he gives him a kettle-drum, and standard as his investiture. The king has forty-five of these drums always beating before him when he marches. They are in shape and size like ours, only they are braced very disadvantageously ; for the skin is strained over the outer rim, or lip of the drum, and brought a third down its outside, which deadens it exceedingly, and deprives it of that clear, metallic sound which ours has. Each man has but a single drum, upon the left side of his mule, and beats it with a crooked stick, about three feet long. Upon the whole, its sound is not disagreeable, and I have heard it at an incredible distance.

The third instrument is the small drum, called Kăbăro, in Æthiopic and Amharic ; though in some parts of Amhara it is also called Hătămo. It is about half the diameter, and twice the length of our common drum ; it is just the *tambourine* of Provence, only rounded to a point at the lower end. This is beaten always with the hand, and carried sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, when any inferior officer, (not having a *Nagareet*) marches.

The Trumpet is called Mělěkěta, or Mělěket ; and *Kenet* in Amharic, but *Keren* in Æthiopic, (or horn) ; which shews of what materials it was anciently formed. It is now made of a cane that has less than half an inch aperture, and about five feet four inches in length. To this long stalk is fixed at the end, a round piece of the neck of a gourd, which has just the form of the round end of our trumpet, and is on the outside ornamented with small white shells ; it is all covered over with parchment, and is a very neat instrument. This trumpet sounds only one note, E, in a loud, hoarse, and terrible tone (*c*). It is played slow when on a march, or before an enemy appears in sight ; but afterwards it is repeated very quick, and with great violence, and has the effect upon the Abyssinian soldiers of

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(*b*) It is probable that the jar mentioned here, arises from the vibration of a reed, which constitutes the difference between the tone of a hautbois and a flute.

(*c*) The New Zealand trumpet, though extremely sonorous, is likewise monotonous, when it is blown by the natives, though it is capable of as great a variety of tones as an European trumpet.

transporting them absolutely to fury and madness, and of making them so regardless of life, as to throw themselves in the middle of the enemy, which they do with great gallantry. I have often in time of peace tried what effect this charge would have upon them, and found that none who heard it could continue seated, but that all rose up and continued the whole time in motion.

The fifth instrument is the *Sistrum:* it is used in the quick measure, or in Allegros, in singing psalms of thanksgiving. Each priest has a Sistrum, which he shakes in a very threatening manner at his neighbour, dancing, leaping, and turning round, with such an indecent violence, that he resembles rather a priest of paganism, whence this instrument was derived, than a Christian. I have forgot the name of the sistrum in Æthiopic, but on looking into my notes I shall find it.

The sixth and last instrument is the *Lyre*, which is never played solo, but always in accompanying the voice, with which it plays constantly in unison ; nor did I ever hear *music in parts*, in any nation, savage or polished, out of Europe: this is the last refinement music received, after it was in possession of complete instruments, and it received it probably in Italy.

The lyre has sometimes five, sometimes six, but most frequently seven strings, made of the thongs of raw sheep or goat skins, cut extremely fine, and twisted ; they rot soon, are very subject to break in dry weather, and have scarce any sound in wet. From the idea, however, of this instrument being used to accompany and sustain a voice, one would think it was better mounted formerly.

The Abyssinians have a tradition, that the Sistrum, Lyre, and Tambourine were brought from Egypt into Æthiopia, by Thot, in the very first ages of the world. The Flute, Kettle-drum, and Trumpet, they say, were brought from Palestine, with *Menelek*, the son of the queen of Saba, by Solomon, who was their first Jewish king.

The lyre in Amharic is called bēg, (the sheep) ; in Ethiopic, it is called mĕsīnkō ; the verb *sinko* signifies to strike strings with the fingers: no *plectrum* is ever used in Abyssinia, so that *mesinko* being literally interpreted, will signify *the stringed instrument played upon with the fingers*. This would seem as if anciently there was no other stringed instrument in Abyssinia, nor is there any other still.

Indeed the Guitar is sometimes seen in the hands of the Mahometans, but they have brought it with them from Arabia, where they go every year for trade or devotion. This instrument having a neck, is from that circumstance, surely modern. Necks were probably invented after strings of different lengths and sizes had been so multiplied upon the harp and lyre, that more could not be added without confusion. This improvement of producing several notes upon one string, by shortening it with the momentaneous pressure of the fingers was then introduced, and left little more to do, besides the invention of the bow, towards bringing stringed instruments to their utmost perfection.

The sides which constitute the frame of the lyre were anciently composed of the horns of an animal of the goat kind, called Agăzān, about the size of a small cow, and common in the province of Tigrē, I have seen several of these instruments very elegantly made of such horns, which nature seems to have shaped on purpose. Some of the horns of an African species of this animal may be seen in M. Buffon's History of the King of France's Cabinet. They are bent, and less regular than the Abyssinian ; but after fire-arms became common in the province of Tigrē, and the woods were cut down, this animal being more scarce, the lyre has been made of a light red wood: however it is always cut into a spiral twisted form, in imitation of the ancient materials of which the lyre was composed. The drawing I send you was from one of these instruments made of wood (*d*).

The kingdom of Tigrē, which is the largest and most populous province of Abyssinia, and was, during many ages, the seat of the court, was the first which received letters, and civil and religious government ; it extended once to the Red Sea: various reasons and revolutions have obliged the inhabitants to resign their sea coast to different barbarous nations, Pagan and Mahometan ; while they were in possession of it they say that the Red Sea furnished them with tortoise shells, of which they made the bellies of their lyres, as the Egyptians did formerly, according to Apollodorus, and Lucian ; but having now lost that resource, they have adopted, in its place, a particular species of gourd, or pumpkin, very hard and thin in the bark, still imitating with the knife the squares, compartments, and figure of the shell of the tortoise (*e*).

The Lyre is generally from three feet, to three feet six inches high ; that is, from a line drawn through the point of the horns, to the lower part of the base of the sounding board. It is exceedingly light, and easy of carriage, as an instrument should naturally be, in so rugged and mountainous a country.

When we consider the parts which compose this lyre, we cannot deny it the earliest antiquity. Man, in his first state, was a hunter, and a fisher, and the oldest instrument was that which partakes most of that state. The lyre composed of two principal pieces, owes the one to the horns of an animal, the other to the shell of a fish.

It is probable that the lyre continued with Ethiopians in this rude state, as long as they confined themselves to their rainy, steep, and rugged mountains ; and afterwards, when many of them descended along the Nile in Egypt, its portability would recommend it in the extreme heats and weariness of their way. Upon their arrival in Egypt, they took up their habitation in caves, in the sides of mountains, which are inhabited to this day. Even in these circumstances, an instrument larger than the lyre must have been

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(*d*) See Pl. V. No. 6.

(*e*) Pausanias, *In Arcad. ad Calcem*, says that " there was an excellent breed of tortoises, for the purpose of making the *bellies of Lyres*, upon Mount Parthenius ; but that the inhabitants supposing these animals sacred to Pan, would neither use them, nor suffer strangers to take them away." This is a proof that the practice of applying the shell of the tortoise to the lyre, was once common in Greece, as well as Abyssinia and Egypt.

inconvenient, and liable to accidents, in those caverns ; but when these people encreased in numbers and courage, they ventured down into the plain, and built Thebes. Being now at their ease, and in a fine climate, all nature smiling around them, music, and other arts, were cultivated and refined, and the imperfect lyre was extended into an instrument of double its compass and volume. The size of the harp could be now no longer an objection, the Nile carried the inhabitants every where easily, and without effort: and we may naturally suppose in the fine evenings of that country, that the Nile was the favourite scene upon which this instrument was practised ; at least the sphinx and lotus upon its head, seem to hint that it was someway connected with the overflowings of that river.

Behind the ruins of the Egyptian Thebes, and a very little to the N. W. of it, are a great number of mountains, hollowed into monstrous caverns ; the sepulchres, according to tradition, of the first kings of Thebes. The most considerable of these mountains thus hollowed, contains a large sarcophagus of granite, of which the lid only is broken. Pococke, I think, (for though I have sometimes looked into him, I never could read him) was in this grotto, and slept here, I suppose, for he takes no notice of one of the few monuments from which we may guess at the former state of arts in Europe.

In the entrance of the passage which leads, sloping gently down, into the chamber where is the sarcophagus, there are two pannels, one on each side ; on that of the right is the figure of the *scarabæus Thebaicus,* supposed to have been the hieroglyphic of immortality ; on the left, is the crocodile, fixed upon the apis with his teeth, and plunging him into the waves: these are both moulded in basso relievo, in the stucco itself. This is a sufficient indication of the grotto, to any one who may wish to examine it again. At the end of the passage on the left-hand, is the picture of a man playing upon the harp, painted in fresco, and quite entire.

He is clad in a habit made like a shirt, such as the women still wear in Abyssinia, and the men in Nubia. This seems to be white linen or muslin, with narrow stripes of red. It reaches down to his ancles ; his feet are without sandals, and bare ; his neck and arms are also bare ; his loose, wide sleeves are gathered about his elbows ; his head is close shaved ; he seems a corpulent man, of about fifty years of age, in colour rather of the darkest for an Egyptian.

To guess by the detail of the figure, the painter should have had about the same degree of merit with a good sign-painter in Europe ; yet he has represented the action of the musician in a manner never to be mistaken. His left hand seems employed in the upper part of the instrument among the notes in *alto,* as if in an *Arpeggio* ; while stooping forwards, he seems with his right hand to be beginning with the lowest string, and promising to ascend with the most rapid execution ; this action, so obviously rendered by an indifferent artist, shews that it was a common one in his time, or, in other words, that great hands were then frequent, and consequently that music was well understood, and diligently followed.

If we allow the performer's stature to be about five feet ten inches, then we may compute the harp, in its extreme length to be something less than six feet and a half. It seems to support itself in equilibrio on its foot, or base, and needs only the player's guidance to keep it steady. It has thirteen strings; the length of these, and the force and liberty with which they are treated, shew that they are made in a very different manner from those of the lyre.

This instrument is of a much more elegant form than the triangular Grecian harp. It wants the fore-piece of the frame, opposite to the longest string, which certainly must have improved its tone, but must likewise have rendered the instrument itself weaker, and more liable to accidents, if carriage had not been so convenient in Egypt. The back part of the sounding-board, composed of four thin pieces of wood, joined together in form of a cone, that is, growing wider towards the bottom ; so that, as the length of the string encreases, the square of the correspondent space, in the sounding board, in which the tone is to undulate, always encreases in proportion.

Besides that, the whole principles upon which the harp is constructed are rational and ingenious, the ornamental parts are likewise executed in the very best manner ; the bottom and sides of the frame seem to be vaneered, or inlaid, probably with ivory, tortoise-shell, and mother of pearl, the ordinary produce of the neighbouring seas and deserts. It would be even now impossible to finish an instrument with more taste and elegance.

Besides the elegance of its outward form, we must observe, likewise, how near it approached to a perfect instrument; for it wanted only two strings of having two complete octaves in compass. Whether these were intentionally omitted or not, we cannot now determine, as we have no idea of the music or taste of that time; but if the harp be painted in the proportions in which it was made, it might be demonstrated that it could scarce bear more than the thirteen strings with which it was furnished. Indeed the cross bar would break with the tension of the four longest, if they were made of the size and consistence, and tuned to the pitch that ours are at present.

I look upon this instrument, then, as the Theban harp, before and at the time of Sesostris, who adorned Thebes, and probably caused it to be painted there, as well as the other figures in the sepulchre of his father, as a monument of the superiority which Egypt had in music at that time, over all the barbarous nations that he had seen or conquered.

Astronomy, and, we may imagine, the other arts, made a rapid progress at this period in Upper Egypt, and continued to do so for fifty years after, between which time, and the Persian conquest, some catastrophe must have happened that reduced them to the lowest ebb, which historians have mistaken for their first original.

We know about the time of Sesostris, if, as Sir Isaac Newton supposes, this prince and Sesac were the same, that in Palestine the harp had only ten strings; but as David, while he played upon it, both danced and sung before the ark, it is plain that the instrument upon which he played, could have been but of small volume, we may suppose little exceeding in weight our guitar; though the origin of this harp was probably Egyptian, and from the days of Moses it had been degenerating in size, that it might be more portable in the many peregrinations of the Israelites.

The harp, that approaches the nearest to this in antiquity, is represented upon a basso-relievo at Ptolemais, in the Cyrenaicum, a city built by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and it is there twice represented.

It has fifteen strings, or two complete octaves; but the adding these two notes has occasioned likewise the addition of a fore-piece to sustain the cross-bar above, so that its form is triangular; the extremity of the base is rounded into a ram's-head, which seems to allude to its Theban original; and I should imagine that this instrument is likewise Egyptian, as no harp with such a number of strings has ever been seen, that I know of, in Grecian sculpture.

As the application of pedals has enabled us to disengage the modern harp from its multiplicity of strings, and brought it nearer to Theban simplicity, I hope our artists, and Merlin in particular, will likewise endeavour to introduce into its form a little of the Theban elegance. It is the favourite of the fair sex, and nothing should be spared to make it beautiful; for it should be a principal object of mankind to attach them by every means to music, as it is the only amusement that may be enjoyed to excess, and the heart still remain virtuous and uncorrupted.

I shall say nothing of the capabilities of this harp, nor what may be proved from it relative to the state of music, at a time when men were able to make such an instrument; I shall with impatience expect this detail from you, better qualified than any one I know now in Europe for this disquisition; it is a curious one, and merits your utmost reflection and attention.

It overturns all the accounts of the earliest state of ancient music and instruments in Egypt, and is altogether in its form, ornaments, and compass, an incontestible proof, stronger than a thousand Greek quotations, that geometry, drawing, mechanics, and music, were at the greatest perfection when this harp was made; and that what we think in Egypt was the invention of arts, was only the beginning of the æra of their restoration.

I am, &c.,

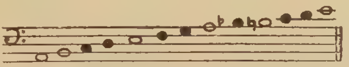
JAMES BRUCE.

With respect to the Lyre resembling a tortoise, which is now in common use in the particular province of Abyssinia, called Tigrē, I have only two observations to make, after the full and satisfactory account that has been given of it by Mr. Bruce: the first is, that its form exactly resembles the Testudo, which is represented in the most ancient Greek sculpture, and described by the most ancient authors: the second is, that it does not appear from history that the Greeks ever penetrated into this country, or had any communication with its inhabitants: for even Alexander the Great never undertook an expedition against the Ethiopians, though when he consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, one of the first enquiries he made, was after the sources of the Nile. Ptolemy Euergetes, indeed, one of his successors in Egypt, having a passionate desire, in common with almost all the greatest men of antiquity, to discover the fountains of the Nile, with this view made an irruption into Ethiopia; but as he soon retreated thence, it is hardly to be imagined, that during a short hostile visit, he introduced music, or any of the arts of peace among the inhabitants: consequently, this instrument seems to have been originally invented in this country, and to have continued in use there ever since.

I have now to speak of the *Theban Harp,* the most curious and beautiful of all the ancient instruments that have come to my knowledge. The number of strings, the size and form of this instrument, and the elegance of its ornaments, awaken reflections, which, to indulge, would lead me too far from my chief enquiries, and indeed out of my depth. The mind is wholly lost in the immense antiquity of the painting in which it is represented; indeed the time when it was executed is so remote, as to encourage a belief, that arts, after having been brought to great perfection, were again lost, and again invented, long after this period; and there can be no doubt but that human knowledge and refinements have shared the same fate as the kingdoms in which they have been cultivated. They have had their gradual rise and declension; and in some of the countries first civilized, arts, by the arrival of new invaders, and establishment of new modes, new laws, and new governments, may be said to have experienced several deaths and regenerations; or, according to the Pythagoric doctrine, their souls may be said to have transmigrated through several bodies, since they have been inhabitants of this world.

With respect to the number of strings upon this harp, if conjectures may be allowed concerning the manner of tuning them two might be offered to the reader's choice: the first idea that presented itself at the sight of thirteen strings was, that they would furnish all the semitones to be found in modern instruments, within the compass of an octave, as from C to c, D to d, or E to e. The second idea is more Grecian, and conformable to antiquity, which is, that if the longest string represented *Proslambanomenos,* or D, the remaining twelve strings would more than supply all the tones, semi-tones, and quarter-tones, of the Diatonic, Chromatic, and Enharmonic genera of the ancients, within the compass of an octave: but, for my part, I should rather incline to the first arrangement, as it is more natural, and more conformable to the structure of our organs than the second: for, with respect to the Genera of the Greeks, though no certain historic testimony can be produced concerning the invention of the Diatonic and Chromatic, yet ancient writers are unanimous in ascribing to Olympus, the Mysian, the first use of the Enharmonic (*d*); and though in the beginning, the melody of this genus was so simple and natural as to resemble the wild notes and rude essays of a people not quite emerged from barbarism, yet, in after-times, it became overcharged with finical fopperies, and fanciful beauties, arising from such minute divisions of the scale, as had no other merit than the difficulty of forming them.

Another conjecture concerning the tuning of the thirteen strings of the Theban harp, is, that they furnished the four tetrachords,* *Hypaton, Meson, Synemmenon,* and *Diezeugmenon,* with *Proslambanomenos* at the bottom. Thus:



1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

It seems a matter of great wonder, with such a model before their eyes as the Theban Harp, that the form and use of such an instrument should not have been perpetuated by posterity, but that many ages after, another, of an inferior kind, with fewer strings, should take place of it ; yet, if we consider how little acquainted we are at present with the use, and even construction of the instruments which afforded the greatest delight to the Greeks and Romans, or even with others in common use in a neighbouring part of Europe but a few centuries ago (*e*), our wonder will cease ; especially if we reflect upon the ignorance and barbarism into which it is possible for an ingenious people to be plunged, by the tyranny and devastation of a powerful and cruel invader.

It is but of small importance to us now, perhaps, to know what kind of musical instruments were in use among the Egyptians, in times so remote from our own ; indeed it is a humiliating circumstance to reflect how little permanence there is in human knowledge and acquirements ; and, before we attempt to improve our intellects, or refine our reason, how long and laborious a work it is to devise expedients for supplying the wants, and defending the weakness of our nature. Some ages, and some countries, have been more successful in these endeavours than others: however, there seems to be a boundary set to the sum total of our perfectibility, and,

(*d*) See *Dissertation.*

(*e*) See, in the musical *Tour through Germany and the Netherlands*, an account of many modern musical instruments still subsisting at Antwerp, of which the use is wholly unknown, *vol.* i. p. 41.

* Engel (*op. cit.*) says that " this determination of the 13 intervals in accordance with the Greek system might be correct if the harp dated from the time of the Ptolomies ; but it was a thousand years older. At that period the pentatomic series was, as we have seen, most likely the usual one in Egypt. Even the scale of Olympus of Mysias to which Burney alludes was of a similar character." This implies that the Theban frescoes must be at least 3,000 years old.

like the stone of Sisyphus, when we are arrived with infinite toil at a certain height, we are precipitated back to the level whence we set off, and the work is to do again!

The arts and sciences of Egypt seem to have been long lost before prose was written in Greece, as no historian of that country ever saw Egypt in the time of its prosperity. Pythagoras was there a little before, and at the time of the Persian conquest, having been taken prisoner by Cambyses in Egypt, whence he was sent to Babylon: but of his writings nothing now remains, except a few apophthegms and fragments, which tradition has given to him. From the time that Psammenitus, the last native king of Egypt, was defeated by Cambyses, 525 years B.C. the inhabitants of that country were always under a foreign yoke, and consequently from that period may be dated their ruin, and the utter extirpation of science and liberty among them: for honours and emoluments being wholly lavished upon foreigners, all expansion of genius must have been restrained among the natives, now become abject and debased by neglect, or oppression. Indeed, after their voluntary submission to Alexander the Great, the dazzling glory of whose reign and character made them prefer his tyranny to that of the Persians, they had a race of splendid princes in the Ptolemies, that cultivated and encouraged arts and sciences, particularly Music ; but these arts and sciences were wholly Grecian, and their professors Greeks ; for the native inhabitants had long lost everything, but the superstitious rites and ceremonies of their religion. They had no books, but hieroglyphics, which were now no longer intelligible, even to the Egyptians themselves ; and we do not find, after the time of Alexander, that any were ever written, but in the Greek language.

It may be therefore said that the Egyptians ceased to be a people, at least a great and free people, before the time of the first Ptolemy, who founded the kingdom, which subsisted near 300 years under him and his successors. The first three of these monarchs, Ptolemy Soter [Reigned B.C. 323-285], Ptolemy Philadelphus [Reigned B.C. 285-247], and Ptolemy Euergetes [Reigned B.C. 247-222], were magnificent princes, who encouraged arts and sciences, and by their bounty attracted to their court at Alexandria, men of genius and learning from all parts of the world. By these their characters have been handed down to us with perhaps too much tenderness to their vices and infirmities. Augustus, Leo X. and Louis XIV. by rendering themselves favourites of the Muses in later times, found means to silence satire, and to have the fair side only of their characters turned towards posterity: however, nothing is more certain than that these princes were not wholly exempt from human frailties, over which the gauze of flattery has been spread by those who basked in their smiles ; but though such have been silent as to the defects of the Ptolemies in Egypt, their subjects in general were not blinded by that magnificence which was supported at their expence, as most of the cognomens given to these princes were ironical, and intended not to point out the virtues which they possessed, but those of which they stood most in need: as

Philadelphus, the lover of his brother ; *Euergetes,* beneficent ; *Philopator,* the lover of his father ; *Philomator,* the lover of his mother ; titles that were given to sovereigns who had been so unnatural and cruel as to put to death their fathers, mothers, wives, brothers, sisters, and children!

During the reigns of these sumptuous and voluptuous princes it can hardly be doubted but that music was greatly cultivated and encouraged at Alexandria, Athenæus, in his (*f*) minute description of the celebrated Bacchic Festival, given by Philadelphus, tell us, that more than six hundred musicians were employed in the chorus, and that among these there were three hundred performers on the cithara.

Under the seventh Ptolemy [Reigned B.C. 146-117], surnamed *Physcon,* from his corpulency, and *Cacergetes,* from his cruelty, the same author informs us (*g*), that every species of art and science was cherished and taught in Egypt. For this prince having put to death a great number of the citizens of Alexandria, and banished others who had been attached to his brother, from whom he had usurped the crown, filled his dominions with Grammarians, Philosophers, Geometricians, Musicians, School-masters, Painters, Physicians, and other persons capable of perfecting the arts ; and these having no other subsistence than the fruits of their labour and diligence, contributed greatly to the propagation of knowledge throughout Egypt (*h*).

The father of Cleopatra, and the last of the Ptolemies [B.C. 80-51], derived the title of *Auletes,* or the *Flute-player,* from his excessive attachment to that instrument. Strabo says of him (*i*), that besides his debaucheries, he applied himself in a particular manner to playing on the flute. He had such an opinion of his own abilities, as to institute musical contests at his palaces, and had there the courage to dispute the prize, publicly, with the first musicians of his time ; and as the dress of players on the flute among the ancients was peculiar to that profession (*k*), this prince submitted to wear the robe, the buskins, the crown, and even the bandage and veil of a *Tibicen,* as may be seen on a beautiful Amethyst in the king of France's possession, of inestimable value, which is supposed to have been engraved by command of this prince, and worn by him to gratify his vanity on account of his musical excellence. Indeed the surname of *Auletes* is seriously given to him by Cicero, and by Strabo. The first in his defence of Rabirius Posthumus (*l*) ; and the second, who was likewise his cotemporary, never mentions

(*f*) *Lib.* v. *Ed. Casaub.* p. 201.

(*g*) Ib. *lib.* iv. p. 184.

(*h*) It was perhaps during this period that the practice of music became sufficiently general among the common people of Egypt, to render credible the following assertion of a Dipnosophist in Athenæus : " It does not appear by the writings of any historian, says he, that there ever was a people more skilled in music than those of Alexandria ; for the most wretched peasant or labourer among them, is not only able to play upon the lyre, but is likewise a perfect master of the flute." *Lib.* iv. p. 176

(*i*) *Lib.* xvii.

(*k*) There was one also for the lyrists.

(*l*) *Nam ut ventum est Alexandriam and* Auletem, &c.

him but by the title of *Auletus* (*m*). He had likewise an opprobrious appellation given to him, by his own subjects, in the Egyptian language, of the same import, being called *Phothingos*, or *Phothingios*, from *Phothinx*, *Monaulos*, or single flute. His violent passion for music, and for the company of musicians, gained him the name of NEOS DIONYSOS, *the new Bacchus*.

A melancholy truth forces itself upon the mind in reading the history of this prince, and that of the Emperor Nero, whom he very much resembled, which is, that, if the heart is depraved, music has not the power to correct it. And though these musical princes obtained prizes in the public games, they acquired no honour to themselves, nor did they reflect any upon the profession of Music. A musician is so distant in character and dignity from a sovereign prince, that the one must stoop too low, or the other mount too high, before they can approximate ; and the public suffers with equal impatience, a sovereign who degrades himself, or an artist who aspires at a rank above his station in the community.

An inordinate love of fame, or a rapacious desire of monopolizing all the glory as well as goods of this world to themselves, must have incited these princes to enter the lists in competition with persons so much their inferiors : a passion that should always be distinguished from the love of music, which they might have gratified, either from their own performance, or from that of others, in private, much more commodiously than on a public stage.

Nothwithstanding all the proofs that have been already given, and which might be still produced of the cultivation of music by the Egyptians in very remote antiquity, as well as of the manner in which it was afterwards patronized by their sovereigns of Greek extraction, many ancient writers who visited Egypt after it was made a Roman province, speak of the habitants as the most melancholy and abject race of men upon the globe. According to Am. Marcellinus (*n*), they were not formed for mirth and pleasure; they worshipped their Gods with sorrow and tears, while the Greeks and Romans made religion an object of joy and festivity: and we are not only told by Diodorus Siculus, but by Plutarch, that the cultivation of music, an art which the Greeks thought so necessary to humanize and soften mankind, and render them gentle and obedient to the laws, was prohibited by their government. Dio Chrysostom informs us that poetry was interdicted among them, as well as music; and Strabo says that the sound of instruments was not heard in their temples, but that their sacrifices were made in silence.

All this is reconcileable and consonant to the nature of things: for when these writers visited Egypt, its inhabitants were in a state of slavery, and had been so for 500 years before; and though not,

(*m*) Αυλητης ὁ καθ' ἡμας, οσπερ ἡν της Κλεοπατρας πατηρ. *Lib.* xvii.

(*n*) *Lib.* xxii. *cap.* 16.

like the Jews, in a strange land, yet, like them, " they had hung their harps on the willows."

M. Pau (*o*), however, boldly asserts, that " the Egyptians, from a defect in the construction of their organs, and a want of genius, have never had any music but what was as detestable as that of the inhabitants of Asia and Africa is at present. " If," continues this author, " we consider the formation of a sistrum, whether of gold or iron, we must conclude that nothing but noise could proceed from it, which being united with the sound of a coarse flute, and the bleating of the ox Apis, would constitute such dissonance and jargon, as no ear accustomed to real music could support. As to the other musical instruments of Egypt, such as the Flageolet, Horn, Syrinx, Castagnet, Triangle, and Tambourine, it is easy," says he, " to imagine what kind of melody could be produced from them. Indeed it was so contemptible, that the priests would not allow it admission within the walls of their temples, where they sung their sacred hymns without being accompanied by any kind of instrument. But with respect to the general use of such music as they had, it seems to have served, adds M. Pau, as a necessary stimulus to action among the inhabitants of this country in ancient times, who were as unable as most of the Asiatics and Africans are at present, to perform any kind of labour, without being excited by screaming and noise; for such is the natural sloth and indolence of these people, that they want to be roused and animated every instant by the shrilness of flutes, and din of drums; instruments that have been found in every region of the two hemispheres where the climate is hot. Soft tones and graceful melody have no effect upon their obtuse organs; and this is the reason why music never has been, nor ever can be successfully cultivated among them."

This reasoning, however, does not appear to me so decisive as it does to the author. And there seems to be a want of candour in the supposition of M. Pau, with respect to the Sistrum, which was never regarded by the Egyptians as a *musical* instrument, but merely as a signal of religious ceremonies; for it may with equal justice be asserted that the modern Italians are deficient in the construction of their organs of voice, and in their genius for music, because a little tinkling bell is used in all their churches as signal for the performance of certain ceremonies in their religion. Nor does the use that was made of music by the Egyptians as a stimulus to action reflect any particular disgrace upon them; for Athenæus (*p*) gives a list of songs that were sung, and tunes that were played by the Greeks of different professions; by which it appears that hardly any kind of work was performed by them without music. The Romans on many occasions made a like use of it: and the ancient Greeks and Romans were certainly a

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(*o*) *Recherches Philos. sur les Egypt. et les Chinois. Tome* i. p. 243, *et suivant.*

(*p*) *Lib.* xiv. p. 618.

bold, manly, and robust people: the modern Scots are the same; however the bagpipe and song regulate all their operations. It seems to admit of but little doubt that the Egyptians had, in the most flourishing times of their empire, a music and instruments of their own, far superior to those of other countries less civilized and refined; that after their subjection by the Persians, this music and these instruments were lost: but under the Ptolemies, music, together with the other arts of Greece, were brought into Egypt, and encouraged at the court of Alexandria more than at any other place in the known world, till the captivity of Cleopatra, an event which terminated both the empire and history of the Egyptians.

THE HISTORY OF HEBREW MUSIC

IT is not so much from the hope of being able to throw any new light upon the music of this ancient people, that I dedicated a chapter to the subject, as out of respect for the first and most venerable of all books, as well as for the religion of my country, and for that of the most enlightened part of mankind, which has been founded upon it.

For, notwithstanding the unremitting labours of the first fathers of the church, and the learning and diligence of innumerable translators and commentators, but few materials of great importance can be acquired for this part of my work, except what the Bible itself contains; as the first periods of the history of the ancient Hebrews, from its high antiquity, can receive no illustration from cotemporary historians, or from human testimony.

The chief part of what I have to do, therefore, is to collect the passages relative to those early ages of the world, the transactions of which are recorded in the sacred writings with such true and genuine simplicity, and to arrange them in chronological order; a task which, however trivial and easy it may seem, will not be without its use in a General History of Music; as it will at least shew, that this art has always had admission into the religious ceremonies, public festivals, and social amusements of mankind.

The construction and use of musical instruments have a very early place among the inventions attributed to the first inhabitants of the globe, by Moses: for, Genesis, chap. iv. verse 21, Jubal, the sixth descendant from Cain, is called "*the father of all such as handle the harp and organ.*"

But though this circumstance is mentioned so soon in the Pentateuch, yet it could have happened but a short time before the deluge, A.M. 1656; consequently the world must have been peopled many centuries before the invention took place (*a*).

(*a*) With respect to the instrument called an *Organ*, in the English version of this passage, it must not be imagined that such a noble and complicated machine is there implied, as the present instrument of that name. In the Hebrew it is called *huggab*, which, say the commentators, was a kind of *syrinx*, or *fistula*. The Septuagint, instead of *harp* and *organ*, has ψαλτηριον και κιθαρον, *psaltry* and *cithara*; the Syriac, *citharam* et *fides*; Chaldean paraphrase, *ipse fuit magister omnium canentium in nablio, scientium cantium citharæ et organi*. *Nablion* is the Hebrew word for harp. The Arabic has *tympanum et citharam*; and the French has *le* VIOLON *et les orgues*.

Hence it appears, that the translators, ancient and modern, of all parts of the world, not knowing what were the real forms and properties of the Hebrew instruments, have given to them the names of such as were of the most common use in their own countries.

No mention, however, is made in the Scriptures of the practice of music, till more than six hundred years after the deluge. But in Genesis xxxi. and 26th and 27th verses, about 1739 years before Christ, according to the Hebrews chronology, both vocal and instrumental music are spoken of as things in common use.

"And Laban said to Jacob, what hast thou done, that thou has stolen away unawares to me, and carried away my daughters, as captives taken with the sword?

"Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me? and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth and with *songs*, with *tabret*, and with *harp*?"

Laban was a Syrian, and brother to Rebecca, Isaac's wife; so that the tabret and the harp should be ranked among Assyrian instruments.

After this time the sacred text furnishes no musical incident, till the year 1491 before Christ, when we have the first hymn, or psalm, to the Supreme Being, upon record. It contains the pious effusions of Moses, after the passage of the Red Sea, at the head of the whole people of Israel, just escaped from bondage.

"Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this *song* unto the Lord, and spake, saying, I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously," &c. Exod. xv.

Moses is seconded on this occasion by Miriam, the prophetess, and sister of Aaron, who "took a timbrel in her hand," ver 20; "and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances."

"And Miriam answered them, *Sing* ye to the Lord," &c.

Here is an early instance of *women* being permitted to bear a part in the performance of religious rites, as well as of vocal music being accompanied by *instrumental*, and by *dancing*.

The dithyrambics, or hymns to Bacchus, of the Greeks, have been supposed to originate from *Egypt* (*b*).* These were constantly accompanied by *instruments*, and by *dance*, even after they were incorporated into tragedy. Now as Miriam was an Egyptian, and just escaped from the country where she had been educated, it is natural to suppose that the *dance* used now, and established afterwards by the Hebrews, in the celebration of religious rites, was but the continuation of an Egyptian custom.

And we find music and *dancing*, soon after this ceremony, applied to another, that was indisputably of the same origin: for the people having obliged Aaron, in the absence of his brother, to make them a golden calf, in the likenesss of the *Egyptian idol*,

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(*b*) See Dissert., Sect. ix.

The abbé Vatry, in an excellent essay upon the Origin and Progress of Tragedy, *Mem. de Litt. tome* XV. says, that all the etymologies of the term *dithyrambic*, are so forced, that he is firmly of opinion the word is not Greek, and that both the name and thing were brought from Egypt with the worship of Bacchus; for the Greeks are by no means agreed concerning the person who first made them acquainted with Bacchus; some affirming it to have been Cecrops, some Melampus, and some Orpheus; but all unite in deriving the worship of this God from the Egyptians.

* The more developed form of dithyrambic is supposed to have grown out of some erotic hymns written by Arion at Corinth or Naxos about 620 B.C. For previous mention of Arion see *ante* p. 161.

Apis, were found *singing* and *dancing* before it, by Moses, at his return to the camp (*c*).

The *trumpet* of the jubilee is likewise ordered to be sounded so soon after the flight from Egypt (*d*), that it must have been an Egyptian instrument.

St. Stephen tells us (*e*), that Moses, having been educated by Pharaoh's daughter "as her own son, was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." And Clemens Alexandrinus (*f*) particularizes his acquirements by affirming that "he was instructed in his maturer age by the Egyptians in all liberal sciences, as arithmetic, geometry, rhythm, harmony, but, above all, medicine, and music."

However, in the infancy of a state, a nation has but little leisure for cultivating music any otherwise than as it is connected with religious rites and the military art. Accordingly we find no other musical instrument mentioned during the administration of the great Hebrew legislator than trumpets, except the timbrel, used by Miriam. Numb. chap x. 2, he is ordered by divine command to make two trumpets of silver of a whole piece, "for assembling together the people, and for journeying the camps." And in the eight following verses all the signals to be sounded by one and by two trumpets are regulated. But these instruments seem to differ from that of the jubilee, mentioned before, in nothing but the materials of which they were made: as the Hebrew text, and the several versions, agree in calling them all by one common name.

The feast of trumpets instituted by Moses, Numb. xxix. 1, in the month of September, is imagined to have been the celebration of harvest home. "And in the *seventh month,* on the first day of the month, ye shall have a holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work; *it is a day of blowing the trumpets unto you.*" The rigid observance of the Sabbath upon every seventh day, rendered seven a sacred number among the Hebrews. Hence, not only the *seventh day,* but the *seventh week,* the *seventh month,* the *seventh year,* and seven times seventh year, were kept holy: "And on the fiftieth year thou shalt cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound throughout the land." Levit. xxv. 9.

The trumpets of *rams horns* used at the siege of Jericho, seem to have been less musical instruments, than military signals for the assailants to march and shout by, in order, *by their noise,* to terrify and dismay the enemy.

Upon this occasion all the powers of the number *seven* were put in practice. "*Seven priests* shall bear before them *seven trumpets,* and the *seventh day* ye shall compass the city *seven times,* and the priests shall blow with the trumpets." Josh. vi. 4.

(*c*) Exod. xxxii. ver. 18 and 19.

(*d*) Levit. xxv. 9.

(*e*) Acts vii. ver. 21, 22.

(*f*) *Stromat. lib.* i.

No further mention is made of music, till the song of Deborah and Barak, Judges v. which seems to have been sung in dialogue, and wholly without instruments. It was about fifty years after this period, and eleven hundred and forty-three years before Christ, that the unfortunate daughter of Jephtha, upon hearing of her father's victory over the Ammonites, went out to meet him *with timbrels and with dances*: Judges ii: 34. From this time, till Saul was chosen king, 1095, B.C. the sacred text is wholly silent about every species of music, except that of the trumpet in military expeditions.

But here an incident occurs, which seems to merit particular attention. It appears from many passages in Scripture, that *music* was as nearly allied to *prophesy* as to *poetry*.

When Samuel, after secretly anointing Saul king, instructs the new monarch in the measures he is to pursue for establishing himself on the throne, he says, "And it shall come to pass, when thou art come to the city (Beth-el), that thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place, with a psaltery and tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them, and they shall prophesy. And the Spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them (*g*)."

Who is ignorant, says Quintilian, that music in ancient times was so much cultivated, and held in such veneration, that musicians were called by the names of *prophets* and sages (*h*)?*

Vates, in Latin, is a common term for *prophet, poet,* and *musician*. Clemens Alexandrinus (*i*), describing the different kinds of Egyptian priests, and their functions, says, that the principal of them were called *Prophets*. The oracles of the ancients were delivered in song; and the Pythian priests, who composed into hexameter verse the loose and disjointed expressions of the agonizing Pythia, were styled *prophets*, προφηται (*j*). These according to Plutarch (*k*), " were seated round the sanctuary, in order to receive the words of the Pythia, and inclose them immediately into a certain number of verses, as liquors are enclosed in bottles."

Olen, one of the first priests of Apollo, was at once poet and prophet ; and Phemonoe, the first priestess at Delphos, is related to have delivered her oracles in verse by inspiration only, without study or assistance.

(*g*) 1 Sam. ch. x, 5.

(*h*) *Nam quis ignorat musicen, ut de hac primum loquar. tantum jam antiquis temporibus non studii modo, verum etiam venerationis habuisse, ut iidem musici, et vates, et sapientes indicarentur?* Inst. *lib.* i. *cap.* 16.

(*i*) *Strom.* v. p. 634.

(*j*) Pausanias, *in Phoc.*

(*k*) In his *Treatise on the Cessation of Oracles.*

* Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (*op. cit.*, p. 335) says : " . . . the influence of music on the development of religion is a subject which would repay a sympathetic study. For we cannot doubt that this, the most intimate and affecting of all the arts, has done much to create as well as to express the religious emotions, thus modifying more or less deeply the fabric of belief to which at first sight it seems only to minister The musician has done his part as well as the prophet and the thinker in the making of religion. Every faith has its appropriate music, and the difference between the creeds might almost be expressed in musical notation."

The *improvvisatori* of Italy are still accompanied by an instrument, like the prophets of old; and Italian poets, who write down verses, sing at the time of composing them (*l*).

The examples in Scripture of this union of music and prophecy are numerous (*m*). "Moreover, David, and the captains of the host, separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should *prophesy with harps,* with *psalteries,* and with *cymbals.*—Of the sons of Asaph, four, who prophesied according to the order of the King:—Of Jeduthun, six, *who prophesied with a harp,* to give thanks, and to praise the Lord. And of the sons of Heman, the king's seer, in the words of God, fourteen, *to lift up the horn* (*n*)."

By the most striking example of the custom practised by the prophets, of tranquillizing their minds, and exciting in themselves divine inspiration, by means of music, is in the second book of Kings (*o*).

The three sovereigns of Israel, Judah, and Edom, marching with their armies through a wilderness, were all upon the point of being destroyed by thirst, as there was no water to be found in their passage, either for man or beast.

"And the king of Israel said, Alas! that the Lord hath called these three kings together, to deliver them into the hand of Moab. But Jehoshaphat said, is there not here a prophet of the Lord, that we may enquire of the Lord by him? And one of the king of Israel's servants answered and said, Here is Elisha, the son of Shaphat. So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat, and the king of Edom, went down to him.—And Elisha said, *bring me a minstrel.* And it came to pass when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him, and he said, Thus saith the Lord, make this valley full of ditches," &c.

Prophet, in some parts of the Scripture, seems to imply little more than a mere poet, or psalmodist, who sung extempore verses to the sound of an instrument, as the *improvvisatori* of Italy and Spain do at present. Sometimes, indeed, such inspiration was not likely to be of great service to the person upon whom it was conferred, nor on his hearers; for we are told, 1 Sam. chap. xviii. 10 "that the *evil* spirit from God came upon Saul, and he prophesied in the midst of the house."

It is supposed by many of the fathers and commentators, that the ancient Hebrews had a *college,* or *school, of prophets,* which must likewise have been a school of music; as the passages already cited from the sacred writings fully prove, that the prophets either accompanied themselves, or were accompanied by others with musical instruments, in the exercise of their functions.

David, by having cultivated music so early, seems to have been intended by his family for the *profession* of a *prophet.* St. Ambrose

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(*l*) This circumstance having been doubted, the Abate Metastasio himself was asked, whether the poets of his country *sung* at the time of writing verses? and his answer was, *sicuro!*

(*m*) See particularly 1 Kings, chap. xix. with the commentary of Don Calmet.

(*n*) 1 Chron. chap. xxv.

(*o*) Chap. iii. 15.

says, that he had always the gift of prophesy, and was chosen by God himself, in preference to all other prophets, to compose psalms (*p*).

And, according to Eusebius, David carried his harp, or, as this prelate calls it, his lyre, with him, wherever he went ; to console him in his affliction, and to sing to it the praises of God. And in his preface to the Psalms, he asserts, that this prince, as head of the prophets, was generally in the tabernacle, with his lyre, amidst the other prophets and singers, and that each of them prophesied and sung his canticle as inspiration came on (*q*).

The Chaldean paraphrase understands by *prophesying*, " adoring God, and singing praises unto him."

The great Sanhedrim, says the bishop of Gloucester (*r*), seems to have been established after the failure of prophesies. And concerning the members of this body, the Rabbins tell us, there was a tradition, that they were bound to be skilled in all sciences.

But in order to preserve the chronological chain of musical events, furnished by the sacred text, it will be necessary to resume the narrative at the time when David, on account of his great skill in music, was first called in to administer relief, by the power of his harp, to Saul, afflicted with an evil spirit.

If it be possible for music to operate medicinally with success, it may be imagined a palliative, at least, if not a cure, for a troubled spirit. The human mind, under the pressure of affliction, or warped and agitated by the contention of warring passions, seems a fit subject for soft and soothing strains to work upon, as powerful anodynes.

Without having recourse to a miracle in the case of Saul, who had offended the Divinity by his disobedience, the whole of David's power over the disorder of that unfortunate prince, might be attributed to his skilful and affecting manner of performing upon the harp.

" And Saul's servants said unto him, Behold now, an evil spirit from God troubleth thee. Let our lord command now thy servants which are before thee, to seek out a man who is a cunning player on a harp (*s*). And it shall come to pass when the evil spirit (*t*) from God is upon thee, and he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well. And Saul said unto his servants, Provide me now a man that can play well, and bring him to me. Then answered one of the servants, and said, Behold, I have seen a son of Jesse the Beth-lehemite, that is cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war ; and prudent in matters, and a comely person, and the Lord is with him."

(*p*) *Præf.* in *Psal.* i.

(*q*) It seems from a passage in 1 Chron. xxv. 2. as if Asaph used to prophesy, that is, sing praise to the accompaniment of David's harp.

(*r*) *Div. Leg vol.* iii. p. 352.

(*s*) It should seem from this passage, that music was regarded by the Hebrews as a common cur for madness.

(*t*) That is, the fit of insanity.

"Wherefore Saul sent messengers unto Jesse, and said, Send me David thy son, which is with the sheep. And Jesse took an ass, laden with bread, and a bottle of wine, and a kid, and sent them by David his son unto Saul. And David came to Saul, and stood before him. And he loved him greatly, and he became his armour-bearer. And Saul sent to Jesse, saying, let David, I pray thee, stand before me ; for he hath found favour in my sight. And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him (*u*)."

It was very natural for the power of this medicine to cease, when the patient had no more faith in him who administered it, but, on the contrary, regarded him with a jealous eye, as one aspiring at his crown; and who, if he did not conspire against his life, must look upon it as an impediment to his exaltation, and impatiently wish for its termination: for Saul not to have had these ideas forced upon his mind, he must have been more, or less, than mortal. The human passions, those *gales of life*, must either have been annihilated, or sublimed by angelic refinement. But the history of this prince furnishes too many instances of human weakness and frailty, to allow us to suppose him either insensible, or superior to his situation. We must therefore suppose his disease now to have become too powerful for so gentle a remedy as music. Nor ought we to imagine that a disease, or "an evil spirit from the Lord, with which he was troubled," was intended to be radically cured by human means, though it had at first given way to them.

Soon after David had manifested by this instance his musical skill, we find him a volunteer in the army of Saul, and giving extraordinary proofs of his military prowess, by his victory over Goliath, the champion of the Philistines, who had struck such a terror into his countrymen, that they all declined to accept his challenge, regarding him as invincible. David returning from the field of battle after his victory over the giant, was met by the women of all the cities of Israel, "singing and dancing, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music." 1 Sam. xviii. 6 (*x*). "And the women *answered* one another as they played, and said," &c. This is an indubitable proof of a chant in dialogue, or, *à dui cori*, being in early use: and it was this which probably gave rise to the manner of chanting the Psalms in the cathedral service. Psalm lxviii. 25, the *damsels* play with timbrels in the procession before the ark. Women, even, says Don Calmet, whom the apostle forbids to speak in church, had the privilege to sing there in company with the men. But many proofs might be alledged of a permission being given for females to assist in the performance of sacred rites. In I Chron. chap. xxv. where the musical establishments for religious purposes are all enumerated, we are told, that "God gave to Heman

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(*u*) 1 Sam. chap. xvi. This event happened, according to the Bible chronology, 1063 years before Christ. The harp that David used upon the occasion, is called in the Hebrew *Kinor*.

(*x*) *In tympanis lætitiæ et sistris*, says the Septuagint. But the ancient rabbins, and modern Jews, are not agreed among themselves with respect to the instruments mentioned in the Old Testament ; so that it is as vain to attempt at reconciling, as at converting them.

fourteen sons and *three daughters.* And *all these* were under the hands of their father *for song,* in the house of the Lord, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps.'' But Miriam, Deborah, Judith, and Anne, the mother of Samuel, are all regarded by the Jews, not only as *singers,* but as *poetesses* and *prophetesses.*

In the reign of king David, music was held in the highest estimation by the Hebrews. The genius of that prince for music, and his attachment to the study and practice of it, as well as the great number of musicians appointed by him for the performance of religious rites and ceremonies, could not fail to extend its influence, and augment its perfections: for it was during this period that music was first honoured, by being admitted in the ministry of sacrifice, and worship of the ark ; as well as by being cultivated by a king.

'' And David, and all the house of Israel, played before the Lord, on all manner of instruments, made of firwood (*y*), even on harps and on psalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, and on cymbals.'' 2 Sam. chap. vi. 5 (*z*).

This is related 1 Chron. chap xiii. 8, in nearly the same words:

'' And David and all Israel played before God with all their might, and with singing and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals and with trumpets (*a*).''

In all the translations these instruments are differently named. In the Syriac we are told, that David and all Israel sung before the Lord, accompanied by the cithara, psaltery, cymbal, and sistrum (*b*).

The joy which David shewed, upon this occasion, in leaping, dancing, singing, and playing, almost naked before the ark, seemed, in the eyes of his queen Michal, to exceed the bounds of moderation, so much, that when she saw him from the window, '' she despised him in her heart,'' 2 Sam. vi. 16. and, afterwards upbraided him, in terms not very honourable to musicians in general.

'' And Michal, the daughter of Saul, came to meet David, and said, How glorious was the king of Israel to-day, who uncovered himself in the eyes of the hand-maids of his servants, as one of the *vain fellows* shamelessly uncovereth himself! ''

Now it is much to be feared, that by the *vain fellows,* the queen meant Levitical singers, musicians by trade, who, perhaps, like the ancient priests of the Syrian goddess, the Galli, used to sing and play in the processions naked.

(*y*) This species of wood, so soft in its nature, and sonorous in its effects, seems to have been preferred by the ancients, as well as the moderns, to every other kind, for the construction of musical instruments, particularly the bellies of them, upon which their tone chiefly depends. Those of the harp, lute, guitar, harpsichord, and violin, in present use, are constantly made of firwood.

(*z*) Heb. *Nablis, et cinyris, et cymbalis, et tympanis.* Septuag. ἐν ὀργανοις και ἐν ᾠδαις, ἐν ναβλαις, ἐν τυμπανοις, ἐν κυμβαλοις, και ἐν αυλοις. Vulg. *Citharis et* lyris, *et tympanis, et sistris, et cymbalis.* Syr. *David autem omnes Israelitæ ludebant coram Domino lignis cedrinis et abiegnis, nablis, citharis, tympanis, sistris, ac cymbalis.* The Targum, or Chaldee paraphrase, mentions an instrument not to be found in the original, or in any of the translations: *in chinaris, in nablis, in tympanis, et in* quadruplicibus, *et cymbalis.* Arab. *Fidibus, nablis,* tympanis quadratis, *et cymbalis.* Here it should seem to be a *square drum.*

(*a*) Don Calmet observes, that by the titles of many of the Psalms, it appears as if David, though a great king, did not disdain to perform himself the part of *maestro di capella*, or director of the sacred band of musicians; and, penetrated as he was with the grandeur of the Supreme Being, he never thought he degraded himself by singing before the Lord, any more than by conducting the musical performers on great and solemn occasions.

(*b*) In the Arabic it is with flutes, cymbals, bells, and harps.

In the fifteenth, sixteenth, and twenty-third chapters of the first book of Chronicles, there is a particular account and enumeration of all the musicians appointed by David in the service of the ark, before a temple was erected. 1 Chron. xxiii. 5. David appoints four thousand of the Levites to praise the Lord with instruments ; and chap. xxv. ver. 1. the number of such as were *instructed,* and were *cunning* in song, is said to have been two hundred fourscore and eight.

And, 1 Chron. ix. 33. we are told of " the *singers,* chief of the fathers of the Levites, who remaining in the chambers, were free: for they were employed in that work day and night."

Before this time, it does not appear from the sacred writings, that any other instruments than trumpets, or singing, than in a general chorus of the whole people, was used in the daily celebration of religious rites ; though others are mentioned in *processions,* and on occasions of joy and festivity.

It has ever been the custom of legislators and founders of religion, in compliance with the prejudices of mankind, to retain part of the former laws and religious institutions. The Egyptians, as has been already related, in the preceding chapter, divided the inhabitants of their country into *Castes,* or tribes, confining each profession to one family. And as music was many ages confined by them to the priesthood, and to religious purposes, the Hebrews, who had their arts and sciences from the Egyptians, and who adopted many of their religious rites, as the primitive Christians did afterwards those of the pagans, in order to conciliate parties, and facilitate the establishment of a new worship, made both priests and musicians *hereditary in the tribe of Levi.* " And the sons of Aaron the *priests* shall *blow with the trumpets,* and they shall be to you for an ordinance *for ever,* throughout your generations (*c*)." Accordingly, during the life of Moses, none but the priests blew the trumpets, whether in peace or war: as, afterwards, in Joshua's administration, both at the siege of Jericho, and upon all other occasions, we find the office of blowing the trumpets was still confined to the priesthood: and, when David first regulated the musical establishments, for the service of religion, it appears, that not only the select band of singing men and singing women, but all the four thousand performers upon instruments, were chosen from the families of priests and Levites.

Of the Musical Instruments Mentioned in the Psalms

To collect and expound all the passages relative to music in the Psalms of David, would be a useless labour. So many learned commentators have already done this work ; and these divine canticles may be imagined to be so deeply impressed in the hearts of all such as profess the Christian religion, both by education, and

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(*c*) Numb. x. 8.

by constantly hearing them in the service of their several churches, that it would be the highest presumption in me to suppose myself capable of offering any thing new on the subject. However, the musical instruments so frequently mentioned in them, and the address prefixed to a great number of the Bible Psalms, shall have a few remarks bestowed upon them here ; as the subject, in a particular manner, seems to belong to the reign of the royal Psalmist, from whose piety, and poetic genius, so many of them are supposed to have flowed.

The fathers and commentators, however, are of opinion, that David neither was, nor could have been, the author of the *whole book* of Psalms ; as many of them were evidently written upon occasions that happened after his death. The learned and diligent Don Calmet, after the most deliberate investigation of the subjects of the several Psalms, has arranged them under the following heads:

I. Psalms of which the chronology cannot be fixed: these are eight in number: the 1st, 4th, 19th, 81st, 91st, 110th, 139 and 145. It is not known whether David, or Asaph, was author of the first Psalm. The 81st, attributed to Asaph, was sung in the temple upon the *Feast of Trumpets*, at the beginning of the year, and at the *Feast of Tabernacles*. The 110th is given to David ; the authors of the rest are wholly unknown (*d*).

II. Psalms composed by David, during the persecution of Saul, in number seventeen: these are the 11th, 31, 34, 56, 16, 54, 52, 109, 17, 22, 35, 57, 58, 142, 140, 141, 7.

III. Such as he composed at the beginning of his reign, and after the death of Saul, sixteen—which are the 2d, 9, 24, 68, 101, 29, 20, 21, 28, 39, 40, 41, 6, 51, 32, 33.

IV. Others written by David, during the rebellion of Absalom, amounting to eight—these are the 3d, 4th, 55, 62, 70, 71, 143, 145.

V. From the death of Absalom to the captivity, ten ; of which David was the author of only three: the 18th, 30th, and 72d. This last was written upon the establishment of his son Solomon on the throne, and was probably the last of which he was the author.

VI. The Psalms composed during the captivity, which amount to forty, were chiefly by the descendants of Asaph and Korah.

VII. Those of joy and thanksgiving, for the permission obtained from Cyrus to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild the temple, as well as those composed for its dedication, fifty-one.

So that, according to this account, David was author of no more than forty-five of the hundred and fifty Psalms that are usually attributed to him.

As to the instruments mentioned by the several Psalmists, they are chiefly such as have already occurred in the Bible, concerning

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(*d*) The English translators have followed the Hebrew distribution of the Psalms, by dividing the 9th Psalm into two ; so that from that to the 114th our numbers differ from those of the Roman Catholics, who have followed the Greek of the Septuagint, which has made but one Psalm of the 9th and 10th. The Hebrew text likewise, and the English version, differ in the same manner from the Septuagint and Vulgate, by dividing what they call the 113th Psalm into two, which are the 114th and 115th in our Psalter ; so that our 116th Psalm is only their 114th. Here, however, they approximate again, and only differ by one number till the 146th, after which all parties agree.

the names of which, specimens have repeatedly been given in the notes of the chapter, to shew the disagreement of translators. However, as almost all the Hebrew instruments are enumerated in the last Psalm, I shall here insert six different translations of the third, fourth, and fifth verses, to shew, once for all, that there is no dependence upon any one of them, or hope that these points can ever be cleared up.

Psal. cl. ver. 3, 4, 5. " Praise him in the sound of the *trumpet,* praise him upon the *lute* and *harp*.

" Praise him in the cymbals and dances, praise him upon the strings and pipe.

" Praise him upon the well-tuned cymbals, praise him upon the loud cymbals."

Latin version of the *Hebrew. Laudate eum in clangore* buccinæ: *laudate eum in* nebel *et* cithara: *laudate eum in* tympano *et* choro: *laudate eum in* chordis *et* organo: *laudate eum in* cymbalis *auditis*: *laudate eum in* cymbalis *ovationis*.

Targum paraph. Chad. *Laudate eum clangore buccinæ—psalteriis et citharis—tympanis et choris—tibiis et organis—cymbalis*.

Syr. *Laudate eum voce* cornu—*citharis ac lyris—tympanis et* sistris—*chordis jucundis—cymbalis sonoris—voce et clamore*.

Vulg. *Laudate eum in sono* tubæ—*in* psalterio *et cithara—tympano et choro—in chordis et organo—in cymbalis benesonantibus—in cymbalis jubilationis*.

Arab. *Sonitu buccinæ—psalterio et citharâ—tympano et sistro—chordis et organo*—fidibus *dulcisonis—instrumentis psalmodiæ*.

The Septuagint agrees with the English version, except in the word *lute,* which is rendered *ναβλα, nablon*.

If the least ray of hope remain, that a true idea of Jewish instruments can ever be acquired, it must be from the arch of Titus at Rome, where it is supposed that the spoils brought by that emperor from Jerusalem, have been exactly represented in sculpture. Among these are several musical instruments, particularly the *silver trumpets,* called by the Hebrews *chatzotzeroth ;* and *horns,* supposed to resemble the shawms, mentioned so often in the Scripture, called in Hebrew, *keranim,* or *sacerdotal trumpets*.

But the arch upon which these instruments are sculptured, though, according to Venuti, of excellent workmanship, was not erected till after the death of Titus ; and, to say the truth, the instruments are of no uncommon form. The trumpets are long, strait tubes, as modern trumpets would be, if not folded up, for the convenience of the player ; and the horns are such as frequently occur in ancient sculpture. Examples of both may be seen in Blanchini, Bartholinus, Montfaucon, Padre Martini, and all the writers upon ancient music ; as well as in plate IV. No. 6 and 8, and plate V. and VI. of this work, engraved after original drawings, from Titus's arch, from Trajan's pillar, and bas-reliefs of still more ancient sculpture.

Of the Titles Prefixed to the Bible Psalms

Not only many of the fathers of the church, and commentators of the Psalms, but the Jews themselves, are so perplexed to find a meaning to these titles, that they are obliged to confess their utter ignorance and inability to expound them. However, some of the most learned and respectable interpreters of the sacred writings were of opinion, that as several of these titles were found in the ancient Hebrew manuscripts, they must have been of divine authority, and coeval with the Psalms themselves. They believed likewise, that each was a key to the true sense and intention of the poem, and therefore should be inviolably retained, and studied with all possible care and veneration. St. Theodoret, who was learned in the Hebrew tongue, has proved, that these titles were not interpolations of the Septuagint interpreters, but that they found them in the original, which is come down to us from Ezra, to whose care the collecting the sacred writings is said to have been due.

It is as difficult, however, now, to determine which of these titles are genuine, as to explain their true meaning ; for many have been added since the Septuagint translation was made, and some since the time of the fathers. The 90th Psalm, for instance, has none in the Hebrew ; nor was there one in the Septuagint during the time of Eusebius and Theodoret ; and yet there is one now in the Septuagint, and in the Vulgate.

Don Calmet, and before him Flaminius, frankly declare, that they are utterly unable to expound, or interpret, the titles of some of the Psalms. All the information that can be acquired from the rabbins on the subject is, that they suspect most of the terms which are involved in so much darkness, were the names of instruments, or of the melodies, which the Levites sung to these hymns in the temple. And this has determined many translators to preserve these words in the original Hebrew language, without attempting to give equivalents to them in any other. And it was the opinion even of several of the fathers, as well as of the most learned rabbins, that there was no hope of discovering the meaning of some of these words, as the ancient Hebrew music was then absolutely lost ; so that neither the instruments they used, nor the force of the other words in the titles, which may relate to the melody or measure, can be divined.

Genebrard is of the same opinion. He says, the Hebrew words in the titles of the Psalms, are generally terms of the ancient Hebrew music, at present unknown to us: and that they served as *keys* for the *tones* in which the several canticles were sung.

However, maister William Tindale, one of the first translators of the Bible into English, had more courage, if not more learning and sagacity than other expounders ; for he boldly tells us that *Neginoth*, used in the title to the 4th, 54th, 55th, 61st, 67th, and 76th Psalms, *signifieth the tune, or note of the instrumentes, wherafter the Psalmes before whyche it is prefyxed were songe*

For the Psalmes were songe at certen instrumentes, but so that the swete tune and instrument prepared the mynde more perfectly to receyue the worde of the holy Dictie.

This should seem something like the present custom of *giving out* a psalm-tune upon the organ, in our parish churches.

The same expounder informs us, that the Hebrew word *Nehiloth,* used in the title to Psalm 5, *signifyeth, by interpretation,* beretrages*, *or, as some wyll, a certen instrumente of musicke.*

Psalm vi. Sheminith—*This worde signifyeth an eight, or an instrumente of musicke that hathe eight stringes.*

Psalm viii. To the chief musician upon Gitith. *After some this worde signifyeth, an instrumente of musicke.*

Psalm xvi. Michtam of David. *Meaneth nobilitie, or honour of chivalrie, or an instrumente of musicke.*

Psalm xxii. Aijeleth Shahar. *A certen instrumente of musicke, or as some wyll, a certayn kind of melodie ; divers authours do diversly expound it,* &c. (*e*).

Lamnatzeach

Most of the modern commentators join the rabbins in thinking, that *Lamnatzeach* implies, *to the music master,* or chief of the band ; to the principal of the Levites who sung in the temple. The Hebrew word *Mnatzeach* is used for the overseer, or superintendant of any body of workmen; to preside over, or conduct a band of singing men and singing women, or performers upon instruments.

In the Jewish temple, a great number of Levites were employed wholly in singing, and playing upon instruments. All the Levitical families either filled these offices, or others about the temple. Each family had a president, or chief, who had a great number of officers under his direction. A list of these has been already given: the principal were, Asaph, Heman, Ethan, and Jeduthun. Asaph, and his brethren, not only sung these divine canticles, but composed others themselves. For we are informed that they were prophets and inspired, as well as excellent musicians. Every band, therefore, in the service of the temple, was distinguished from the rest, by the instruments upon which they played ; and a performer of distinguished abilities was placed at the head of each. This leader was called *Mnatzeach.* Cheneniah is highly extolled in Chronicles for the power and sweetness of his voice ; he was the *president,* or master of melody, and led off the canticles.

In the Bible Psalms, the title of the fourth Psalm runs thus: " To the chief musician on *Neginoth.*" Tindale's title of this same Psalm is, " To the *Chaunter* in *Neginoth*: " which in his notes he expounds as follows: " The which is here translated, *to the*

(*e*) This Bible was printed in black letter, 1549.

* This is a mistake. In the edition of the Bible referred to (first ed. of Edmund Becke's Bible, 1549) the word is heritages.

chaunter, is in Hebrue *Lamnatzeach,* which word after Esra and David Kimki (expositoures in Hebrue) signifyeth to the chief of the syngars, whom we commonly cal in Englishe, the father of the quyre or chaunter. This interpretation also do boeth the moste number, and the best lerned of the Latinistes, best alowe."

Dr. Wallis defines *Lamnatzeach, magistro symphoniæ, aut præfecto musicæ* (*f*). And he thinks that some of the other titles were intended to point out the kind of music, or instruments, which the particular Psalms require ; but as both the Hebrew music and instruments are now lost, he confesses that it is difficult to expound these words.

Selah

This term occurs no less than seventy times in the Hebrew text of the Psalms, and formerly it must have been used there still more frequently, as we find it in several places of the Septuagint, where the Hebrew has it not. It is, like other literary stumbling-blocks, grown bigger by time. The commentators have most of them given it up as an opake expression, upon which they are utterly unable to throw a single ray of light ; and Don Calmet, among the rest, after a great display of erudition, in giving the several clashing opinions of rabbins, fathers, translators, and commentators, concerning the true import of this impenetrable word, and carrying us through the land of conjecture upon his great polemical horse, sets us down just where he took us up: for, thinking it impossible to get at the true meaning of the word, he inclines to suppose it of so little consequence, that it may well be omitted, without injuring the sense of the text (*g*). If it had, however, any meaning, it seems to have been that which the Septuagint has given to it, by rendering it *διαψαλμα,* a *pause in singing,* which must frequently have been wanted before the Psalms were divided into verses.* The word *Selah* indeed occurs three times in the third chapter of the prophet Habakkuk ; but the connexion between poetry, music, and prophesy, has been already shewn ; and there can be no doubt that Habakkuk uttered his revelations *in song ;* for he begins this chapter, by calling it a prayer upon *Sigionoth,* which the Bible expounds in the margin, "according to the variable songs or tunes, called in Hebrew *Shigionoth ;*" and ends, by addressing it "to the chief singer on my stringed instruments," or *Neginoth.*

The reign of Solomon, so long, so pacific, and so glorious to the Hebrews, may be regarded as the Augustan age of that people ;

(*f*) *De Psalmorum Titulis,* p. 298.

(*g*) M. Fourmont, *Mem. de Litt. tom.* iv. has not only discovered that the Psalms, and other pieces of Hebrew poetry, are in *rhyme,* but that *Sela* had the same force in *Hebrew Music,* as *bis,* or a double bar pointed, has in modern Christian music. This perspicacious critic, with equal sagacity, has found out, that in order to make matters even in the versification, in which he unwillingly allows the lines to be of different lengths, the Hebrews sung their poetry in *Fugue !*

* In a translation of Bucer's Psalms (1530) : "This worde Selah signifyeth ye sentence before to be pond'red with a deep affecte, longe to be rested upon and the voyce there to be exalted." (Murray, English Dictionary.)

whose prosperity, during this period, not only enabled them to cultivate arts and sciences among themselves, but stimulated foreigners to visit and assist them. And as we find that the Romans, during the time of Augustus, and his successors, were indebted to the Greeks for a great part of their knowledge in the polite arts, so the Hebrews, under Solomon's government, had assistance from Egypt and from Tyre. Riches and renown never fail to attract talents into a country from neighbouring kingdoms. As to music and poetry, which were put upon so respectable a footing in the former reign, they seem to have had their share of attention in this ; particularly in the service of the temple, at the dedication of which, if we may credit Josephus, " Solomon made two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the ordinance of Moses: (Moses was ordered to make *two trumpets* of silver only. Numb. x. 2.) and forty thousand instruments of music (as if trumpets were not instruments of music) to record and praise God with, as the psaltery and harp of *Electrum* (*h*)," a mixed metal, of which, according to Pliny, four parts were gold, and the fifth part was silver. Josephus has often been accused of inaccuracy in other things ; and with respect to music, his accounts neither bear the marks of judgment nor fidelity ; but we have information from much better authority, " That Solomon appointed, according to the order of David his father, the courses of the priests to their service, and the Levites to their charges, to praise and minister before the priests, as the duty of every day required (*i*)."

It is the opinion of many expounders and commentators of the sacred writings, that Solomon was author of some of the Psalms that are attributed to David. Of this we are certain, that he was no less fond of poetry than his father. In the first of Kings, iv. and xxv. we are told that " he spake three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five." But whether, like the royal Psalmist, he was a practical musician, does not appear in the records of his reign. However, in Ecclesiastes, ii. 8. we find music mentioned by this voluptuous prince among the vain luxuries and vexations of spirit, with which he found himself satiated: " I gat me men-singers and women-singers, and the delights of the sons of men, as musical instruments, and that of all sorts: " which is all that can be gathered on the subject of music during this splendid reign (*k*).

A century passed from the dedication of the temple, without the mention of any thing remarkable in Scripture concerning the music of the Hebrews, except the passage already cited, where Elisha calls for a minstrel to awaken inspiration, previous to his prophesying.

In the year 896, B.C. the singers are said to have contributed greatly towards obtaining a singular advantage in favour of Jehoshaphat, over the Ammonites and Moabites ; the musicians

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(*h*) *Lib.* 33, *cap.* 4.

(*i*) 2 Chron. viii. 14.

(*k*) Solomon was made king during the life-time of his father, 1015 B.C. and reigned forty years.

following the camp in the same order as they served in the temple, marched as a vanguard in the field with their instruments: "And the Levites of the children of the Kohathites, and the children of the Korhites, stood up to praise the Lord God of Israel with a loud voice on high.—And when Jehoshaphat had consulted with the people, he appointed singers unto the Lord, and that should praise the beauty of holiness as they went out before the army, and to say, Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever. And when they began to sing and to praise, the Lord set ambushments against the children of Ammon, Moab and Mount Seir, which were come against Judah, and they were smitten (*l*)."

The Hebrews frequently attributed their success in battle to the animation given the troops by the trumpets, which were always blown by priests and Levites, whom the people highly reverenced, and regarded as inspired persons.

"And behold, God himself is with us, for our captain, and his priests with sounding trumpets, to cry alarm against you.—And when Judah looked back, behold, the battle was before and behind, and they cried unto the Lord, and the priests sounded with the trumpets. Then the men of Judah gave a shout; and it came to pass as the men of Judah shouted, that God smote their enemies (*m*)."

It was, in like manner, the part of the ancient Gallic, German, and British druids, who were not only priests, but musicians, to animate their countrymen to the fight.

Thus far we have only had to speak of the cultivation and improvement of music among the Hebrews; we have little more to add, except what will indicate its neglect and decline.

But few memorials remain concerning it, from the victory obtained by Abijah, till the captivity and destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, by the Babylonians, in the reign of Jehoiakim. Before this period, music, and other sacred rites, had been frequently much corrupted, during the wars, and by intercourse with foreign nations; and at every attempt to restore them to their former purity and splendor, we find the number of those employed in the service of the temple diminished, and their efforts more feeble and ineffectual. At the restoration of the royal family, after the crown had been usurped by Athaliah, we are told that "the princes and trumpets stood by the king: and all the people of the land rejoiced, and sounded with trumpets, also the singers with instruments of music; and such as taught to sing praise." And Jehoiada, during the minority of Joash, "appointed the offices with rejoicing, as it was ordained by David."—878 B.C.—And in this reign we find that "the singers, the sons of Asaph," were restored to their places.

These continued, however, but a short time in the ministry, before they were driven out, and the king and people became proselytes to another form of worship. But after various revolutions

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(*l*) 2 Chron. xx. 19.

(*m*) 2 Chron. xiii. 12.

both in religion and government, a powerful attempt was made, during the reign of Hezekiah, about 726 years B.C. to restore the temple to all its ancient splendor.

"And he set the Levites in the house of the Lord with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David.—And the Levites stood with the instruments of David, and the priests with the trumpets.—But the priests were too few" to perform all the ceremonies formerly solemnized in the temple. However, "there was now great joy in Jerusalem; for since the time of Solomon, there was not the like in Jerusalem (*n*)."

But this happy period was of short continuance; new schisms and new misfortunes soon put an end to it. And in the year 606, B.C. the Hebrew nation was subdued; the temple plundered and destroyed; and, soon after, both King and people were, by Nebuchadnezzar, sent captives to Babylon.

During the seventy years captivity, it is natural to suppose that the Hebrews were denied the celebration of their religious rites; nor could they have much time, or inclination, for domestic amusements or festivity; so that music, the child of leisure and happiness, and parent of innocent pleasure, must have been neglected, and shut out of their houses, as an unwelcome guest. The idea of everything that awakened recollection of former felicity, must have been painful in a state of slavery. "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept: when we remembered thee, O Sion. As for our harps we hanged them up, upon the trees that are therein. For they that led us away captives, required of us then a song, and melody in our heaviness: Sing us one of the songs of Sion. How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning (*o*)."

These are the natural sentiments and feelings of a people but lately fallen from a state of prosperity and happiness, into that of bondage and misery.

It is reasonable to imagine, however, that a nation so prone to luxury and magnificence as that of their masters, the Chaldeans, would, like other eastern nations, encourage every thing that contributed to the gratification of the senses. And we find, during this early period, from the accounts which the prophets Ezekiel and Daniel have transmitted to us, that the most vivid colours were displayed to the sight, in the vestments and paintings, and the most grateful and flattering sounds conveyed to the ear, by means of voices and instruments.

There are two instances in Ezekiel of *painting* having made some progress among the Chaldeans, before Greece was rendered illustrious by the works of any great master in that art. Chap. iv. 1. we have the following passage: "Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and *pourtray* upon it the city Jerusalem." And chap. xxiii. 14. the same prophet, in accusing his nation of inconstancy in religion, says: "For when she saw

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(*n*) 2 Chron. xxix. 25.

(*o*) Psalm cxxxvii.

men pourtrayed upon a wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads ; all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity: she doated upon them."—595 B. C.

A well known passage in Daniel puts it likewise out of all doubt that *music* was cultivated, and brought to a considerable degree of perfection among them, if we may judge by the number and variety of the instruments mentioned in it, of which the names of two occur now, for the first time in the sacred writings.

" Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits— Then an herald cried aloud, To you it is commanded, O people, nations and languages, that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, *sacbut,* psaltery, *dulcimer* (*p*), and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set us." Dan. ch. iii.

But to return to the unfortunate Hebrews:—At the end of the captivity, 536 B. C. an effort was made, by permission of Cyrus, to rebuild the temple, restore it to its former grandeur, and to re-establish its worship upon the ancient footing. But when the number of " the singers, the children of Asaph," was taken, it amounted to no more than a hundred and twenty-eight, and with their assistants, out of fifty thousand people, they could only muster " two hundred singing men and singing women; " among whom the instrumental performers must have been included, as no mention is made of them among the other Levites and servants of the temple.

Indeed, though the Jews from this period, till the destruction of the Temple by Titus Vespasian, and their total dispersion, continued to be a distinct nation, they were not only tributary, by turns, to the Persians, the Egyptians, the Syrians, and the Romans, but incessantly torn by intestine sects and factions, whose inveterate rancour never subsided in the midst of the most imminent dangers from a common and foreign foe ; a calamity peculiar to this wretched people! who thus contributed more to their own destruction, than all the efforts of their most determined and powerful enemies.

Though there is no condition so abject, or bodily labour so oppressive to the spirits, if the mind is undisturbed, but music will burst through, and soothe ; yet it is not among the turbulent and unhappy that we must seek the arts of peace, and consequences of that contentment, which arises from public and private felicity.

During the civil wars of Rome, no science was improved but that of destruction: and at home, in more modern times, during the struggles of York and Lancaster, and of the royalists and republicans, or the religious massacres of France, what else was in meditation, except rapine, rage, revenge, and slaughter! But, the

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(*p*) So various have been the conjectures of commentators concerning the *sacbut* and *psaltery*, as they are called in the English version, that scarce any instruments have ever been heard of that have not furnished names for them. These learned expounders seem to advance opinions merely to confute them ; and after carrying the reader into a sea of trouble, leave him without sail or rudder, to get out as well as he can.

temple of Janus once shut, what strides did not mankind make towards that degree of perfection of which they are capable, in the reigns of Augustus, of Leo the tenth, of Louis the fourteenth, and of our own Charles the second! Nay, keep but the enemy at a distance, with union at home, and even war will not stop the progress of the human mind; since the brightest constellation of men of genius, that ever enlightened our own country, confessedly appeared in the reign of queen Anne, when we supported with dignity a long and glorious war on the continent.

A few words will suffice to remind the reader of the deplorable situation of the Jews, when they had lost their liberty and independence.

After remaining seventy years at Babylon, in a state of slavery, at the expiration of that time, though Cyrus, the Persian monarch, treated them with mildness, suffered them to return to their native country, and even contributed himself towards the rebuilding of their city and temple, yet they continued a tributary province to that empire, till the year 320 B. C. when the city was taken and plundered by Ptolemy, one of Alexander's captains, who carried captive into Egypt a hundred thousand of its inhabitants. From that time, till 170, they continued to be oppressed and plundered by the kings of Egypt and Syria by turns, when Antiochus Epiphanes, the sovereign of Syria, took the city by storm, stripped the temple, slaughtered upwards of forty thousand people, and sold as many more for slaves.

Soon after this period the brave family of the Maccabees began to exert uncommon prowess and abilities in attempts to recover their country's long lost independency ; but the powers with which they had to contend were so superior in strength and resources, that nothing but a constant succession of miraculous efforts, and unexpected events, could keep the conflict alive, and protract their misery, merely by postponing destruction, more than a hundred years. At length, this heroic family, still more distressed and persecuted by their own countrymen, than by the common enemy, sunk under the pressure of accumulated woes ; when the Jews, seeing the extensive power of the Romans over almost every part of the globe then known, called in Pompey to their assistance, against Antiochus ; who, after draining their public treasures and private purses, by the bribes and contributions, which he extorted from them, became their open foe; and in the year 63 B. C. besieged and took Jerusalem, which, with all Judea, remained ever after dependent on the tyranny and oppression of the Roman government.

For more than twenty years after this event, the Jews were under the jurisdiction of the Roman governors of Syria and Egypt ; but, in the year 40 B. C. Herod, by taking a journey to Rome, and by flattering and bribing Mark Anthony, during the triumvirate, had the address to acquire from the Roman senate the nominal dignity of king of the Jews. His long reign was one continued tissue of crimes that are shocking to humanity ; the least of which was stripping his people of all their most valuable possessions, to satiate the inordinate rapacity of his tyrant masters at Rome. But Herod, finding money insufficient for this purpose, had recourse to a species of adulation unknown before in his own country: for, in the year 26 B.C. in order to ingratiate himself with Augustus, he instituted *public games,* in honour of that emperor, after the Pagan manner ; a measure so repugnant to the Mosaic laws, and customs of the Jews, that, instead of affording them pleasure, they were regarded with the utmost horror and detestation.

We have an account of Josephus both of these games and others, instituted by this prince, seven years before the nativity, but in so slight and imperfect a manner, that all we can learn is, that besides wrestlers, gladiators, wild beasts, &c. the most skilful musicians were invited from all parts of the world to perform at them. However, as these exhibitions were manifestly in imitation of the public games of Greece, it is natural to suppose that the musicians were chiefly from that country, and from Alexandria, in Egypt, where arts and sciences were then much cultivated and cherished by the Ptolemies. The Jewish musicians, who were all among the priesthood, certainly neither could nor would assist at these contests: so that whatever glory may have been derived to the victors, the Jews were entitled to no share of it, either as a nation or as individuals. Indeed little could be acquired by conquests, to which no native of Judea could aspire, without offending against the religion, laws, usages, and public opinion of his country.

The sequel of the Jewish history from this period, to the total dispersion of the nation, seventy-three years after the birth of our Saviour, is too generally known to render the extension of this summary necessary. And with respect to music, the particular subject of my enquiries, the little mention made of it in the New Testament is but just sufficient to authorize its use in the church, where its establishment and progress will be traced hereafter. I should therefore terminate the account of ancient Hebrew music in this place, but that it seems necessary to add a few remarks upon some passages in the book of Job, of which the chronology is so doubtful, that I was unable to determine where, in the course of my narrative, to give them a place.

This venerable book has been supposed by many of the fathers to be the production of Moses: by some it is called the most ancient book in the world ; the first Arabian regular history ; the oldest poetical composition in a dramatic form: and as to the time when Job flourished, great pains have been taken to shew the probability of its being but little later than that of Abraham. The language too in which it was originally written, has given birth to many different opinions: whether Syriac, Chaldaic, Hebrew, or Egyptian. But the bishop of Gloucester is of opinion that it was the work of Ezra (*q*). Now as the Bible chronology places Job 1,520 years before Christ, and Ezra but 457, this opinion occasions a difference of near eleven hundred years: however, the prophet Ezekiel, chap.

(*q*) See Div. Leg. v. 2.

14, mentions Job twice, after Noah and Daniel (*r*): and chronologers fix the time when Ezekiel flourished, near one hundred and fifty years before Ezra.

However doubtful it may be who was the author of the book of Job, or when it was written, it is very certain that music is frequently mentioned in it, as an art in general use.

"They send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance; they take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ," xxi. 11, 12. "My harp also is tuned to mourning, and my organ to the voice of them that weep." xxx. 31. (*s*).

This seems to allude to funereal music: and of the use that was made of music at the funerals of the Jews, we have a proof in Matthew, ix. 23. "While he spake these things unto them, there came a certain ruler, and worshipped him, saying, My daughter is even now dead; but come and lay thy hand on her, and she shall live.—And when Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the *minstrels* (*t*), and the people making a noise, he said unto them, Give place, for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth."

Besides the use of flutes in funeral ceremonies, a female was hired to weep, whence the title of chief mourner. The rabbin Maimonides tells us, c. 14, sect. 23, that "The husband, upon the death of a wife, was obliged to provide mourners to weep at her funeral, according to the custom of the country.—That the poorest persons among the Israelites, never engaged less than two flutes and one mourner; and, if rich, the expence and pomp of the ceremony was proportioned to the dignity of the husband." This account is confirmed by the Talmud, which orders that "The poorest among the Israelites should never at the funeral of a wife engage less than two flutes and one mourner (*u*)."

Josephus tells us that the pomp and expence of funerals among the Jews were carried to a ruinous excess, l. iii. c. 9. The number of flute players who led the procession amounting sometimes to several hundred: and guests were invited, not only among their relations, but friends and neighbours, for thirty days successively, in order to attend those solemnities.

As early even as the death of Jacob, funeral rites were splendid, and of long duration. His son Joseph, "With all his brethren, with all the servants of Pharaoh, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, attended this funeral, which lasted, with a great and very sore lamentation, for seven days." Gen. L. And we find, that the Egyptians mourned for this patriarch threescore and ten days.

(*r*) "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it (the land) they should deliver but their own souls, by their righteousness, saith the Lord God."

(*s*) One circumstance is necessary to be remembered with respect to the word *organ*, used here, and frequently in the Psalms, which is, that the term was taken from the Greek translation; but the ancient Greeks had no particular musical instrument called an *organ*, for ὄργανον, with them, was a general name for an *instrument*, a *work*, or an *implement* of any kind: Hence ὀργανικος, *instrumental*; ὀργανοποιὸς, an *instrument maker*; and ὀργανοποιΐα, the *fabrication of an instrument*. And in all the Greek musical theorists, *organic* is a general term applied to *instrumental music*.

(*t*) Heb. Vulg. Syr. Arab. *Tibicines*. Persic. *flentes*. Æthiopic. *Lamentatrices*.

(*u*) *In Chethubboth* cap. 4. sect. 6. *apud Spencer*.

The *Nœnia,* or dirge, which David composed on the death of Saul and Jonathan, is imagined by the commentators to have been sung at the funeral of those princes.

Thus, at the decease of Josiah, "All Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah. And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah, and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations unto this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel (*x*)."

All that has hitherto been collected relative to the music of the Hebrews, only shews that it was in general use among them, from the time of their quitting Egypt, till they ceased to be a nation ; but what kind of music it was with which they were so much delighted, no means are now left to determine. That they had their first music and instruments, whatever they were, from the Egyptians, appears to admit of no doubt ; but these seemed to have remained in a very rude state till the reigns of David and Solomon, when, perhaps, they were more improved in quantity than quality ; for the great number of Levites, of singing men and singing women, as well as of trumpets, shawms, cornets, sacbuts, cymbals, and timbrels, could only augment the noisy cry of joy, or the clamour of petition.

For if the Hebrew language had originally no vowels, it must have been very unfavourable to music (*y*): and after the introduction of vowel points, the many strong aspirates used instead of the clear and open vowels of other languages, must have corrupted sound, which, by the difficulty of producing it from such harsh words, would, of necessity, be very coarse and noisy. The music of the ancient Hebrews must, therefore, have been rough, not only from their language, but musical instruments, chiefly of percussion ; from the number of performers, amounting by the order of David to four thousand, and, according to Josephus, at the dedication of Solomon's temple, to two hundred thousand ; and from the manner of singing at present in the synagogues, of which the chorus is composed of clamour and jargon. These circumstances must, therefore, have escaped those who have highly extolled the ancient Hebrew music, or they must have been utterly ignorant of the art of singing.

However, we have no authentic account of any nation, except the Egyptians, where music had been cultivated so early as the days of David and Solomon, the brightest period of the Jewish history, the Greeks at that time having hardly invented their rudest instruments : for Homer and Hesiod, the refiners, if not the

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(*x*) 2 Chron. xxxv. 24.

(*y*) This supposition must appear very strange without the support of authority ; for it seems impossible for any language to subsist without vowels. "The Hebrew alphabet," says the author of the *Encyclopedie*, Art. HEBRAIQUE, "is composed of twenty-two letters, *all regarded as consonants*, without excepting even the *aleph*, *he*, *vau*, and *jod*, which we call vowels, but which among the Hebrews have no fixed sound or power, without punctuation ; for that alone contains the true vowels of this language." Now as *points* are generally allowed to be of modern invention, if, in times anterior to their use, it was doubtful to which of the consonants the power of a vowel was given, or, indeed, whether any such power existed, the language must have been very harsh and unmusical : which is all that is intended to be said on the subject.

inventors, of Greek poetry ; and Orpheus, Musæus, and Linus, to whom they attribute the invention of their music and instruments, all flourished, according to Sir Isaac Newton, after these Hebrew monarchs.

Basnage says "the Jews had nothing to distinguish them from other nations: they wholly applied themselves to till the ground, and feed their flocks ; but neglected the study of arts and sciences. Whereas the Egyptians, under whose bondage they groaned, had wit, learning, and ingenuity, and pretended to an origin of much higher antiquity (z)." But this writer should have expected music. Sculpture and painting were, indeed, utterly precluded by the Mosaic law, which was so rigid against that idolatry, to which all other nations were then addicted. But it was, perhaps, by this idolatry, and by the frequent representations of those divinities, with which the temples and houses of the Greeks were filled, that they acquired their excellence in those arts.

Neither the ancient Jews, nor the modern, have ever had characters peculiar to music ; so that the melodies used in their religious ceremonies, have, at all times, been traditional, and at the mercy of the singers. The Canonico Cavalca of Florence, is, however, of opinion, that the points of the Hebrew language were at first musical characters : and this conjecture has been confirmed by a learned Jew, whom I have consulted on that subject, who says that the points still serve two purposes: in reading the prophets they merely mark accentuation, but, in singing them, they regulate the melody, not only as to long and short, but high and low notes.

With respect to the modern Jewish music, I have been informed by a Hebrew high priest, that all instrumental, and even vocal performances, have been banished the synagogue ever since the destruction of Jerusalem: that the little singing now used there is an innovation, and a modern licence ; for the Jews, from a passage in one of the prophets, think it unlawful, or at least unfit, to sing or rejoice before the coming of the Messiah, till when they are bound to mourn and repent in silence: but the only Jews now on the globe, who have a regular musical establishment in their synagogue, are the Germans, who sing in parts ; and these preserve some old melodies, or species of chants, which are thought to be very ancient. At Prague they have an organ. The same priest says that, being at Petersburg some years since, the grand caliph of Persia was there likewise on an embassy, and had the service of his religion regularly performed in a kind of mosque fitted up in the Czar's palace for his use. That when he first heard this service performed, he found the singing so like that in the German synagogues, that he thought it had been done in derision of the Jews, and on that account soon left it. But, upon enquiry, finding it to be nothing more than the manner of singing common in Persia, he concluded that the Persians had borrowed this kind of chant from the ancient Oriental Jews. At present, he says, they sing it first

Hist. des Juifs, l. i. c. 1.

single, and then add parts to it, in a kind of chorus, like the German Jews.

Padre Martini has inserted from the *Estro-Poetico-Armonico* of Marcello, 1724, and from an inedited MS. by the cavaglier Ercole Bottrigari, called *Il Trimerone de' Fondamenti Armonici*, 1599, a great number of such Hebrew chants as were sung in the synagogues of different parts of Europe, at the time when these works were composed. But as no two Jewish congregations sing these chants alike, if tradition has been faithful in handing them down from the ancient Hebrews to any one synagogue, who shall determine to which such permanence can be attributed?

I shall, however, select a few of them to gratify the curiosity of my readers, without a hope of their being either edified or delighted by such music. The notes are to be read from right to left, after the manner of the Hebrew language ; and in those chants which are printed in Gregorian notes, it is to be observed, that the square characters are long, and those in the lozenge form, short.

THE HISTORY OF GREEK MUSIC

Chapter I

Of Music in Greece during the Residence of Pagan Divinities, of the first Order, upon Earth

THERE are no human transactions upon record, however ancient, in which a love for music does not appear. For, as the first musicians were also poets, philosophers, and historians, no fragments of ancient poetry, philosophy, or history, can be found, without some vestiges of the passion which mankind had for music, at the time when they were written.

It is well known, that the origin of every people, empire, and kingdom, in prophane history, is involved in darkness, which no human light can penetrate: so that the fables to which national vanity has given birth, and the poetical fictions with which they have been embellished, are all the materials which high antiquity has left us to work upon.

However, as the fables of ancient historians, and the wild imaginations of mythologists, have employed the sagacity of the wisest and most respectable writers of modern times, to digest into system, and to construe into something rational and probable, I shall not wholly neglect them, but, with the assistance of such guides, shall travel through the dark labyrinth of remote antiquity, with all possible expedition.

It has already been observed (*a*) that the Theogony of the Egyptians is, in some measure, connected with my subject: and

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(*a*) See p. 172.

that of the Greeks, from their passion for arts and sciences in general, will appear to be still more so; for there are very few of their divinities who have not been regarded as inventors or protectors of music (*b*). But as Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Cicero, and many other of the most venerable writers of antiquity, have spoken of their divinities as mere human beings, who, having while they resided on earth, either taught mankind the necessary arts of life, or done them some other important service, were deified after death, and regarded as protectors of those arts which they had invented when living, as well as of their professors, I shall likewise venture to humanize them (*c*): and if they are only supposed to have been powerful and benign terrestrial princes, we may strip their history of the marvellous, and imagine mankind under their reigns, emerging from ignorance and barbarism by natural and slow degrees, in much the same manner, and without the interposition of miraculous assistance, as every other people have since done, who have arrived at wealth and power, and have afterwards had leisure to attend to luxury and refinement.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that according to the mythology of the Cretans, most of the Gods of the Greeks were born upon their island, especially those that have acquired divine honours *by the benefits they have conferred on mankind*: however, as to the existence of these personages, the whole is doubtful now. New systems of mythology are but a series of new conjectures, as difficult to ascertain and believe as the old legends. And as these legends have been long received by the wisest men, and greatest writers of antiquity, and are at least as probable as the hypotheses of modern mythologists, I shall adhere to them, not only as being more amusing and ingenious than fancied analogies and etymologies, drawn from Phœnician and Hebrew roots by Bochart, the Abbé de la Pluche, and others; but, because the minds of most readers will have accommodated themselves by long habit to classic

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(*b*) The bestowing these inventions upon their divinities by the Pagans, is abundantly sufficient, says the bishop of Gloucester, to prove their high antiquity; for the ancients gave nothing to the Gods, of whose original they had any records; but where the memory of the invention was lost, as of seed, corn, wine, writing, music, &c. then the Gods seized the property, by that kind of right, which gives strays to the lord of the manor. *Div. Leg.* vol. iii.

(*c*) Pope has admirably described the origin of these first deifications.

> 'Twas virtue only, or in arts or arms,
> Diffusing blessings, or averting harms,
> The same which in a sire the sons obey'd,
> A prince the father of a people made.—
> On him, their second providence, they hung,
> Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.
> He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food,
> Taught to command the fire, controul the flood,
> Draw forth the monsters of th' abyss profound.
> Or fetch th' aerial eagle to the ground.
>
> *Essay on Man*, Ep. iii.

opinions, imbibed during their tender years of education and credulity (*d*).

Sir Isaac Newton tells us from Herodotus (*e*) that "the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus brought many doctrines into Greece; for among those Phœnicians were a sort of men called *Curetes*, who were skilled in the arts and sciences of Phœnicia, above other men, and (*f*) settled some in Phrygia, where they were called *Corybantes*; some in Crete, where they were called *Idœi dactyli;* some in Rhodes, where they were called *Telchines;* some in Samothrace where they were called *Cabiri*, &c.—And by the assistance of these artificers, Cadmus found out gold in the mountain Pangæus in Thrace, and copper at Thebes; whence copper ore is still called *Cadmia*. Where they settled they wrought first in copper, till iron was invented, and then in iron; and when they had made themselves armour, they danced in it at the sacrifices with tumult and clamour, and bells, and pipes, and drums, and swords, with which they struck upon one another's armour, in musical times, appearing seized with a divine fury; and this is reckoned the original of music in Greece (*g*)."

(*d*) The bishop of Gloucester has a passage so replete with wit, humour, and satire, that I shall make no apology for inserting it at full length. In speaking of *l'Histoire du Ciel*, by de la Pluche, he asks, "on what, then, is this author's paradox supported? On the common foundation of most modern philologic systems, *Etymologies*; which, like fungus excrescences, spring up from old Hebrew roots, mythologically cultivated. To be let into this new method of improving barren sense, we are to understand, that in the ancient Oriental tongues, the few *primitive* words must needs bear many different significations, and the numerous *derivatives* be infinitely equivocal. Hence any thing may be made of Greek proper names, by turning them to Oriental sounds, so as to suit every system, past, present, and to come. To render this familiar to the reader, by example, M. Pluche's system is, that the Gentile Gods came from agriculture: all he wants, then, is to pick out (consonant to the Greek proper names) Hebrew words which signify a *plough*, *tillage*, or *ears of corn*; and so his business is done. Another comes, let it be Fourmont, and he brings news that the Greek Gods were Moses or Abraham, and the same ductile sounds produce from the same primitive words, a *chief*, a *leader*, or a *true believer*; and then, to use his words, *Nier qu'il s'agisse ici du seul Abraham, c'est être aveugle d'esprit, & d'un aveuglement irremediable.* A third and fourth appear upon the scene, suppose them Le Clerc and Banier; who, prompted by the learned Bochart, say that the Greek Gods were only *Phœnician voyagers*; and then, from the same ready sources, flow *navigation*, *ships*, and *negociators*; and when any one is at a loss in this game of crambo, which can never happen but by being duller than ordinary, the kindred dialects of the Chaldee and Arabic lie always ready to make up deficiences. To give an instance of all this in the case of poor distressed Osiris, whom hostile critics have driven from his family and friends, and reduced to a mere vagabond upon earth, M. Pluche derives his name from *Ochosierets, domaine de la Terre*; M. Fourmont from *Hoscheiri, habitant de Seir*, the dwelling of Esau, who is his Osiris. And Vossius from *Schicher* or *Sior*, one of the Scripture names for the Nile. I have heard of an old humourist, and great dealer in etymologies, who boasted *That he not only knew whence words came, but whither they were going.* And indeed, on any system-maker's telling me his scheme, I will undertake to shew *whither all his old words are going*; for in strict propriety of speech, they cannot be said to be *coming from*, but *going to*, some old Hebrew root. There are certain follies, of which this seems to be in the number, whose ridicule strikes so strongly, that it is felt even by those who are most subject to commit them. Who that has read M. Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica*, would have expected to have seen him satirise with so much spirit the very nonsense with which his own learned book abounds? *Le veritable usage de la connoissance des langues étant perdu, l'abus y a succédé. On s'en est servi pour etymologiser; on veut trouver dans l'Hebreu et ses dialectes la source de tous les mots, et de toutes les langues, pour barbare et etranges qu'elles puissent être. Se presente t-il un nom de quelque roi d'Ecosse, ou de Norvege; on se met aux champs avec ses conjectures; on en va chercher l'origine dans la Palestine. A-t-on de la peine à l'y rencontrer? On passe en Babylone. Ne s'y trouve-t-il point; l'Arabie n'est pas loin: et en besoin même, on pousseroit jusqu'en Ethiopie, plûtot que de se trouver court d'etymologies; et l'on bat tant de pais, qu'il est impossible enfin qu'on ne trouve un mot qui ait quelque convenance de lettres et de sons avec celui dont on cherche l'origine. Par cet art on trouve dans l'Hebreu ou ses dialectes, l'origine des noms du roi Artur, et de tous les chevaliers de la table ronde; de Charlemagne, et des douze pairs de France; et même en un besoin, de tous les Yncas de Perou. Par cet art, un Allemand, que j'ai connu, prouvoit que Priam avoit été le même qu' Abraham: et Æneas le même que Jonas.*" Lettre au Bochart. Div. Leg. book iv. sect. 4

(*e*) *Lib.* v. *c.* 58.

(*f*) Strabo, *lib.* x. p. 464, 465, 466.

(*g*) So Solinus, *Polyhist.* c. xi. *Studium Musicum inde cæptum cum Idæi dactyli modulos crepitu & tinnitu æris deprehensos in versisicum ordinem transtulissent*; & Isiodorus, originum, l. xi. c. 6. *Studium Musicum ab idæis dactylis Cæptum.*

"Clemens Alexandrinus calls the Idæi Dactyli, barbarous, that is strangers; and says that they were reputed the first wise men, to whom both the letters which they call Ephesian, and the invention of musical *Rhythms* are referred (*h*). It seems, that when the Phœnician letters, ascribed to Cadmus, were brought into Greece, they were at the same time brought into Phrygia and Crete, by the Curetes, who settled in those countries, and called them Ephesian, from the city Ephesus, where they were first taught (*i*)."

Cadmus is a name much celebrated by antiquity. According to Fabricius there were three persons so called, who flourished at very different periods. The eldest, and the most renowned, is Cadmus, the son of Agenor, king of Phœnicia; who being sent by his father into Greece, in search of his sister Europa, whom Jupiter had stolen away, brought with him sixteen letters, and the art of making brass (*k*). Archbishop Usher, the authors of the *Universal History*, and Dr. Blair, agree in placing this event in the time of Joshua, that is, 1450 years before Christ; though Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Priestly allow Cadmus to have flourished but 1045 years before the Christian Æra. Sir Isaac imagines that the emigration of the Phœnicians and Syrians was occasioned by the conquests of David, "These people," says he (*l*), "fleeing from Sidon and from David, come under the conduct of Cadmus, and other captains, into Asia Minor, Crete, Greece, and Lybia, and introduce letters, music, poetry, metals, and their fabrication, and other arts, sciences, and customs of the Phœnicians. This happened about one hundred and forty years before the Trojan War. It was about the sixteenth year of David's reign that Cadmus fled from Sidon. At his first coming into Greece, he sailed to Rhodes, and thence to Samothrace, an island near Thrace, on the north side of Lemnos, and there married Harmonia, the sister of Iasius and Dardanus, which gave occasion to the Samothracian mysteries (*m*)."

I shall not enter upon a long discussion concerning Harmonia, of whom, though many ancient authors make her a princess, of divine origin (*n*), there is a passage in Athenæus from Euhemerus the Vanini of his time, which tells us, that she was by profession, *a player on the flute,* and in the service of the prince of Sidon, previous to her departure with Cadmus. This circumstance, however, might encourage a belief, that, as Cadmus brought letters into Greece, his wife brought *Harmony* thither, as the word *ἁρμονια, Harmonia,* has been said to have no other derivation than from her name (*o*); which makes it very difficult to ascertain

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(*h*) Musical *Rhymes*, as printed in the Chronol. of the Greeks, by Sir Isaac Newton, p. 147, must be a typographical error, though it is not among the errata.

(*i*) *Strom.* l. i.

(*k*) Tacit. l. ii. c. 14, and Plin. vii. 56.

(*l*) Chronol. p. 13.

(*m*) Ib. p. 131.

(*n*) According to Diod. Sic. l. 5, she was daughter of Jupiter and Electra, and grand-daughter of Atlas.

(*o*) *Dict. de Mus. Art.* HARMONIE.

the sense annexed to it by the Greeks in their music; for it has no roots by which it can be decompounded, in order to deduce it from its etymology.

This derivation is given by some to Plato, in whose works, however, I have not been able to find it ; but there is a passage in the Phœdon of that author, in which he evidently gives his sanction to the common etymology of the word, that is given by lexicographers, and generally adopted by the learned ; who deduce it from ἁϱμοζω, which is derived from the old verb, *ἀϱω, ἁπτω,* to *fit,* to *join* (*p*). And yet, as the flute upon which Harmonia played was a single instrument, capable of *melody only,* and as she was said to be the first who performed upon that instrument in Greece, the inhabitants of that country perhaps called by her name the art which she had introduced among them, as the metal which her husband invented received his name. Agenor, the father of Cadmus, was an Egyptian ; and Cadmus is said by many ancient writers to have received his education in Egypt. Harmonia may likewise have come from that country ; however, her wild flute has never been said to have furnished the Greeks with their musical scale ; but there is nothing more extraordinary in a barbarous people having music *without a gamut,* than language *without an alphabet.*

Diodorus Siculus (*q*), has given a very circumstantial account of the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia in Samothrace, at which all the Pagan divinities were present ; and tells us, that this was the first hymenæal festival which the Gods deigned to honour with their presence. " Ceres, who was tenderly attached to Jasion, the brother of the bride, presented corn to the new married couple ; Mercury, brought his lyre ; Minerva, her famous buckler, her veil, and her flute ; Electra, the mother of the bride, celebrated there the mysteries of Cybele, the mother of the Gods, and had the orgies danced to the sounds of drums and cymbals. Apollo afterwards played on the lyre, the Muses accompanied him with their flutes, and all the other divinities ratified their nuptials with acclamations of joy." This seems to be the outline of a dramatic representation, which was perhaps exhibited by the priests at some festival, or mystical celebration, in order to commemorate the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia.

No ancient authors dispute letters and arts having been brought out of Phœnicia by Cadmus, and the Idæi Dactyli ; but Diodorus Siculus is not of opinion that Cadmus invented the letters which he brought into Greece, or that the Grecians had no letters before his arrival. He rather supposes that Cadmus introduced a new alphabet amongst them, which they prefixed to the ancient Pelasgian characters, that had been in use long before. However that may have been, many great inventions are attributed to the people of Phœnicia, a province of Syria, best known in the Hebrew authors of Scripture by the name of Canaan. Bochart, with incredible

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(*p*) Plato's words are the following : ἡ ʽΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ ἀορατον τι——ἐν τῃ ʽΗΡΜΟΣΜΕΝΗΙ λυρα *Phæd. cap.* 26.

(*q*) *Lib.* v.

labour, has endeavoured to prove, that they have sent colonies, and left vestiges of their language, in almost all the islands of the Mediterranean. They first opened the commerce of the British isles. Some moderns, indeed, give this honour to the Greeks ; but, besides the uncertainty of the Greeks ever having been there, Strabo says, in express terms, that the Phœnicians began this trade, and carried it on alone, without rivals, which destroys all conjecture to the contrary.

Lucan (*r*) has celebrated their invention of letters in verses that have been often translated and paraphrased.

Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

Phœnicians first, if ancient fame be true,
The sacred mystery of letters knew ;
They first by sound in various lines design'd,
Express'd the meaning of the thinking mind ;
The power of words by figures rude convey'd,
And useful science everlasting made. Rowe.

C'est de lui (*s*) *que nous vient cet art ingenieux,*
De peindre la parole et de parler aux yeux,
Et par les traits divers de figures tracées,
Donner de la couleur, et du corps aux pensées. Brebeuf.

The noble art from Cadmus took its rise,
Of painting words, and speaking to the eyes:
He first in wond'rous magic fetters bound
The airy voice, and stopt the flying sound ;
The various figures by his pencil wrought,
Gave colour and a body to the thought.
Hon. Miss Molesworth.

Cadmus appears to have been cotemporary with the Cretan Jupiter, from the fable, which makes him carry away his sister Europa from Sidon, in the shape of a bull, by which the expounders of ancient mythology understand the ensign of the ship in which they sailed together. The Phœnicians, upon their first coming into Greece, gave the name of *Jao-pater*, Jupiter, to every king, as every Egyptian monarch was called Pharaoh, and Roman emperor Cæsar ; and thus both Minos and his father were Jupiters. But though Cadmus and his companions were called Idæi Dactyli, and Curetes, they seem not to have been the first who came into Greece ; for both Strabo and Diodorus Siculus tell us that " the Curetes, who introduced music, poetry, dancing, and arts, and attended on the sacrifices, were no less active about religious institutions ; and for their skill, knowledge, and mystical practices, were accounted wise men and conjurers by the vulgar ; that these, when Jupiter was born, in Crete, were appointed by his mother Rhea, to the nursing

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(*r*) *Lib.* iii. (*s*) Cadmus.

and tuition of him in a cave of mount Ida, where they danced about him in armour, with great noise, that his father Saturn might not hear him cry (*t*). And when he was grown up, these assisted him in his conquests, were appointed his priests, and instituted mysteries, in memory of the share which they had in his education."

This wild story, collected from all the best prose writers of Greece, is told by Sir Isaac Newton in his *Chronology*. It served his purpose, in support of his chronological hypothesis ; and it is quoted here, in order to shew the simple state which music was in at its first introduction into Greece. No instruments are mentioned to have been used by the Idæi Dactyli, who attended Jupiter in Crete, but drums and cymbals, instruments of percussion, which affording but one tone, require little art in the player, or knowledge in the hearer (*u*).

These represent the armed priests, who strove
To drown the tender cries of infant Jove ;
By dancing quick they made a greater sound,
And beat their armour as they danc'd around. CREECH.

But Virgil applies this rude and artless music to a less noble purpose than quieting the infant Jupiter in his cradle (*x*).

Now listen, while the wond'rous powers I sing,
And genius giv'n to bees, by Heav'n's almighty king,
Whom, in the Cretan cave, they kindly fed,
By cymbal's sound, and clashing armour led. WARTON.

Aristotle has thought it worth recording, that Archytas of Tarentum, the famous mathematician, invented a rattle for children; and Perrault says, if we consider the music of the ancients according to the idea which the early writers give us of it, we shall find it to have been a kind of noise suitable to the *infancy* of the world, as the first instruments were certainly little better than rattles, or corals, fit only for children.

And, indeed, the Phœnicians may be said to have brought into Greece *Time*, rather than *Tune*: but *Rhythm* is of such consequence both to poetry and to music, that this was no inconsiderable present.

As the first music mentioned in the Grecian history, is that of the *Idœi Dactyli*, after the birth of Jupiter, which consisted of a rhythmical clash of swords, as modern morice-dancers delight in the clash of staves; it is not unnatural to suppose, when this prince was grown up, had conquered his enemies, and was

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(*t*) There is something so peculiarly disgusting in the quarrels between Jupiter and his father that I have purposely refrained from mentioning them.

(*u*) *Dictæos referunt Curetas : qui Jovis illum*
Vagitum in Creta quondam occultasse feruntur ;
Cum pueri circum puerum pernice chorea
Armati in numerum pulsarent æribus æra.—Lucret. l. ii. v. 633.

(*x*) *Nunc age, naturas apibus quas Jupiter ipse*
Addidit, expediam : pro qua mercede, canoros
Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque æra secutæ,
Dictæo cæli regem pavere sub antro.—Georg. l. iv. v. 149.

peaceably established on his throne, that arts and sciences were cultivated and rendered flourishing, particularly music, through the skill and influence of Apollo, and his other sons; and this perhaps was found to be the most effectual means of taming and polishing a rude and savage people.

Minerva

Among the *Dii majorum gentium,* some of the female divinties laid claim to a share in musical discoveries. Of this number was Minerva, or Pallas, the daughter of Jupiter, who is sometimes called *Musica,* or the musician, a name she acquired from her statue made by Demetrius, in which, when the serpents of the Gorgon were struck, they resounded like a lute (*y*). She is also honoured with the invention of chariots, together with having first used trumpets, and invented the flute (*z*). The vouchers for her musical talents are Pausanias, Plutarch, and Fulgentius, among the prose writers; and Pindar, Nonnus, Ovid, Hyginus, Propertius, and Claudian, among the poets. The flute that she invented, is said by Ovid to have been made of box (*a*), and by Hyginus of bone (*b*).

Foramina rara, with few holes, it is natural to suppose. Indeed the Syrinx, see plate IV. No. 6, said to have been invented by Pan, was found inconvenient. It consisted of a number of pipes of different lengths, tied together, or fastened by wax, which were played on, according to Lucretius (*c*), by blowing in them one after the other, moving the instrument sideways, for the admission of wind into the several tubes; and it was by the sagacity and penetration of Minerva, that it was found practicable to produce the same variety of tones with a single pipe, by means of ventiges or holes, which had the effect of lengthening or shortening the tube, by a quick alteration of the column of air which was forced through it.

Two other circumstances are related of Minerva with respect to the flute; she is said by Hyginus to have found herself laughed at by her mother and sister, Juno and Venus, whenever she played the flute in their presence: this suggested to her the thought of examining herself in a fountain, which serving as a mirror, convinced her that she had been justly derided for the distortion of her countenance, occasioned by swelling her cheeks in the act of blowing the flute. This is one reason given for her throwing

(*y*) Banier, *tom.* ii. p. 308.

(*z*) Ib. 309.

(*a*) *Prima terebrato per rara foramina buxo,*
Ut daret, effeci, tibia longa sonos.—Fast. l. vi.
By me† at first the hollow'd box was found,
When pierc'd. to give variety of sound.

† *Minerva speaks.*

(*b*) *Minerva tibias dicitur prima ex* osse *cervino fecisse.*

(*c*) *Et supra calamos unco percurrere labro.*
With curving lip run swiftly o'er the reeds.

aside that instrument, and adopting the lyre (*d*). However, a better cause, and one more worthy of her wisdom, is assigned for her throwing aside the flute, upon seeing Apollo perform on the lyre; for by having his mouth at liberty, she found that it enabled him to sing at the same time as he played, which afforded an opportunity of joining instruction to pleasure.

There is nothing improbable or puerile in these accounts. Indeed many of the ancient fables and allegories are so ingenious, and conceal so delicate a moral, that it would discover a taste truly Gothic and barbarous, to condemn, or reject them. Of such as these must our history consist, during the dark ages of antiquity, which furnish few authentic materials: for as yet we have no other records to consult, than those of poets and mythologists.

Having traced the use of the instruments of percussion as high as the birth of Jupiter, and shewn that the ancient Greeks attributed the origin of wind instruments to Minerva, it now remains to speak of the third species of instruments, the tones of which are produced by strings; and among these, the first in order and celebrity is the lyre, of which the invention is given, both by the Egyptians and Greeks, to Mercury. Of the Egyptian Mercury ample mention has been already made, in speaking of the music of that country: it now remains to give some account of the Hermes of Greece.

Mercury

Most of the actions and inventions of the Egyptian Mercury, have likewise been ascribed to the Grecian, who was said to be the son of Jupiter and Maia, the daughter of Atlas. No one of all the heathen divinities had so many functions allotted to him as this God: he had constant employment both day and night, having been the common minister and messenger of the whole Pantheon, particularly of his father, Jupiter, whom he served with indefatigable labour, and sometimes, indeed, in a capacity of no very honourable kind. Lucian is very pleasant upon the number and variety of his vocations; yet, according to the confession of emperor Julian, Mercury was no hero, but rather one who inspired mankind with wit, learning, and the ornamental arts of life, than with courage (*e*). The pious emperor, however, omits some of his attributes; for this God was not only the patron of trade, but also of theft and fraud.

Amphion is said, by Pausanias (*f*), to have been the first that erected an altar to this God, who, in return, invested him with such extraordinary powers of music (and masonry), as to enable him to fortify the city of Thebes in Bœotia, by the mere sound of his lyre.

(*d*) Plutarch. *De Ira cohib.*

(*e*) Ἑρμης δε τα συνέτωτερα μαλλον, ἢ τολμηροτερα. *Ap. S. Cyril. Cont. Jul.*

(*f*) *Lib.* ix. *cap.* 5.

Horace gives us the best part of his character (*g*).

Thou god of wit from Atlas sprung,
Who by persuasive power of tongue,
And graceful exercise, refin'd
The savage race of human kind,
Hail, winged messenger of Jove,
And all th' immortal pow'rs above.
Sweet parent of the bending lyre,
Thy praise shall all its sounds inspire.
  Artful and cunning to conceal
Whate'er in sportive theft you steal,
When from the God who gilds the pole,
E'en yet a boy, his herds you stole;
With angry voice the threat'ning pow'r
Bad thee thy fraudful prey restore,
But of his quiver too beguil'd,
Pleas'd with the theft, Apollo smil'd.
  You were the wealthy Priam's guide,
When safe from Agammemnon's pride,
Through hostile camps, which round him spread
Their watchful fires, his way he sped.
Unspotted spirits you consign
To blissful seats and joys divine,
And, powerful with thy golden wand,
The light unbodied crowd command;
Thus grateful does thy office prove
To Gods below, and Gods above.

FRANCIS.

This Ode contains the substance of a very long hymn to Mercury, attributed to Homer. Almost all the ancient poets relate the manner in which the Grecian Mercury discovered the lyre ; and tell us that it was an instrument with *seven strings ;* a circumstance which makes it essentially different from that said to have been invented by the Egyptian Mercury, which had but *three*. However there have been many claimants besides Mercury to the *seven* stringed lyre, of which there will be occasion to speak hereafter ; all that seems necessary to be added here is, that the great number of different musicians, to whom the same inventions have been given in Greece, is but a proof that instruments resembling each other in form and properties, may have had many inventors. A syrinx, or *Fistula Panis,* made of reeds tied together, exactly resembling that of the ancients, has been lately found to be in common use in the island of New Amsterdam, in the South Seas, as flutes and drums have been in Otaheite and New Zealand; which indisputably prove them to be instruments natural to every people emerging from barbarism. They were first used by the Egyptians and Greeks, during the infancy of the musical art among them ; and

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(*g*) Od. x. *lib.* 1. *Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis,* &c.

they seem to have been invented and practised at all times by nations remote from each other, and between whom it is hardly possible that there ever could have been the least intercourse or communication.

The Greeks, however, when they deified a prince or hero of their own country, usually had recourse to the Egyptian theogony for a name, and with it adopted all the actions, attributes, and rites of the original, which they generously bestowed upon their new divinity. And not only the Greek and Roman poets, but historians, speak of their Mercury as the inventor of music and the lyre. Apollodorus, as related before, p. 200, is almost the only one who lays the scene of this transaction in Egypt.*

Don Calmet, in his Dissertation on the Musical Instruments of the Hebrews, has given us an account of this discovery from Homer's hymn to Mercury, in which he translates *Πληκτϱον, plectrum,* by the French word *archet,* a bow, without citing a single authority for it from ancient authors. What kind of implement the *plectrum* was, will be discussed hereafter ; but it is most certain that the *bow* now in use was utterly unknown to the ancients. Vincenzio Galilei (*h*) has collected the various opinions of the several Greek writers who have mentioned the invention of the *chelys* or *testudo ;* and the late Mr. Spence has done the same in a very circumstantial, but ludicrous manner (*i*).

The most ancient representations of this instrument agree very well with the account of its invention: the lyre, in particular on the old celestial globes, was represented as made of the entire shell of a tortoise, and that of Amphion in the celebrated groupe of the Dirce, or *Toro,* in the Farnese palace at Rome, which is of exquisite Greek sculpture, and very high antiquity, is figured in the same manner. I had a front and side view of this lyre drawn under my own eye, and have since had them engraved for this work, Plate V. No. 1 and 2, in order to furnish the reader with an idea of the form given to the instrument by ancient sculptors, upon the strength of this legend.

Apollo.

There is something pleasing in the idea of realizing, or even of finding the slightest foundation in history for the fables with which we have been amused in our youth. I believe there are few of my

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(*h*) *Dial. della Musica Ant. e Mod.*

(*i*) " Horace talks of Mercury as a wonderful musician and represents him with a lyre. There is a ridiculous old legend relating to this invention, which informs us that Mercury, after stealing some bulls from Apollo, retired to a secret grotto, which he used to frequent at the foot of a mountain, in Arcadia. Just as he was going in, he found a tortoise feeding at the entrance of his cave ; he killed the poor creature, and, perhaps, eat the flesh of it ; as he was diverting himself with the shell, he was mightily pleased with the noise it gave from its concave figure. He had possibly been cunning enough to find out that a thong pulled strait, and fastened at each end, when struck by the finger, made a sort of musical sound. However that was, he went immediately to work, and cut several thongs out of the hides he had lately stolen, and fastened them as tight as he could to the shell of this tortoise ; and, in playing with them, made a new kind of music with them to divert himself in his retreat. This, considered only as an account of the first invention of the lyre, is not altogether so unnatural." *Polymet. Dial.* viii.

* The legend related by Apollodorus is not the Nile Legend but the one associated with Mount Kyllene. It is probable that Burney got his story from a corrupt version of Diodorus Siculus.

countrymen who have not, during childhood, read the Life of Robinson Crusoe, and the Adventures of Lemuel Gulliver, as authentic histories, and who have not relinquished that thought, in riper years, with some degree of reluctance. It has, doubtless, been the same with the ingenious fables of antiquity, so elegantly told, and embellished with all the flowers of poetry, and warm colouring of imagination.

Of all the divinities of Paganism, there was no one by whom the polite arts were said to have been, in so particular a manner, cherished and protected, as by Apollo ; who had a variety of names given to him that were either derived from his principal attributes, or the chief places where he was worshipped. He was called the *Healer*, from his enlivening warmth and chearing influence ; and *Pæon*, from the pestilential heats ; to signify the former, the ancients placed the Graces in his right hand; and for the latter, a bow and arrows in his left: *Nomius*, or the shepherd, from his fertilizing the earth, and then sustaining the animal creation ; *Delius*, from his rendering all things manifest ; *Pythius*, from his victory over Python ; *Lycias*, *Phæbus*, and *Phanes*, from his purity and splendor. As Apollo is almost always confounded by the Greeks with the Sun, it is no wonder that he should be dignified with so many attributes. It was natural for the most glorious visible object in the universe, whose influence is felt by all creation, and seen by every animated part of it, to be adored as the fountain of light, heat, and life.

The emperor Julian, in his defence of Paganism, says, " It is not without cause that mankind have been impressed with a religious veneration for the sun and stars. As they must, at all times, have observed that no change ever happened in celestial things ; that they were subjected neither to augmentation nor diminution ; and that their motion and laws were always equal, and proportioned to their situation in the heavens. From this admirable order, therefore, men have reasonably concluded that the Sun itself was either a God, or the residence of some divinity (*k*)."

The power of healing diseases being chiefly given by the ancients to medicinal plants, and vegetable productions, it was natural to exalt into a divinity the visible cause of their growth. Hence he was styled the *God of physic ;* and that external heat which chears and invigorates all nature, being transferred from the human body to the mind, gave rise to the idea of all mental effervescence coming from this God; hence, likewise, poets, prophets, and musicians, are said to be *Numine afflati*, inspired by Apollo.

To the other perfections of this divinity, the poets have added beauty, grace, and the art of captivating the ear and the heart, no less by the sweetness of his eloquence, than by the melodious sounds of his lyre. However, with all these accomplishments, he had not the talent of captivating the fair, with whose charms he was

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(*k*) *Ap. S. Cyril. cont. Julian.*

enamoured ; but we have nothing to do with his amours, nor with the other adventures related of this God during his residence on earth, which are indeed too numerous, and too well known to be inserted here: however, such as concern his musical contests, in which he was always victorious, seem too much connected with our subject, to be wholly unnoticed.

To begin, therefore, with the dispute which he had with Pan, that was left to the arbitration of Midas.

Pan, who thought he excelled in playing the flute, offered to prove that it was an instrument superior to the lyre of Apollo. The challenge was accepted, and Midas, who was appointed the umpire in this contest, deciding in favour of Pan, was rewarded by Apollo, according to the poets, with the ears of an ass, for his stupidity. This fiction, which seems founded upon history, must be explained.

Midas, according to Pausanias (*l*), was the son of Gordius and Cybele, and reigned in the Greater Phrygia, as we learn from Strabo (*m*). He was possessed of such great riches and such an inordinate desire of increasing them by the most contemptible parsimony, that, according to the poets, he converted whatever he touched into gold. However, his talent for accumulation did not extend to the acquirement of taste and knowledge in the fine arts; and, perhaps, his dulness and inattention to these, provoked some musical poet to invent the fable of his decision in favour of Pan against Apollo. The scholiast upon Aristophanes, to explain the fiction of his long ears, says that it was designed to intimate that he kept spies in all parts of his dominions.

Marsyas, another player on the flute, was still more unfortunate than either Pan, or his admirer, Midas. I shall collect the history of this personage, so celebrated by antiquity, chiefly from Diodorus Siculus, and from M. Burette's notes to the *Treatise of Music*, by Plutarch (*n*).

Marsyas was of Celænæ, a town in Phrygia, and son of Hyagnis, who flourished, according to the Oxford Marbles, 1506 years before Jesus Christ.

The Oxford Marbles (*o*) inform us, that HYAGNIS, a native of Celænæ, the capital of Phrygia, and cotemporary with Erichthonius, who insdtuted the Panathenæan games at Athens, 1506 B.C. was the inventor of the Flute, and Phrygian mode; as well as of the *Nomes*, or airs, that were sung to the mother of the Gods, to Bacchus, to Pan, and to some other divinities and heroes of that country. Plutarch (*p*) and Nonnus (*q*) both tell us that he

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(*l*) *In Atticis*.

(*m*) L. xiv. p. 680.

(*n*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. tom. x.

(*o*) Epoch 10, p. 160.

(*p*) De Musica.

(*q*) Dionys, lib. x

was the father of Marsyas; Athenæus (*r*), from Aristoxenus, says that he invented the Phrygian mode; and Apuleius (*s*) ascribes to him not only the invention of the *single* flute, but of the double (*t*).

The connection of Marsyas with Cybele, afterwards so celebrated as the mother of the Gods, makes it necessary to give some account of her, before we proceed in the history of that unfortunate musician.

The Phrygians, says Diodorus Siculus (*u*) affirm, that they had formerly a king named Meon, who was likewise sovereign of Lydia. This king took to wife a princess of the name of Dindyma, by whom he had a daughter. Enraged at the disappointment of not having a son, he exposed her upon mount Cybele. However the Gods permitted her to be suckled by wild beasts; which being afterwards discovered by some shepherdesses in the neighbourhood, they stole her from her savage nurses, and upon carrying her home called her Cybele, from the name of the mountain where she had been found. This child surpassed as she grew up all her companions, not only in beauty, but wisdom and talents; for she invented a flute, composed of many pipes, and was the first of that country who introduced drums and cymbals into choruses.

" The chief of her friends was Marsyas, a man commendable for his wisdom and temperance: he manifested great genius in the invention of a flute, which, by means of holes, like that of Minerva, expressed all the sounds of the several pipes, of which the syrinx was composed; and his attachment to Cybele must have been of a very pure and Platonic kind; for we are told that he preserved his chastity to the last hour of his life.

" Cybele transported with love for a young man, named Atys, who had been put to death by her parents, became insane, and ran wildly up and down the country, beating the cymbals. Marsyas taking pity of her misfortunes, and preserving his former friendship for her, followed her in all her rambles, till she arrived at Nysa, the residence, at that time, of Bacchus, or Osiris, where they found Apollo, who had acquired great reputation by his manner of playing the lyre. For it is said, that though Mercury invented this instrument in the manner already related, he afterwards gave it to Apollo, who was the first that played upon it

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(*r*) Lib. xiv. c. 5, p. 624. Ed. Ludg.

(*s*) Florid lib. I. sect. 3.

(*t*) The double Flute, however, is more generally given to his son Marsyas. Julius Pollux, lib. iv. cap 10, speaks of two kinds of single flute, the invention of which was attributed to the Libyans: the Oblique Flute, πλαγιαυλος, so called, perhaps, from being blown at the side, like the modern Fife, or German Flute; and a very shrill flute, made of laurel wood, after the pith and bark were removed, that was used in breaking horses, ἱπποφορβος. The natives of every quarter of the globe seem to have invented their own flutes; and if Hyagnis and his son Marsyas furnished the Asiatics with those instruments, Africa may have had her's from Libya, or its neighbouring country, Egypt.

(*u*) Lib. iii. cap 10.

with method; and, by singing to it, made it the constant companion of poetry (*x*)."

Marsyas having engaged in a musical dispute with Apollo, chose the people of Nysa for judges. Apollo played at first a simple air upon his instrument; but Marsyas taking up his pipe, struck the audiences so much by the novelty of its tone, and the art of his performance, that he seemed to be heard with more pleasure than his rival. Having agreed upon a second trial of skill, it is said that the performance of Apollo, by accompanying the lyre with his voice, was allowed greatly to excel that of Marsyas upon the flute alone. Marsyas, with indignation, protested against the decision of his judges, urging, that he had not been fairly vanquished according to the rules stipulated, because the dispute was concerning the excellence of their several instruments, not their voices; and that it was wholly unjust to employ two arts against one.

Apollo denied that he had taken any unfair advantage of his antagonist, since Marsyas had employed both his mouth and fingers in performing upon his instrument; so that if he was denied the use of his mouth, he would be still more disqualified for the contention. The judges approved of Apollo's reasoning, and ordered a third trial. Marsyas was again vanquished; and Apollo, inflamed by the violence of the dispute, flead him alive for his presumption.

Pausanias relates a circumstance concerning this contest, that had been omitted by Diodorus, which is, that Apollo accepted the challenge from Marsyas, upon condition that the victor should use the vanquished as he pleased.

Diodorus informs us, that Apollo soon repenting of the cruelty with which he had treated Marsyas, broke the strings of the lyre, and by that means put a stop, for a time to any further progress in the practice of that new instrument.

The next passage in this author being wholly applicable to the history of ancient music, I shall transcribe it: "The Muses," says he, "afterwards added to this instrument the string called *Mese;* Linus, that of *Lichanos*; and Orpheus and Thamyras, those strings which are named *Hypate* and *Parhypate*."

It has been already related, that the lyre invented by the Egyptian Mercury had but three strings; and by putting these two circumstances together, we may perhaps acquire some knowledge of the progress of music, or, at least, of the extension of its scale, in the highest antiquity.

(*x*) According to Homer's account of this transaction, in his hymn to Mercury, it was given by that God to Apollo, as a peace offering and indemnification for the oxen which he had stolen from him:

To Phoebus Maia's son presents the lyre,
A gift intended to appease his ire;
The God receives it gladly, and essays
The novel instrument a thousand ways.

With dext'rous skill the plectrum wields, and sings
With voice accordant to the trembling strings
Such strains as Gods and men approv'd, from whence
The Sweet alliance sprung of sound and sense.

Mese, in the Greek music, is the fourth sound of the second tetrachord of the great system, and first tetrachord invented by the ancients, answering to our A, on the fifth line in the base. If this sound then was added to the former three, it proves two important points: first, that the most ancient tetrachord was that from E in the base, to A; and that the three original strings in the Mercurian and Apollonian lyre were tuned E, F, G, which the Greeks called *Hypate Meson, Parhypate Meson,* and *Meson Diatonos*. The addition therefore of *Mese* to these, completed the first and most ancient tetrachord, E, F, G, A (*z*).

The string *Lichanos* then being added to these, and answering to our D, on the third line in the base, extended the compass downwards, and gave the ancient lyre a regular series of five sounds, in the Dorian mode, the most ancient of all the Greek modes; and the two strings called *Hypate,* and *Parhypate,* corresponding with our B and C in the base, completed the heptachord, or seven sounds, B, C, D, E, F, G, A, a compass that received no addition, till after the time of Pindar, who calls the instrument then in use, the *seven-tongued lyre* (*a*). But to return to Apollo and Marsyas.*

It is natural to suppose that great provocation had been given on both sides, previous to a trial of skill, big with such serious consequences. And it appears from a passage in Apuleius, that the champions had tried their strength at invective and sarcasm, before the musical contest began. According to this writer, Marsyas was so foolish as to irritate the God, by opposing his own entangled hair, his frightful and shaggy beard, to the flowing locks, the finical effeminacy, and dainty cleanliness of his rival; for which he was hissed by all the Muses and company present (*b*).

It is difficult to acquire a true idea of the character of this musician, as some ancient writers, in speaking of him, tell us that he was a man of talents and wisdom, while others represent him as an ignorant clown; just as Polonius, in our Shakespeare's Hamlet, is in some scenes a wise man, and in others an idiot.

(*z*) Captain Norden says, the sepulchral urn on the first pyramid near Memphis, though it rest intirely upon its base, sounds like a bell; and Dr. Shaw believes the sound emitted to be *E-la-mi.* Now if it be true that the Greeks had their first musical knowledge from Egypt, we may suppose this sound to be the standard pitch, and fundamental note of the Mercurian lyre, and first tetrachord, E, F, G, A.

(*a*) Though Pindar calls the Lyre *seven-tongued*, yet we are told that Pythagoras, who lived before him, added an eighth string to that instrument. But, perhaps, this new string was not in *general* use, in Pindar's time.

(*b*) *Marsyas, quod stultitiæ maximum specimen est. non intelligens se de ridiculo haberi, priusquam tibias occiperet inflare, prius de se et Apolline quædam deliramenta barbarè effutivit: laudans sese quod erat et coma relicinus, et barba squallidus, et pectore hirsutus, et arte tibicen, et fortuna egenus, contra Apollinem ridiculum dictu, adversis virtutibus culpabat. Quod Apollo esset et coma intonsus, et genis gratus, et corpore glabellus, et arte multiscius, et fortuna opulentus.——Risere Musæ, cum audirent hoc genus crimina.* Apuleius Floridor. p. 341.

* This heptachord for the seven stringed lyre must not be confused with the original octave scale of the Greeks. The Dorian tetrachord B, C, D, E is considered to have been the original tuning of the four stringed lyre but it is not possible to prove the truth of this belief.

The original octave scale consisted of the two disjured tetrachords *Meson* and *Diezeugmenon.* Another early scale consisted of the two conjured tetrachords *Meson* and *Synemmenon* (i.e., E, F, G, a, b♭, c, d).

With regard to the tuning of the Mercurian Lyre, Engel (*op. cit.*, p. 304) thinks it probable that the strings were tuned to C, F, G, C, and remarks, "for the lyre if thus tuned, could be employed most effectively for accompanying the voice."

Plato (*c*) tells us that we are indebted to Marsyas and Olympus for wind-music; and to these two musicians is likewise attributed the invention of the Phrygian and Lydian measure. Marsyas is also said by some to have been the inventor of the double flute, though others give it to his father Hyagnis.

Antiquity has furnished us with several monuments of the punishment inflicted upon him by Apollo. He may be seen in Berger, in Maffei, and in Du Choul. The story is likewise well and fully represented in one of the ancient pictures dug out of Herculaneum (*d*). Here the vanquished musician is bound to a tree, the executioner standing by with a knife in his hand, only waits for orders from the victor to slay him alive. Apollo is seated at a distance, with a lyre in one hand, and a plectrum in the other, and a Muse by his side, preparing a garland for him in token of victory. A young man, on his knees, appears to implore his mercy: this is thought to be Olympus, the scholar of Marsyas, asking pardon for his master, or, perhaps, permission to give him funeral obsequies, which, as we learn from Hyginus, he obtained.

OLYMPUS is a name spoken of with such reverence by the greatest writers of Greece, as well as the best judges of music, that is seems to merit particular notice.

There were two great musicians in antiquity of the name of *Olympus,* and both celebrated performers on the flute. One of them flourished before the Trojan war, and the other was cotemporary with Midas, who died 697 B.C. The first was a scholar of Marsyas, and a Mysian; the second, according to Suidas, was a Phrygian, and author of several poems, which were by some attributed to the first *Olympus.* But the most important addition which the disciple of Marsyas made to the musical knowledge of his time, was the invention of the *Enharmonic Genus,* as already described in the Dissertation. Plato and Aristotle, as well as Plutarch, celebrate his musical and poetical talents, and tell us that some of his airs were still subsisting in their time. Religion only can give permanence to music. The airs of *Olympus* used in the temple worship during the time of Plutarch, were not more ancient than the *Chants,* or *Canto Fermo,* to some of the hymns of the Romish church: and the melodies now sung to many of the hymns and psalms of the Lutherans and Calvinists, are such as were applied to them at the time of the Reformation.

Plato says the music of *Olympus* was, in a particular manner, adapted to affect and animate the hearers (*e*); Aristotle, that it swelled the soul with enthusiasm (*f*); and Plutarch (*g*), that it surpassed, in simplicity and effect, every other music then known. According to this Biographer, he was author of the Curule song, which caused Alexander to seize his arms, when it was performed to him by Antigenides. To his musical abilities he joined those of poetry; and, according to Suidas, and Jul. Pollux, he composed

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(*c*) *De Legib.*

(*d*) *Antich. d'Ercolano, tom.* ii. *tav.* 19.

(*e*) *In Minoe. In Ione. De Legib. lib.* iii.

(*f*) *Politic. lib.* viii. *cap.* 5.

(*g*) *De Musica.*

Elegies, and other plaintive songs, which were sung to the sound of the flute; and the melodies of these poems were so much celebrated in antiquity for their pathetic and plaintive cast, that Aristophanes, in the beginning of his comedy called the *Knights*, where he introduces the two generals, Demosthenes and Nicias, travestied into valets, and complaining of their master, makes them say, "Let us weep and wail like two Flutes, breathing some air of *Olympus*." Plutarch ascribes to him several *Nomes* or *Airs*, that are frequently mentioned by ancient writers: such as the *Minerva;* the *Harmatian*, *Curule*, or Chariot air, just mentioned ; and the *Spondean*, or Libation air.

There is a magnificent statue at Rome, where Marsyas, the master of Olympus, is represented fastened to a tree, with his arms extended. Others may be seen where Apollo holds a knife in his right hand, and the skin of Marsyas in his left, which serves to confirm the opinion, that some of the ancients thought Apollo was himself the executioner that flead him. In some of the statues, Marsyas is sculptured with the ears and tail of fauns and satyrs; of this kind is the figure in the grand duke's gallery at Florence. There was anciently to be seen in the citadel at Athens, a statue of Minerva chastising the satyr Marsyas, for appropriating to himself the flutes which the goddess had rejected with contempt. These flutes of Marsyas had been consecrated in the temple of Apollo at Sicyon, by a shepherd who had collected them. At Mantinea, in the temple of Latona, was also to be seen a Marsyas playing upon the double flute: and he was not forgotten in the famous picture of Polygnotus, described by Pausanias (*h*).

Among the inventions of Marsyas is numbered likewise the bandage made of leather thongs, used by the ancients in playing the flute, in order to keep the cheeks and lips firm, and to prevent the distortion of the countenance, so common in playing upon wind-instruments. This contrivance, which left only a small aperture between the lips, just sufficient to receive the mouth-piece of the flute, augmented likewise the force of the performer (*i*).

Servius, the grammarian, asserts, that most free towns had in the public places a statue of Marsyas, which was a symbol of their liberty, because of the close connection between Marsyas, taken for Silenus, and Bacchus, known to the Romans by the name of *Liber*. There was in the Forum at Rome one of those statues, with a tribunal erected by it, where justice was administered.

However, notwithstanding the many testimonies of ancient authors concerning Marsyas having been flead alive, among which is that of Herodotus, who says he saw the skin of this unfortunate musician hanging up at Celænæ, in the public square, in the form of a bladder or foot-ball ; there are authors who take the whole story to be an allegory, founded upon the river Marsya, which ran

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(*h*) *Lib.* x. *cap.* 30.

(*i*) This bandage was called φορβεια, or περιστομιον, *capistrum.* It is mentioned in Plutarch's *Symposiacs*, in the *Scholiast* of Aristophanes, and elsewhere; and may be seen in some ancient sculpture, which Bartholinus has had engraved in his treatise *de Tibiis Veterum*, and in Plate VI. No. 1 of this work.

through the city Celænæ, making a harsh and disagreeable noise to the ear; or, rather, if we may believe Fortunio Liceti (*k*), the fable had its rise from this, that, before the invention of the lyre, the flute was in higher favour than any other musical instrument, and enriched all those who were able to play upon it ; and as the lyre brought the flute into such discredit that nothing was to be gained by it, Apollo was said to have stripped off the skin of Marsyas, the best performer on the flute of his time ; which was the better imagined, as the money of those days was of leather (*l*). The punishment has frequently been inflicted in modern times upon inferiority, not only by rival musicians of great talents, but by fashion.*

The next incident to be mentioned in the history of Apollo is his defeat of the serpent Python.

The waters of Deucalion's deluge (*m*), says *Ovid* (*n*), which had overflowed the earth, left a slime, from which sprung innumerable monsters, and among others the serpent Python, which made great havock in the country about Parnassus. Apollo, armed with his darts, put him to death ; which, physically explained, implies that the heat of the sun having dissipated the noxious steams, those monsters soon disappeared ; or, if this fable be referred to history, the serpent was a robber, who haunting the country about Delphos, and very much infesting those who came thither to sacrifice, a prince, who bore the name of Apollo, or one of the priests of that God, put him to death.

This event gave rise to the institution of the Pythian games, so frequently mentioned in the Grecian history. They were celebrated at first once in eight or nine years ; but in process of time were repeated every four [or five] years. Music and poetry were, in a particular manner, subjects of contention in these games, which were instituted in honour of that divinity, who was the immediate patron and protector of those arts. And if, as Ovid informs us, they owe their institution to Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, soon after the deluge, which bears the name of his father, they were the most ancient of all the four great games of Greece : for Pausanias tells us that the Olympic games were first celebrated by Clymenus, a descendant of Hercules, fifty years after the deluge of Deucalion. However, the same writer, who, in his travels through Greece, was particularly solicitous to inform himself of every circumstance relative to these institutions, tells us, that Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, having escaped a dangerous tempest in returning from Troy, dedicated a temple to Apollo, and founded the Pythian games in his honour. After being discontinued for some time, they were renewed by the brave Eurylochus of Thessaly, whose valour and

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(*k*) *Aierog.* cap. 109.

(*l*) Pollux, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 10.

(*m*) This event happened, according to the Parian Marbles, and Dr. Blair, 1503 years before the Christian Æra, though, according to Sir Isaac Newton, and Dr. Priestley, but 1046.

(*n*) *Met.* lib. i.

* The legend of Marsyas is dealt with very fully in Frazer's *Adonis, Attis and Osiris* (chapter vi).

exploits acquired him the name of the *new Achilles*. This renewal of the Pythic games happened in the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, 586 B.C. ; after which time they served as an æra to the inhabitants of Delphos, and the neighbourhood.

These musical contests will be particularly discussed hereafter, with the other games of Greece, when we have quitted the mythological maze of fable and allegory, and are arrived at the strait road of history.

It was from the legend of Apollo's victory over the Python, that the God himself acquired the name of Pythius, and his priestess that of Pythia. The city of Delphos, where the famous oracles were so long delivered, was likewise frequently styled Pytho.

The decrees of this oracle were not only uttered in hexameter verse, but, if we may believe Lucan, were *sung* (*o*).

And, according to Plutarch, in his discourse *on the Pythian Priestess no longer rendering her prophecies in verse,* the ancient oracles were not only delivered in verse, and in a pompous style, but were sung likewise *to the sound of the flute* (*p*).

The same author likewise tells us that oracles were generally delivered in verse, preceded by the sound of kettles ; which furnishes no very exalted idea of the state of music in remote antiquity, any more than what one of the interlocutors in his Dialogue on the Pythia, says of her verses, does of poetry. "I have often wondered," said Diogenian, "at the meanness, and aukward roughness of the verses, which conveyed the ancient oracles to mankind. And yet Apollo is called the leader of the Muses, and God of poetry, as well as of music; and therefore it seems natural to suppose, that he would attend as much to elegance and beauty in the style and language of poetry, as to the voice and manner of singing it." All that Pagan piety could offer in defence of Apollo, was to say, that the God only furnished *inspiration* with respect to the knowledge of future events, but gave himself no trouble about the voice, sounds, words, or metre, that this knowledge was delivered in, all which proceeded from the priestess. And yet how the God of music could bear the sounding brass, and worse than tinkling cymbals, with which he was constantly stunned, is not easy to imagine.

In after-times the Pythia had in her ministry professed *prophets;* and these had *poets* under them, whose business was to put the oracles into verse. However, poets had no such employment in earlier times. Herodotus tells us, that Olen of Lycia was at once both prophet and poet : the most ancient hymns known to have been used at Delos, in honour of Apollo, were of his composition ; and the Greeks acknowledge him to have been the first that applied poetry to the purpose of praising the Gods ;

(*o*) *Sive* canet *fatum, seu quod jubet ille* canendo *Fit fatum.*

(*p*) Plutarch in this passage uses the term πλασμα, for a *florid modulation of voice*, and Quintilian latinizes the same word to express a *soft and delicate modulation*. Lib. i. cap. 14. *Nec plasmate effeminata* ; which is a confirmation of *poetry* being *always sung*. See an excellent criticism upon the term πλασμα, *Div. Leg.* book iv. sect. 4.

indeed it seems as if hymns were the most ancient of all poetical compositions (*q*).

Olen was the first priest of Apollo at Delos, in the temple erected there to this God, by the northern people called Hyperboreans. Who these Hyperboreans were, ancient authors are not very well agreed. Diodorus Siculus calls them a people of Asia, near the north, who inhabited a most fertile island, equal in size to that of Sicily. This was the birth-place of Latona, the mother of Apollo, on which account the islanders had a particular veneration for her son. They were almost all priests of that God, and continually singing hymns to his honour. They consecrated an extensive territory to him upon the island, in the midst of which was a magnificent temple, in an oval form, always abounding with rich offerings. Their city was even consecrated to the God, and filled with musicians of all kinds, who every day celebrated his praises.

The particular worship of Apollo in that island, is supposed to have originated from the arrival of the Egyptian conqueror, Sesostris. The birth of a God in any country, says Herodotus, denoted only the introduction of his worship there. Thus Jupiter was said to have been born in Crete, and Apollo in Delos.

But to return to the oracle at Delphos. The most celebrated of all the *Pythias* was Phœmonoe, who was not only the first priestess of Apollo, but, according to Plutarch and Pausanias, the first who pronounced oracles in hexameter verse.

In after-times there were five principal priests of sacrifice appointed. They were called ὁσιοι, holy ; and whatever was sacrificed at their reception was called ὁσιωτηϱ, the victim. These ministries were perpetual, and hereditary in their children. They were believed to be descended from Deucalion. Besides a great number of inferior priests, there were many players upon musical instruments, and heralds, who proclaimed the public feasts, to which, sometimes, all the inhabitants of Delphos were invited. To these were joined chorusses of youths and virgins, who sung and danced at the festivals of Apollo.

Plutarch, in his *Dialogue on Music,* tells us, that Philammon had celebrated the birth of Latona, Apollo, and Diana, in lyric verses ; and that he was the inventor of the dances that were used in the temple of Apollo.

As Apollo was the God of the fine arts, those who cultivated them were called his sons. Philammon of Delphos, who being a great poet and musician, was reported to be the offspring of the God who presided over those arts. He is one of the first, after Apollo, upon fabulous record, as a vocal performer, who

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(*q*) The rhetorician Menander enumerates eight different species of *hymns.* In this author, and in the notes of the learned Spanheim upon Callimachus, it appears, that the most ancient of these canticles were thought to have been dictated by the Gods themselves, or, at least, by men truly inspired. Some of them received their names from the different divinities to whom they were addressed and the occasions upon which they were sung ; and to others were prefixed the names of the most ancient poets, who had signalized themselves in this species of writing : such as Olen, Pamphus, Thamyris, Orpheus, Anthes, and Homer. *Burette's Notes on Plutarch.*

Longinus, in a beautiful simile, compares the effects of reading the best ancient authors, to the sacred vapours with which the Pythian priestess was inspired on the tripod.

accompanied himself with the sound of the lyre ; his son was the celebrated Thamyris. Tatian ranks Philammon among the writers who flourish before the time of Homer ; and the scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius, from Pherecydes, affirms, that it was this musical poet, and not Orpheus, who accompanied the Argonauts in their expedition. If this circumstance could be depended upon, there would be no difficulty in fixing the time when he lived, as the chronologists place this expedition in the century immediately preceding the Trojan war.

There can be no doubt but that Apollo was more generally revered in the Pagan world, than any other deity ; having in almost every region of it, temples, oracles, and festivals, as innumerable as his attributes: the wolf and hawk were consecrated to him, as symbols of his piercing eyes ; the crow and the raven, because these birds were supposed to have by instinct the faculty of prediction; the laurel, from a persuasion that those who slept with some branches of that tree under their heads, received certain vapours, which enabled them to prophesy. The cock was consecrated to him, because by his crowing he announces the rising of the sun ; and the grasshopper, on account of his singing faculty, which was supposed to do honour to the God of Music. Most of the ancient poets have celebrated this tuneful insect, but none better than Anacreon, Ode 43.

Plato says that the Grasshopper sings all summer without food, like those men who, dedicating themselves to the Muses, forget the common concerns of life.

The Swan was regarded by the ancients as a bird sacred to Apollo in two capacities ; first, as being like the crow and raven, gifted with the spirit of prediction (*r*) ; and, secondly, for his extraordinary vocal powers. The sweetness of his song, especially at the approach of death, was not only extolled by all the poets of antiquity, but by historians, philosophers, and sages (*s*) ; and to call a great writer the *swan* of his age and nation, was a full acknowledgement of his sovereignty. Thus Horace calls Pindar, *the Theban swan* (*t*). We do not, however, find that Jupiter, when he assumed the figure of a swan, acquired the good graces of Leda by his vocal powers.

The universality with which the talent of this bird for song was allowed by antiquity, has furnished M. Morin with the subject of a pleasant Dissertation upon this question. *Why swans sung so well formerly, and why they sing so ill, or rather why they have wholly ceased to sing, now* (*u*)? The author asks if it is the want of *hearing* music as they formerly did, on the banks of the Cäyster

(*r*) *Commemorat* (Socrates) *ut cygnis, qui non sine causa Apollini dicati sunt, sed quod ab eo divinationem habere videantur, qua providentes quid in morte boni sit ; cum cantu et voluptate moriantur* – Cicero Tuscul. Quæst. *lib.* i. 59.

(*s*) *Illi quidem* (Cygni) *quando se brevi sentiunt morituros, tunc magis admodum dulcius canunt, quam antea consueverint, congratulantes quod ad Deum sint, cujus erant famuli, jam migraturi. Sed quia Phœbo sacri sunt, ut arbitror, divinatione præditi, præsagiunt alterius vita bona ; ideoque cantant alacrius, gestiuntque ea die quam superiori tempore.* Plato in *Phœdone*, vel de Anima, p. 505.

(*t*) *Dirceum levat aura cygnum.* Lib. v. Ode 2. v. 25.

u) *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.* tom. v.

and Meander? But, if they had imitative powers, the concerts so frequently performed on the Seine and the Thames, are surely sufficient to provoke them to the exercise of those powers. Are they degenerated in northern climates? This question is fully answered by Ælian (*w*), who asserts, that among the Hyperboreans, or inhabitants of the *most northern parts of the globe*, who had a celebrated temple to Apollo, at a solemn festival in honour of the God, which was annually kept at a great expence, as soon as the priest had begun the ceremony, by a procession, aspersions, and lustrations, a large flock of swans instantly descended from the top of Mount Riphæus and after having croaked and cackled in the air, round the temple, to make a kind of lustration, in their manner, they entered the choir, and gravely took their places among the priests and musicians, who were preparing to sing a sacred hymn in honour of this festival ; after which they performed their parts with the utmost precision, neither singing out of tune, nor breaking time ; and when this was done, they retired in great order from the temple.

" Here are swans for you," says M. Morin, "who sung psalms in a *northern* climate. as well as in Greece, in the presence of a whole people, and an infinite number of spectators of all nations, who were drawn together by the solemnity ; which shews, that, according to the opinion of those times, swans always, and in every place, retained the power and dignity of songsters, inseparable from their kind. However, Ælian confesses that he had the story from tradition, having never been able to acquire any proof of their musical powers from experience ; and that all he knew of this matter was, that the ancients held it as a certainty, that these birds, before they died, sung a kind of air, which was on that account called the *swan's* air."

Perhaps the idea of swans having the power of singing, was originally suggested by the magnificent length of their necks, which seem as capable of divisions, trills, and shakes, as any of our wind-instruments. Lucian (*x*) is the only ancient writer who has dared to doubt of the musical abilities of swans. He tells us, with his usual pleasantry, that he tried to ascertain the fact, by making a voyage on the coasts of Italy ; and relates, that being arrived at the mouth of the Po, he and his friends had the curiosity to sail up that river, in order to ask the watermen and inhabitants concerning the tragical fate of Phaeton ; and to examine the poplars, descendants of his sisters, whom they expected to shed amber instead of tears ; as well as to see the swans represent the friends of this unfortunate prince. and hear them sing lamentations and sorrowful hymns, night and day, to his praise, as they used to do, in the character of musicians, and favourites of Apollo, before their change. However, these good people, who never had heard of any such *metamorphoses*, freely confessed, that they had indeed sometimes seen swans in the marshes near the river, and had heard

(*w*) *Lib.* ii. *cap.* 1.

(*x*) *De Elect. seu Cygnis.*

them croak and scream in such a disagreeable manner, that crows and jays would be sirens, compared with them, in a musical capacity ; but that they had never even dreamed of swans singing a single note that was pleasing, or fit to be heard.

But to return once more to Apollo. Plutarch, who was himself a priest of that God, impressed with the highest respect and veneration for him and for music, in his Dialogue upon that art, makes one of his interlocutors say, that an invention so useful and charming could never have been the work of man, but must have originated from some God ; such as Apollo, the inventor of the flute and lyre, improperly attributed to Hyagnis, Marsyas, Olympus, and others ; and the proofs he urges in support of this assertion, shew, if not its truth, at least that it was the common and received opinion.

All dances and sacrifices, says he, used in honour of Apollo, are performed to the sound of flutes : the statue of this God at Delos, erected in the time of Hercules, had in its right hand a bow, and on the left stood the three Graces, who were furnished with three kinds of instruments: the lyre, the flute, and syrinx. The youth also, who carries the laurel of Tempe to Delphos, is accompanied by one playing on the flute: and the sacred presents formerly sent to Delos by the Hyperboreans, were conducted thither to the sound of lyres, flutes, and shepherds' pipes. He supports these facts by the testimonies of the poets Alcæus, Alcman, and the poetess Corinna.

It seems as if the account of Apollo could not be concluded by anything that is left to offer on the subject, so properly, as by part of the celebrated hymn of Callimachus, which during many ages was performed and heard by the most polished people on the globe, with the utmost religious zeal, at the festivals instituted to this God. What has already been said may, perhaps, throw some light upon this beautiful composition, which, in return, will explain and confirm the reasons already assigned for the high veneration in which this divinity was held by antiquity.

Hymn to Apollo

Hah! how the laurel, great APOLLO's tree,
And all the cavern shakes! far off, far off,
The man that is unhallow'd: for the God
Approaches. Hark! he knocks: the gates
Feel the glad impulse: and the fever'd bars
Submissive clink against their brazen portals,
Why do the Delian palms incline their boughs,
Self-mov'd: and hov'ring swans, their throats releas'd
From native silence, carol sounds harmonious?
    Begin, young men, the hymn: let all your harps
Break their inglorious silence ; and the dance,
In mystic numbers trod, explain the music.

But first by ardent pray'r, and clear lustration
Purge the contagious spots of human weakness:
Impure no mortal can behold Apollo.
So may you flourish, favour'd by the God,
In youth with happy nuptials, and in age
With silver hairs, and fair descent of children;
So lay foundations for aspiring cities,
And bless your spreading colonies' encrease.

Pay sacred reverence to Apollo's song;
Lest watchful the far-shooting God emit
His fatal arrows. Silent Nature stands;
And seas subside, obedient to the sound
Of Io! Io Pæan! nor dares Thetis
Longer bewail her lov'd Achilles' death:
For Phœbus was his foe. Nor must sad Niobe
In fruitless sorrow persevere, or weep
Even thro' the Phrygian marble: Hapless mother!
Whose fondness could compare her mortal offspring
To those which fair Latona bore to Jove.
Io! again repeat ye, Io! Pæan!

Recite Apollo's praise till night draws on,
The ditty still unfinish'd ; and the day
Unequal to the Godhead's attributes
Various, and matter copious of your songs.

Sublime at Jove's right hand Apollo sits,
And thence distributes honour, gracious king,
And theme of verse perpetual. From his robe
Flows light ineffable: his harp, his quiver,
And Lyctian bow, are gold: with golden sandals
His feet are shod. How rich! how beautiful!
Beneath his steps the yellow min'ral rises;
And earth reveals her treasures. Youth and beauty
Eternal deck his cheek: from his fair head
Perfumes distil their sweets and chearful Health,
His duteous hand-maid, through the air improv'd
With lavish hand diffuses scents ambrosial.

The spearman's arm by thee, great God, directed,
Sends forth a certain wound. The laurel'd bard
Inspir'd by thee, composes verse immortal.
Taught by thy art divine, the sage physician
Eludes the urn, and chains, or exiles death.

Perpetual fires shine hallow'd on thy altars,
When annual the Carnean feast is held:

The warlike Libyans, clad in armour, lead
The dance, with clanging swords and shields, they beat
The dreadful measure: in the chorus join
Their women, brown but beautiful ; such rites
To thee well pleasing.
The mon'strous Python
Durst tempt thy wrath in vain ; for dead he fell,
To thy great strength, and golden arms unequal.

Io! while thy unerring hand elanc'd
Another and another dart, the people
Joyful repeated *Io*! *Io Pean*!
Elance the dart, Apollo: for the safety
And health of man, gracious thy mother bore thee!

PRIOR.

The Muses

After the enquiries that have been made, perhaps with too much minuteness, concerning the origin of that worship which antiquity paid to Mercury and Apollo, it seems necessary to say something of other Pagan divinities, among whose attributes music has a place. Of this class, as most intimately cormected with the God of Song, are the *Muses,* those celebrated female musicians, so dear to men of genius, and lovers of art, that it is hardly possible for them to hear their names mentioned, without feeling a secret and refined pleasure.

These are the only Pagan divinities whose worship has been continued through all succeeding changes in the religion and sentiments of mankind. Professors of every liberal art in all the countries of Europe, still revere them, particularly the poets, who seldom undertake the slightest work, without invoking their aid.

It has been asserted by some ancient writers, that at first they were only three in number ; but Homer, Hesiod, and other profound mythologists, admit of nine (*y*). In his Hymn to Apollo, Homer says:

By turns the *Nine* delight to sing.

And Hesiod, in his Theogony, names them all. They are said severally to preside over some art or science, as music, poetry, dancing, astronomy. And each of their names has been supposed to include some particular allegory: *Clio,* for instance, has been thus called, because those who are praised in verse, acquire immortal fame ; *Euterpe,* on account of the pleasure accruing to those who hear learned poetry, &c.

(*y*) It has been said, that when the citizens of Sicyon directed three skilful statuaries to make each of them statues of the three Muses, they were all so well executed, that they did not know which to chuse, but erected all nine, and that Hesiod and Homer only gave them names.

An Epigram of Callimachus, in the *Anthologia*, gives the attributes of the Nine Muses in as many lines.

> *Calliope* the deeds of heroes sung;
> The choral lyre by *Clio* first was strung;
> *Euterpe* the full tragic chorus found;
> *Melpomene* taught lutes their soothing sound;
> *Terpsichore* the flute's soft pow'r display'd;
> By *Erato* the pious hymn was made ;
> *Polymnia* to the dance her care applied;
> *Urania* wise, the starry course descried;
> And gay *Thalia's* glass was life and manners' guide (*z*).

This epigram does not, however, exactly correspond with the ideas of other poets, or with those of the ancient painters, in characterising the attributes of the Muses.

Among the capital pictures dug out of Herculaneum, are portraits of Apollo, and the Muses, his companions: from which engravings have been published in the second volume of *Le Pitture antiche d'Ercolano*.

Portrait I. The God is seated on a throne, with a cithara of eleven strings in his left hand, in the character of *Musagetes*, or conductor of the Muses (*a*).

II. *Clio* seated, her head crowned with laurels ; in her left hand she holds an open volume, in which she appears to be reading. On the outside is written ΚΛΕΙΩ. ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ. *Clio* invented *History*. At her feet are six other rolls, or antique volumes, inclosed in a cylindrical case.

(*z*) Καλλιοπη σοφιην ἡρωιδος ἑυρεν ἀοιδης.
Κλειω, καλλιχορου κιθαρης μελιηδεα μολπην.
Ευτερπη, τραγ κοιο χορου πολυηχεα φωνην.
Μελπομενη θνητοισι μελιφρονα βαρβιτον ἦρε·
Τερψιχορη χαριεσσα πορεν τεχνημονας ἀυλους,
Υμνους αθανατων Ερατω πολυτερπεας ἑυρε·
Τερψιας ὀρχηθμοιο Πολυμνια πανσοφος ἑυρεν.
[Αρμονιην πασαισι Πολυμνια δωκεν ἀοιδαις·]
Ουρανιη πολον ἑυρε γαι ὀυρανιων χορον ἀσρων·
Κωμικον ἑυρε Θαλεια βιον τε και ἠθεα κεδνα.

There is a redundant line in this epigram, which, though it was evidently intended to convey the attributes of the nine Muses in *as many* lines, yet Polymnia occupies two, which characterize her very differently. I have preferred that which I thought the most intelligible. Natalis Comes has given a Latin version of these mythological verses, in which he has not adhered very closely to the original.

> Calliope *reperit sapientes provida cantus*
> *Heroum.* Clio *citharam clarissima. Vocem Mimorum* Euterpe *tragicis lætata querelis.*
> Melpomene *dulcem mortalibus addidit ipsa Barbiton. Et suavis tibi tradita tibia fertur.*
> Terpsichore. *Divumque* Erato *mox protulit hymnos.*
> *Harmoniam cunctisque* Polymnia *cantibus addit.*
> Euranie *cæli motus atque astra notavit.*
> *Comica vita tibi est, moresque* Thalia *reperti.*

(*a*) Mythology chose Apollo to preside over arts and sciences, but gave him the nine Muses for his companions, because the ancients were persuaded, that without the concurrence of a sex, which every where diffuses grace and pleasure, arts and sciences would have been productive of nothing but disgust and melancholy to mankind.

The picture of *Euterpe* had been so much injured by time, that it could not be engraved. But the poets usually give her the flute, as her symbol.

> *Dulciloquos* calamos *Euterpe flatibus urget.*
>
> Auson. Idyl. 20.

III. ΘΑΛΕΙΑ ΚωΜΟΔΙΑΝ (*b*). *Thalia* invented *Comedy*. This Muse is represented with a comic mask in her left hand. See Plate IV. No. 3.

IV. ΜΕΛΠΟΜΕΝΗ ΤΡΑΓωΔΙΑΝ. *Melpomene* invented *Tragedy*. A tragic mask is placed in her left hand.

V. ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ ΛΥΡΑΝ. *Terpsichore* presides over the *Lyre*. The instrument which she holds is small, and has but seven strings. The belly of it is in a round form. It is disputed whether this lyre is the same as the cithara or testudo. The belly and sides are something like those of the latter. But whatever name this kind of instrument had in early times, there can be no doubt of lyre being the general appellation for it when it was painted. See Plate V. No. 3.

VI. ΕΡΑΤω ΨΑΛΤΡΙΑΝ. *Erato* invented the *Psaltery*, or long lyre of nine strings. This instrument is more than twice the length of that in the hand of Terpsichore. See Plate V. No. 4. The Muse holds a plectrum in her right hand, and seems playing with the fingers of her left.

VII. ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ ΜΥΘΟΥΣ. *Polhymnia the Fabulist*. She is here represented as the patroness of mimes, with her finger on her mouth, in token of silence. The painter differs in characterising this Muse from most of the poets and mythologists, who make her the inventress of hymns to the Gods. However, there are etymologists, among whom are Plutarch and Nonnus, who derive her name from Μνημη, *tradition*, alluding to the fables and tales of antiquity, which the mimes and dancers usually made the subjects of their performance. *Nonnus Dionys*. V. v. 104, *et seq*. says,

Sweet Polhymnia, see advance,
Mother of the graceful dance:
She who taught th' ingenious art,
Silent language to impart:
Signs for sentiment she found,
Eloquence without a sound:
Hands loquacious save her lungs,
All her limbs are speaking tongues.

VIII. ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ. *Urania*, with a globe in her hand, as the patroness of astronomy.

IX. ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ ΠΟΙΗΜΑ. *Calliope* invented *Poetry* ; she is painted with a roll of paper, or volume, in her hand, as the Muse

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(*b*) This should be written Κωμῳδιαν The word, however, has been faithfully transcribed from the plate in the Antiquities of Herculaneum, where it is said to be erroneously written in the original inscription upon the base of the statue ; a proof that there were artists among the ancients who could not *spell*, as well as among the moderns.

who presides over heroic verse, or epic poetry ; the invention of which was given to her by Callimachus in the epigram just cited:*

Καλλιοπη σοφιηυ ἡρωιδος εὑρεν αοιδης.
Calliope th' heroic canto found.

The ancients had numberless ingenious and fanciful ideas concerning the Muses ; and some very whimsical and diverting: Fulgentius informs us that Apollo was painted with a cithara of *ten strings,* as a symbol of the union of the God with the nine Muses, and to shew that the human voice is composed of *ten parts* ; of which the four first are the front *teeth,* placed one against the other, so useful for the appulse of the tongue, in forming sounds, that, without any one of them, a whistle would be produced instead of a voice ; the fifth and sixth are the two *lips,* like cymbals, which, by being struck against each other, greatly facilitate speech ; the seventh is the *tongue,* which serves as a plectrum to articulate sounds ; the eighth is the *palate,* the concave of which forms a belly to the instrument ; the ninth is the *throat,* which performs the part of a flute ; and the tenth the *lungs,* which supply the place of bellows.

Pythagoras, and afterwards, Plato, make them the soul of the planets in our system ; whence the imaginary music of the spheres (*c*).

The Pythagoreans and Platonists, says Mr. Stillingfleet (*d*), supposed the universe itself, and all its parts, to be formed on the principles of harmony. And this supposition does not seem to have been merely figurative ; there are traces of the harmonic principle scattered up and down, sufficient to make us look on it as one of the great and reigning principles of the inanimate world ; and though we have no proof, or indeed any reason to believe, that the Greeks were acquainted with the foundation of some of their philosophical opinions, yet what that very sagacious philosopher, Mr. Maclaurin, observes (*e*), concerning the astronomy of Pythagoras, seems highly probable. "When we find," says he, "their accounts (*i.e.,* of the Greeks) to be very imperfect, it seems reasonable to suppose they had some hints only, from some more knowing nations, who had made greater advances in philosophy."

Those more knowing nations I suppose to have been the Egyptians, from whom the first and great outlines of every art and science originally came. Maclaurin gives us one instance of the Pythagorean doctrine, which could hardly be supposed to be of

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(*c*) The comparison and union of the elements of astronomy and music are of much higher antiquity than the time of Pythagoras, if the hymn to Apollo, which is *attributed* to Orpheus, be genuine. See Ορφεως Υμνοι, p. 226.

(*d*) *Principles and Power of Harmony.*

(*e*) *Phil. Discov. of Newton,* &c. p. 35.

* EUTERPE is often called the muse of Poetry ;
TERPSICHORE, the muse of Choral Song and Dance;
ERATO, the muse of Erotic Poetry and Mime ;
POLHYMNIA, the muse of the sublime Hymn;
CALLIOPE, the muse of Epic Poetry.
(Dr. Smith's Classical Dictionary).

Greek original, *the harmony of the spheres,* and which, in conformity with Dr. Gregory, he explains as follows: " If we should suppose musical chords extended from the sun to each planet, that all these chords might become unison, it would be requisite to encrease or diminish their tensions, in the same proportions as would be sufficient to render the gravities of the planets equal; and from the similitude of those proportions, the celebrated doctrine of the harmony of the spheres is supposed to have been derived." Certainly as this harmonic coincidence is now become, till Sir Isaac Newton demonstrated the laws of gravitation in relation to the planets, it must have passed for the dream of an Utopian philosopher (*f*).

Bacchus

This personage seems to have acted too important a part in musical mythology to be omitted: for though he is seldom named in modern times, but as a sensual encourager of feast and jollity, he was regarded in a more respectable light by the ancients, who worshipped him in different countries under different appellations.

It is natural to suppose that the Greeks and Romans, as usual, bestowed upon the *one* Bacchus which they worshipped, the several actions and attributes of the *many* divinities known by that name, and by other equivalent denominations in different countries. However, antiquity chiefly distinguished two Gods under the title of Bachus: that of Egypt, the son of Ammon, and the same as Osiris; and that of Thebes in Bœotia, the son of Jupiter and Semele.*

The Egyptian Bacchus was brought up at Nysa, a city of Arabia Felix, whence he acquired the name of *Dionysius*, or the God of Nysa; and this was the conqueror of India. Though this Bacchus of the Egyptians was one of the elder Gods of Egypt, yet the son of Semele was the youngest of the Grecian deities. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Orpheus first deified the son of Semele by the name of Bacchus, and appointed his ceremonies in Greece, in order to render the family of Cadmus, the grandfather of the Grecian Bacchus, illustrious.

The Great Bacchus, according to Sir Isaac Newton (*g*), flourished but one generation before the Argonautic expedition. This Bacchus, says Hermippus (*h*), was potent at sea, conquered eastward as far as India, returned in triumph, brought his army over the Hellespont, conquered Thrace, and left music, dancing, and poetry there. And, according to Diodorus Siculus, it was the son of Semele who invented farces and theatres, and who first established

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(*f*) See *Principles and Power of Harmony*, p. 146.

(*g*) *Chron.* p. 191.

(*h*) *Athenæus*, lib. i.

* The Egyptian and the Greek Bacchus are now regarded as the same person. He is known also as Dionysus but was not one of the original divinities. In Homer he is mentioned as one of the minor gods whose mission was to teach mankind the art of wine making. The cult of Dionysus is very finely expounded in Walter Pater's *Greek Studies*.

a music school, exempting from all military functions such musicians as discovered great abilities in their art; on which account, says the same author, musicians formed into companies, have since frequently enjoyed great privileges.

It has already been observed, that the dithyrambics which gave birth to dramatic representations, are as ancient as the worship of Bacchus in Greece; and there is little doubt but that the ceremonies of his mysteries gave rise to the pomp and illusions of the theatre. Many of the most splendid exhibitions upon the stage, for the entertainment of the people of Athens and Rome, being performed upon the festivals of Bacchus, gave occasion to the calling all those that were employed in them, whether for singing, dancing, or reciting. *servants of Bacchus.*

Pausanias, in his Attics, speaks of a place at Athens. consecrated to *Bacchus,* the *singer;* thus named, he says, for the same reason as Apollo is called the chief, and conductor of the Muses. Whence it should seem that Bacchus was regarded by the Athenians not only as the God of wine, but of *song;* and it must be owned, that his followers, in their cups, have been much inclined to singing ever since. Indeed we are certain, that in none of the orgies, processions, triumphs, and festivals, instituted by the ancients to the honour and memory of this prince of *bons vivans,* music was forgotten, as may be still gathered from ancient sculpture, where we find not only that musicians, male and female, regaled him with the lyre, the flute, and with song; but that he was accompanied by fauns and satyrs playing upon timbrels, cymbals, bagpipes, and horns; these Suidas calls his minstrels; and Strabo gives them the appellations of *Bacchi, Sileni, Satyri, Bacchæ, Lenæ, Thyæ, Mamillones, Naiades, Nymphæ,* and *Tityri.*

These representations have furnished subjects for the finest remains of ancient sculpture (*i*); and the most voluptuous passages of ancient poetry are descriptions of the orgies and festivals of Bacchus.

The *Orgia,* or feasts and sacrifices performed in honour of this God in Greece, were chiefly celebrated on the mountains of Thrace by wild distracted women called *Bacchæ* (*k*).

They had certainly their rise in Egypt, where Osiris was the model of the Grecian Bacchus; from thence they passed into Greece, Italy, Gaul; and were adopted almost throughout the whole pagan world. They were at first performed with simplicity and decorum; but afterwards they degenerated into so much folly and licentiousness, that historians assure us the debaucheries practised in them during the night time were so enormous, as to oblige the Roman senate, in the 556th year of the city, 186 B.C., to abolish them entirely throughout the Roman dominions (*l*).

(*i*) See *Mich. Angelo; de la Chaussie; Montfaucon; & Gori.*

(*k*) The Orgies of Bacchus have furnished Æschylus with a subject for one of his tragedies, whence may be acquired a truer idea of them, before their corruption, than from any other remains of antiquity

(*l*) Livy, *Dec.* 4. *lib.* xxix. *cap.* 8. *et seq.*

Modern writers upon mythology pretend to inform us in what these orgies consisted, as minutely as if they had been initiated; but it is hardly possible for credulity itself to imagine, that what was so great a mystery to the ancients themselves, should be no secret now.

All we can be certain of, at this distance of time, is, that Greece had three solemnities known by the name of *Orgia,* which were dedicated to Bacchus, to Cybele, and to Ceres: and that each of them had many ceremonies peculiar to itself: the present enquiries, however, shall be confined to the music which accompanied the public processions of Bacchus.

The orgies being a commemoration of the march of the elder Bacchus into India, and that prince having had in his train musicians of both sexes, satyrs, and fauns, or men equipped like fauns and satyrs, these were afterwards employed in the processions and orgies, and formed into bands of music, playing upon drums and cymbals, and crying out *Evohe Bacche*!

In the Justinian garden at Rome there is a marble vase of most precious workmanship, upon which is a representation of these Orgies of Bacchus. This vase, from the beauty of the sculpture, is supposed to be by the hand of Saurus (*m*). The whole pomp of one of these processions is there admirably represented; in which are introduced Bacchus, the Bacchanals, the Mænades, the players on flutes, matrons and virgins, with the Crotalum, or cymbalum, and tympanum; fauns and satyrs, holding in their hands vases and cups; priests leading the victims destined for sacrifice, such as the boar, the he-goat, and the bull; and, lastly, old Silenus, drunk, upon his ass, which he is hardly able to guide.

With respect to Bacchanalian songs, as the ancient Greeks, and modern French have at all times had the best wine to drink, they seem to have been the most happy in singing its praises. Anacreon will authorise this opinion with respect to the Greeks, and the French have many Anacreons; among whom may be numbered the abbé de Chaulieu, La Chapelle, La Fare, and St. Aulaise.

But Bacchus is said by Diodorus (*n*) to have invented *Beer,* for the use of mankind in such parts of the globe as are unfit for the culture of the grape; and our gluey potations, with the black juice of Oporto, have sometimes inspired the bards of this island with wit and jollity in their drinking songs. And indeed our *Catches,* by the ingenuity of the musical composer, are perhaps fraught with more pleasantry, and are productive of more genuine mirth, than the Bacchanalian hymns of any other people on the globe.

(*m*) It is from thence the drawings of the instruments, Plate IV. No. 6, and several in Plate V. have been taken.

(*n*) *Lib.* iv.

Chapter II

Of the Terrestial, or Demi-Gods

HAVING tried to trace the opinions of the wisest men among the Greek historians, philosophers, and poets, concerning the musical dispositions and abilities of the greater order of divinities during their mortal state upon earth, my next attempt will be to collect what has been thought most consonant to reason and probability, concerning the *Demi-Gods*.

Among these, ***Pan*** seems to merit the first place (*o*). The abbé Banier remarks, that if ever the Greeks corrupted ancient history, it was in fabricating the fable of Pan. According to them, says Herodotus, Hercules, Dionysius or Bacchus, and Pan, were the last of all the Gods: however, in the opinion of the Egyptians, Pan was one of the eight great divinities that formed the first class in their theology, which were the most powerful and the most ancient of all.

Diodorus makes him one of the attendants upon Osiris, in his Indian expedition. "Osiris," says this author, "took with him Pan, a person much respected throughout his dominions; for he had not only his statue afterwards placed in all the temples, but a city was built in the Thebaid, which, in honour of Pan, was called *Chemmis*, or *Chammo*, a word that signifies in the Egyptian language, the city of Pan."

The same author, however tells us, that he was the leader of a troop of fauns and satyrs, or wild and rustic men, much addicted to singing, dancing, and feats of activity, who were presented to Osiris in Ethiopia; and with whom that prince was so much pleased, that he retained them in his service.

He was also the inventor of the instrument called the syrinx, or fistula; which invention has given birth to a fable in Ovid's Metamorphoses (*p*).

A nymph of late appear'd, as Dian chaste,
Whose beauteous form all other nymphs surpass'd;
The pride and joy of fair Arcadia's plains.
Belov'd by deities, ador'd by swains,
Syrinx her name; by sylvans oft pursu'd,
As oft would she the wanton Gods delude.
Descending from Lycæus, Pan admires

(*o*) *Julian. Aurelius de Cognominib. Deor. Gentil. Lil. Gyraldus Hist. Deor. Synt.* XV. *Ab. Declaustre Dizion. Mitolog.* tom. iii. p. 41.

(*p*) *Lib.* i.

The matchless nymph, and burns with new desires.
A crown of pine upon his head he wore,
And vainly strove her pity of implore:
For ere he could begin, she took her flight,
And, wing'd by fear, she soon was out of sight,
Nor stay'd to hear the courtship of the God,
But bent her course to Ladon's gentle flood;
There by the river stopt, and tir'd before,
Relief from water-nymphs her pray'rs implore.
Now while the am'rous God, with speedy pace
Just thought to strain her in a fond embrace,
He fills his arms with reeds, new rising on the place.
And while he sighs, his ill success to find,
The tender canes were shaken by the wind;
And breath'd a mournful air, unheard before,
Which greatly Pan surpris'd, yet pleas'd him more.
Admiring this new music, Thou, he said,
Who can'st not be the partner of my bed,
At least shalt be the consort of my mind,
And often, often to my lips be join'd!
The tuneful reeds he form'd, and wax'd with care,
Which still retain the name of his ungrateful fair.

DRYDEN

Pan was regarded by the Egyptians, after his apotheosis, as the God who presided over the whole universe, as *Παν, omne,* implies. He represented nature and festivity, and was God of the woods and fields, wholly taken up with the pleasures of a country life; dancing constantly with the fauns and satyrs, and running after the nymphs, to whom he was such a terror, that it is supposed the word *Panic* is derived from *Panici terrores,* with which those who were said to have seen him were seized. Apuleius (*q*), however, gives an agreeable description of him. "By chance the God, Pan, happened to be seated on a little eminence near a river, and, always constant in his love to the nymph Syrinx, transformed into a reed, he taught her to produce all kinds of agreeable sounds, while his goats were skipping round him, and feeding on the banks."

Lucian describes him as the companion, minister, and counsellor of Bacchus. He was a kind of *Scrub,* a drudge, fit for *all work,* having been occasionally employed in the capacity of shepherd, musician, dancer, huntsman, and soldier. In short, he served not only as *maestro di capella,* in directing the Bacchanals, but was so expert in playing upon flutes, and was such an excellent piper on the fistula, that Bacchus was never happy without him. We have the authority of the grave Virgil (*r*) and of the sentimental and pious Plato (*s*), for his attributes.

(*q*) *Metamorph.* lib. v.

(*r*) *Eclogue* 2.

(*s*) *Platonis Carmina apud Nat. Comit. Mytholog.* lib. vii. cap. 15.

After Pan, it seems necessary to speak of the satyrs, of whom the oldest, according to Pausanias, were called Sileni, from Silenus, the governor of Bacchus in his youth, as a hymn, attributed to Orpheus, informs us. Silenus was so notable a musician, that he is not only said to have invented musical instruments, but to have had the courage, like Marsyas, to challenge even Apollo himself to a trial of skill: though we find by the catastrophe that he escaped with a whole skin (*t*).

Shepherds dressed in goats' skins have been thought by some to have furnished the idea of satyrs with goats' feet. But it is the opinion of a modern writer (*v*), that the Orang-outang has been the prototype of all the fauns, satyrs, Pans, and *Sileni,* described by the ancient poets, and whose forms are come down to us in the works of the painters and sculptors of antiquity; embellished or disfigured, according to the fancy or genius of the authors; who, having no real models, have given an unbounded scope to imagination in representing them. And yet these animals seem to have been much more numerous formerly than at present; witness the large troops to which Alexander, when in India, prepared to give battle; and the attack made by Hanno on another large body of them, in an island on the coast of Africa, where he took three of the females, whose skins were deposited in the temple of Juno, and found there by the Romans at the taking of Carthage (*x*).

Satyr is a name given by some authors, says M. de Buffon, to the *Orang-outang,* or man of the woods, an animal that differs in form less from man than from the Ape, and is only to be found in Africa, and the southern parts of Asia (*y*). Dr. Tyson, and the celebrated anatomist Cowper, who jointly dissected one of these animals, found in him more specific marks of resemblance to man, than to any other creature (*z*).

Since the interior parts of Africa and India have been better known, this large species of Ape, equal in size and strength to man, and as fond of women as of his own females, has been frequently seen. This animal arms himself with stones in attacking his enemies, and sticks in defending himself; and, besides his being without a tail, and having a flat face, his arms, hands, fingers, and nails, are like those of human creatures, and he always walks upright upon his two hinder legs. He has a kind of face and features much resembling those of man, with ears of the same form, hair upon his head, and a beard on his chin: so that the civilized Indians make no scruple of ranking him among the human species by the name of Orang-outang, or wild man; though the Negroes, almost equally wild, and quite as ill-favoured, not reflecting that man is more or less exalted, in proportion as his

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(*t*) *Pausanias Corinth.* cap. 22.

(*u*) The author of *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains.*

(*x*) Strabo, *lib.* xv. and *Hannonis Periplum.*

(*y*) *Hist. Nat.* tom. ix.

(*z*) *Anat. of the Ourang-outang,* London, 1699, 4to.

reason is cultivated, have given them the name of *Pongo*, which implies a beast, and not a man. But vices in men similar to those of goats and monkeys, have more frequently furnished ideas of a resemblance between them and those animals, than their figures. This *Orang-outang*, or *Pongo*, is indeed only an animal of the brute kind, though of so singular a nature, that man can never behold him without a secret horror, in comparing him with himself, or without being convinced that his own body is not the most essential part of his nature.

Next to the Satyrs, it seems requisite to say something of the *Sirens*, those celebrated songstresses of Sicily, who were ranked among the Demi-gods, as well as Demi reps, of antiquity. Hyginus places their birth among the consequences of the rape of Proserpine. Others make them daughters of the river Acheloüs, and one of the Muses (*a*).

——O ye nymphs that from the flood descend,
What fault of yours the Gods could so offend,
With wings and claws your beauteous forms to spoil,
Yet save your maiden face, and winning smile?
Were you not with her, in Pergusa's bow'rs,
When Proserpine went forth to gather flow'rs?
Since Pluto in his car the goddess caught,
Have you not for her in each climate sought?
And when on land you oft had search'd in vain,
You wish'd for wings to cross the pathless main.
The earth and sea were witness to your care:
The Gods were easy, and return'd your pray'r;
With golden wings o'er foamy waves you fled,
And to the sun your plumy glories spread:
But lest the soft enchantment of your songs,
And the sweet music of your flattering tongues,
Should quite be lost, as courteous fates ordain,
Your voice and virgin beauty still remain.

GARTH'S Ovid.

The number of the Sirens was three, and their names Parthenope, Lygea, and Leucosia. Some make them half women and half fish: others, half women and half birds. There are antique representations of them still subsisting, under both these forms.

On an Etruscan vase, in the grand duke's collection at Florence, the middle Siren holds a syrinx, with seven pipes; another plays on the lyre with the plectrum, and the third on a monaulos, or single pipe. These have wings, and birds feet (*b*); and in the *Museo* at Portici, there is a fine piece of antique Mosaic, dug out of Herculaneum, which represents one of the Sirens in the act of singing, another playing upon the flute, and the third upon the lyre.

(*a*) Ovid *Met.* lib. v.

(*b*) See *Gori Mus. Estruc.* Class ii. p. 288.

Pausanias tells us that the Sirens, by the persuasion of Juno, challenged the Muses to a trial of skill in singing; and these having vanquished them, plucked the golden feathers from the wings of the Sirens, and formed them into crowns, with which they adorned their own heads. And it was, perhaps, in allusion to this circumstance, that the proverbial phrase originated, of one person pluming himself with the feathers, or talents, of another.

The Argonauts are said to have been diverted from the enchantment of their songs, by the superior strains of Orpheus: Ulysses, however, had great difficulty in securing himself from seduction. Circe prepares him for the conflict by the following picture and precepts (*c*).

Next where the *Sirens* dwell you plow the seas,
Their song is death, and makes destruction please.
Unblest the man, whom music wins to stay
Nigh the curst shore, and listen to the lay:
No more that wretch shall view the joys of life,
His blooming offspring, or his beauteous wife!
Fly swift the dangerous coast! let every ear
Be stop'd against the song! 'tis death to hear!
Firm to the mast thyself with chains be bound,
Nor trust thy virtue to th' enchanting sound.
If mad with transport, freedom thou demand,
Be every fetter strain'd, and added band to band.

And the hero himself, upon his arrival on the coast of Sicily, addresses his companions in the following admirable lines:

O friends! O ever partners of my woes!
Attend, while I what heav'n foredooms disclose,
Hear all! fate hangs o'er all! on you it lies
To live or perish ; to be safe, be wise!
In flow'ry meads the sportive sirens play,
Touch the soft lyre, and tune the vocal lay ;
Me, me alone, with fetters firmly bound,
The Gods allow to hear the dangerous sound.

Then follows the account which Ulysses himself gives of them (*d*).

While yet I speak the winged galley flies,
And lo! the siren shores like mists arise.
Sunk were at once the winds ; the air above,
And waves below, at once forgot to move!
Some dæmon calm'd the air, and smooth'd the deep,
Hush'd the loud winds, and charm'd the waves to sleep.
Now ev'ry sail we furl, each oar we ply,
Lash'd by the stroke, the frothy waters fly ;
The ductile wax with busy hands I mold,

(*c*) *Odys.* lib. xii. ver. 51.

(*d*) Ibid.

And cleft in fragments, and the fragments roll'd ;
Th' aerial region now grew warm with day,
The wax dissolv'd beneath the burning ray ;
Then every ear I barr'd against the strain,
And from access of phrenzy lock'd the brain.
Now round the mast, my mates the fetters roll'd,
And bound me limb by limb, with fold on fold.
Then bending to the stroke, the active train,
Plunge all at once their oars, and cleave the main.

While to the shore the rapid vessel flies,
Our swift approach the siren choir descries ;
Celestial music warbles from their tongue,
And thus the sweet deluders tune the song.

O stay! O pride of Greece, Ulysses stay,
O stop thy course, and listen to our lay!
Blest is the man ordain'd our voice to hear,
The song instructs the soul, and charms the ear.
Approach! thy soul shall into raptures rise,
Approach! and learn new wisdom from the wise!
We know whate'er the kings of mighty name
Achiev'd at Ilion in the field of fame ;
Whate'er beneath the sun's bright journey lies,
O stay, and learn new wisdom from the wise! (*e*).

Thus the sweet charmers warbled o'er the main,
My soul takes wing to meet the heav'nly strain ;
I give the sign, and struggle to be free:
Swift row my mates, and shoot along the sea ;
New chains they add, and rapid urge the way,
Till dying off, the distant sounds decay ;
Then scudding swiftly from the dang'rous ground,
The deafen'd ear unlock'd, the chains unbound.

Pope, in his note on this passage, says, "there are several things remarkable in this short song of the sirens; one of the first words they speak is the name of Ulysses ; this shews that they had a kind of omniscience ; and it could not fail to raise the curiosity of a wise man to be acquainted with persons of such extensive knowledge. The song is well adapted to the character of Ulysses ; it is not pleasure or dalliance with which they tempt that hero, but a promise of wisdom, and a recital of the war of Troy, and his own glory. Homer, says Cicero, saw that his fable could not be approved, if he made his hero to be taken with a mere song: the Sirens therefore promise knowledge, the desire of which might probably prove stronger than the love of his country. To desire to know all things, whether useful or trifles, is a faulty curiosity ;

(*e*) There is a remarkable similitude between this promise of wisdom made by the Sirens to Ulysses, and that of knowledge from the tree of life, which was offered to our first parents, by the serpent. *Gen.* iii. *In the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened ; and ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil.*

but to be led by the contemplation of things great and noble, to a thirst of knowledge, is an instance of greatness of soul."

Again, in his notes to the twelfth book of the *Odyssey,* " The critics have greatly laboured to explain what was the foundation of this fiction of the Sirens. We are told by some that the Sirens were queens of certain small islands, named *Sirenusæ,* that lie near Capreæ in Italy, and chiefly inhabited the promontory of Minerva, upon the top of which that Goddess had a temple, as some affirm, built by Ulysses. Here there was a renowned academy, in the reign of the Sirens, famous for eloquence and the liberal sciences, which gave occasion to the invention of this fable of the sweetness of the voice, and attracting songs of the Sirens. But why then are they fabled to be destroyers, and painted in such dreadful colours. We are told that at last the students abused their knowledge, to the colouring of wrong, the corruption of manners, and the subversion of government: that is, in the language of poetry, they were feigned to be transformed into monsters, and with their music to have enticed passengers to their ruin, who there consumed their patrimonies, and poisoned their virtues with riot and effeminacy. The place is now called Massa. Some writers tell us of a certain bay, contracted within winding streights and broken cliffs, which, by the singing of the winds, and beating of the waters, returns a delightful harmony, that allures the passenger to approach, who is immediately thrown against the rocks, and swallowed up by the violent eddies. Thus Horace moralising, calls idleness a Siren,

Vitanda est improba siren Desidia.

But the fable may be applied to all pleasures in general, which if too eagerly pursued, betray the incautious into ruin ; while wise men, like Ulysses, making use of reason, stop their ears against their insinuations."

All ancient authors agree in telling us, that Sirens inhabited the coast of Sicily. The name, according to Bochart, who derives it from the Phœnician language, implies a *Songstress.* Hence it is probable, that in ancient times there may have been excellent singers, but of corrupt morals, on the coast of Sicily, who by seducing voyagers, gave rise to this fable. And if this conjecture be well founded, I was too hasty in declaring that the Muses were the only Pagan divinities who preserved their influence over mankind in modern times ; for every age has its *Sirens,* and every *Siren* her votaries ; when beauty and talents, both powerful in themselves, are united, they become still more attractive.

Chapter III

Concerning the Music of Heroes and Heroic Times

> Inventus aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
> Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo (*f*).

IT has been the opinion of the greatest poets, and the most ancient historians, that in the early ages of the world the chief employment of princes was to tend their flocks, and to amuse themselves with rustic songs, accompanied by rude and artless instruments.

The poetical descriptions of the golden age are pleasing pictures of an innocent life, and simplicity of manners ; Ovid and Lucretius seem to have exhausted the subject.

But the pastoral kings of Egypt, and the shepherds of Arcadia, have furnished themes for a more elegant and polished species of poetry, without the admission of vice or luxury.

After this, when mankind, not content with the natural and spontaneous productions of the earth, obtained an artificial encrease by tillage,

> The ploughman then, to sooth the toilsome day,
> Chanted in measur'd feet his sylvan lay;
> And seed-time o'er, he first in blithsome vein,
> Pip'd to his houshold Gods the hymning strain (*g*).
>
> GRAINGER.

In process of time, when the human mind was more enlarged and cultivated; when the connexions and interests of men and states became more complicated, music and poetry extended their influence, and use, from the field to the city; and those who before only amused themselves while tending a flock of sheep, or herd of cattle, were now employed to sing either with the voice alone, or accompanied with instruments, the mysteries of religion, or the valiant deeds performed by heroes in defence of their country. Of this use of poetry and music, innumerable instances may be

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(*f*) Worthies, who life by useful arts refin'd,
With those, who left a deathless name behind,
Friends of the world, and fathers of mankind!
PITT's *Æneid of Virgil*, Book VI.

(*g*) *Agricola assiduo primum satiatus aratro.*
Cantavit certo rustica verba pede.
Et satur arenti primum est modulatus avena
Carmen, ut ornatos diceret ante Deos.
Tibul. *lib.* ii. *Eleg.* I

found in Homer and Virgil. Indeed *singer* was a common name among the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, and other ancient people, for poet and musician, employments which, with them, were inseparable, as no poetry was written but to be sung, and little or no music composed, but as an accompaniment to poetry (*h*).

Hence the difficulty of discriminating the effects attributed to music, from those of poetry and the other arts, which were then so much connected with music, as to constitute an essential and indispensable part of it. Every thing that depended on proportion, was included in the science of *Harmony*. Hence every man of science was necessarily a musician, as the study of *Harmony*, according to its ancient and extensive signification, must have employed a very considerable part of the time spent in the education of those who were intended to fill important and conspicuous employments in the temple, the senate, or the field. This being premised, I shall proceed to speak of the use of music in the times which the Greeks distinguished by the epithet *heroic*, which may more properly be called poetic times ; for, though little better than a blank in history and chronology, they have notwithstanding been filled up by the poets and fabulists with wonderful events, in the same manner as the vacuity in parts of the Pacific ocean have been filled up by navigators and geographers with whales, with dolphins, and with sea monsters.

In this chapter I shall consider what ancient authors furnish relative to our subject in the times of the *Theban chiefs*, the *Argonauts*, and the *Trojans*, the richest and most fertile periods in all antiquity for poetic and dramatic events, though they are somewhat barren with respect to music. But as little can be said with certainty concerning the *music* of this period, I shall chiefly confine my enquiries to *musicians*, whose names are upon record; and stripping their biography of fiction and allegory, I shall relate only the few historical facts which are to be found concerning them, in authentic remains of antiquity.

So many fables have been devised concerning the first poets and musicians, that a doubt has been thrown even upon their existence. Chiron, Amphion, Orpheus, Linus, and Musæus, are spoken of by the poets and mythologists so hyperbolically, that the time when, and place where they flourished, will appear to many as little worth a serious enquiry as the genealogy of Tom Thumb, or the chronology of a fairy tale. However, though I am ready to part with the miraculous powers of their music, I am unwilling that persons, whose talents have been so long celebrated, should be annihilated, and their actions cancelled from the records of past times.

Ev'n from the tomb the voice of nature cries,
Ev'n in the ashes live their wonted fires.

(*h*) Aristotle, in his *Poetics*, *cap.* 5. *Quintil de Inst. Orator.* lib. i. cap. 10, and *Cicero de Orat* lib. iii. are very full upon this subject.

But there are characters in history superior to the devastations of time; like those high rocks in the ocean, against which the winds and waves are for ever, in vain, expending their fury. Nor can the fame of Orpheus, Linus, and Musæus, ever be wholly consigned to oblivion, as long as any one alphabet remains in use among mankind. Their works may be destroyed, and their existence doubted, but their names must be of equal duration with the world. The memory of few transactions of importance to mankind, has been lost since letters have been found: and if we are ignorant of the history of the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian monarchies, it is from their having preceded that period. The first preceptors of mankind, such as are now the subject of my enquiries, had too much business upon their hands in civilizing their savage cotemporaries, to write either the history of their ancestors, or their own. Learning was then in too few hands for all its departments to be filled; but since its general diffusion, nothing worth recording has been left untold.

It is impossible to particularize within the limits of this work, or even to enumerate in a General History of an art which has subsisted so many ages as music, all those who have been successful in its cultivation. This would require a biographical work, more voluminous than that of Moreri, or Bayle; for as all the first poets were likewise musicians, they cannot be separated during the union of their professions. Indeed antiquity has left ample materials scattered throughout all literature, for writing the lives of its favourite bards, many of which have been collected by the indefatigable labour of the learned Fabricius (*i*), and M. Burette (*k*), who have both greatly facilitated and abridged my enquiries: the chief difficulties now remaining, are to select such as are most interesting, and to digest them into my work, without allowing them to occupy too large a portion of it, to the exclusion of more important concerns.

Though the Egyptian Thebes is of much higher antiquity than the Grecian, yet this last is so ancient, and its history is so much involved in darkness and poetic fiction, that nothing can be depended upon concerning it, but that it is recorded to have been built by Cadmus, long before the Trojan war, or even the Argonautic expedition; Pausanias, indeed, gives a list of sixteen kings, who reigned at Thebes in Bœotia, but they are rather the heroes of tragedy, than real history. Among these is

AMPHION, the twin brother of Zethus, who usurped the crown from Laius, the father of the unfortunate Oedipus. But though Amphion is the first and only Theban musician upon record in these early ages, I shall be the less minute in my account of him, as it is very doubtful whether music had any of those obligations to his genius and talents, which the poets, many ages after the time when he is said to have reigned, bestowed upon him. Homer, indeed, tells us, that to secure the crown which he had

(*i*) *Bib. Græc.*

(*k*) *Mem. des Inscrip.*

usurped, he inclosed the city of Thebes with a wall, fortified with seven gates, and many stately towers: the poet, however, does not say a word of the miraculous power of Amphion's music, or of his building the wall by the sound of his lyre. "For my part, says Pausanias, I believe that Amphion only acquired his musical reputation from his alliance with the family of Tantalus, whose daughter, Niobe, he had married." Pliny (*l*) ascribes to him, however, the invention of music, and of the cithara; and both these authors say, that Amphion learned music in Lydia, and bringing it from that country into Greece, was called the inventor of the Lydian mode.

CHIRON is styled by Plutarch, in his *Dialogue upon Music*, the *wise Centaur*. Sir Isaac Newton places his birth in the first age after Deucalion's deluge, commonly called the Golden Age; and adds, that he formed the constellations for the use of the Argonauts, when he was eighty-eight years old, for he was a practical astronomer, as well as his daughter Hippo (*m*): he may therefore be said to have flourished in the earliest ages of Greece, as he preceded the conquest of the Golden Fleece, and the Trojan war.

He is generally called the son of Saturn and Philyra, and is said to have been born in Thessaly among the Centaurs, who were the first Greeks that had acquired the art of breaking and riding horses ; whence the poets, painters, and sculptors, have described and represented them as a compound of man and horse ; and perhaps it was imagined by the Greeks, as well as the Americans, when they first saw cavalry, that the horse and the rider constituted one and the same animal.

Chiron was regarded by the ancients as one of the first inventors of medicine, botany, and *chirurgery* (*n*) ; a word which some etymologists have derived from his name. He inhabited a grotto, or cave, at the foot of mount Pelion, which from his wisdom, and great knowledge of all kinds, became the most famous and frequented school throughout Greece. Almost all the heroes of his time were ambitious of receiving his instructions ; and Xenophon, who enumerates them, names the following illustrious personages among his disciples: Cephalus, Esculapius, Melanion, Nestor, Amphiaraus, Peleus, Telamon, Meleager, Theseus, Hypolitus, Palamedes, Ulysses, Mnestheus, Diomedes, Castor and Pollux, Machaon and Podalirius, Antilochus, Æneas, and Achilles. From this catalogue it appears, that Chiron frequently instructed both fathers and sons ; and Xenophon has given a short eulogium upon each, which may be read in his works, and which redounds to the honour of the preceptor. The Greek historian, however, has omitted naming several of his scholars, such as Bacchus, Phœnix, Cocytus, Aristæus, Jason, and his son Medus, Ajax, and Protesilaus.

(*l*) *Lib.* vii. *cap.* 56.

(*m*) *Chron.* p. 25.

(*n*) *Schol. Hom. Il.* iv. *v.* 219. *Schol. Arat. Phœnom. v.* 43. *Hygin.* Fab. 274. *Plin. lib.* vii. *cap.* 56, *sect.* 57.

It is not my intention to characterize all these ; I shall only mention such as interest Chiron more particularly.

It is pretended that the Grecian Bacchus was the favourite scholar of the Centaur, and that he learned of this master the revels, orgies, Bacchanalia, and other ceremonies of his worship.

According to Plutarch, it was likewise at the school of Chiron that Hercules studied music, medicine, and justice ; though Diodorus Siculus tells us that Linus was the music-master of this hero. These are points which it is now not easy to settle ; nor are they of any other consequence to our enquiries, than serving as proofs, that ancient authors all agreed in thinking it natural and necessary for heroes to have been instructed in music. *Nec fides didicit, nec natare,* was, in antiquity, a reproach to every man above the rank of a plebeian.

But among all the heroes who have been disciples of this Centaur, no one reflected so much honour upon him as Achilles, whose renown he in some measure shared, and to whose education he in a particular manner attended, being his grandfather by the mother's side. Apollodorus tells that the study of music employed a considerable part of the time which he bestowed upon his young pupil, as an incitement to virtuous actions, and a bridle to the impetuosity of his temper. One of the best remains of antique painting now subsisting, is a picture upon this subject, dug out of Herculaneum, in which Chiron is teaching the young Achilles to play on the lyre.

The death of this philosophic musician was occasioned, at an extreme old age, by an accidental wound in the knee with a poisoned arrow, shot by his scholar, Hercules, at another. He was placed after his death by Musæus among the constellations, [as Sagittarius] through respect for his virtues, and in gratitude for the great services which he had rendered the people of Greece (*o*).

The ancients have not failed to attribute to him several writings; among which, according to Suidas (*p*), are *precepts, ὑποθηκας,* in verse, composed for the use of Achilles ; and a medicinal treatise on the *Diseases incident to Horses,* and other quadrupeds, *ἱππιατρικον* ; the lexicographer even pretends, that it is from this work he derived his name of *Centaur*.

Fabricius (*q*) gives a list of the works attributed to Chiron, and discusses the claims which have been made for others to the same writings ; and in vol. xiii. he gives him a distinguished place in his Catalogue of ancient Physicians.

Next to Chiron, LINUS, and Orpheus, seem to have been the most ancient poets and musicians of Greece ; but to determine whether Linus was the master of Orpheus, or Orpheus of Linus, would be as vain to attempt, as difficult to accomplish. All that can be done at this distance of time, is to compare the opinions of ancient

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(*o*) Sir Isaac Newton says, in proof of the constellations being formed by Chiron and Musæus for the use and honour of the Argonauts, that nothing later than that expedition was delineated on the original sphere ; according to the same author, Chiron lived till after the Argonautic expedition, in which he had two grandsons. *Chronol. p.* 151.

(*p*) *Voc.* Χειρων.

(*q*) *Bib. Græc.* vol. i.

writers upon the subject, and to incline to the most numerous and respectable evidence: and in pursuing this method, it appears that the majority are in favour of the superior antiquity of Linus. No testimony places him in a more remote period, or does more honour to his memory, than that of Herodotus, already cited (*r*). According to archbishop Usher, he flourished about 1280 B.C., and he is mentioned by Eusebius (*s*) among the poets who wrote before the time of Moses. Diodorus Siculus, who is very diffusive in his account of Linus (*t*), tells us, from Dionysius of Mitylene, the historian, who was cotemporary with Cicero, that Linus was the first among the Greeks who invented verse and music, as Cadmus first taught them the use of letters. The same writer likewise attributes to him an account of the exploits of the first Bacchus, and a treatise upon Greek Mythology, written in Pelasgian characters, which were also those used by Orpheus, and by Pronapides, the preceptor of Homer. Diodorus says that he added the string *Lichanos* to the Mercurian lyre, and gives to him the invention of rhythm and melody, which Suidas, who regards him as the most ancient of lyric poets, confirms (*u*). He is said by many ancient writers to have had several disciples of great renown, among whom were Hercules, Thamyris, and, according to some, Orpheus.

Hercules, says Diodorus, in learning of Linus to play upon the lyre, being extremely dull and obstinate, provoked his master to strike him, which so enraged the young hero, that instantly seizing the lyre of the musician, he beat out his brains with his own instrument. Heroes are generally impatient of controul, and not often gifted with a taste for refined pleasures ; hence, relying merely on corporal force, their mental faculties, feeble perhaps by nature, are seldon fortified by education.

With respect to the dirges, which Plutarch, from Heraclides of Pontus, mentions as written by Linus,* I find no account of them in any other ancient author. It appears, however, that his death has given birth to many songs of that kind, which have been composed in honour of his memory. A festival was likewise instituted by the name of *Linia,* for the celebration of his virtues ; and so numerous were his inventions, and various the periods and places in which different authors fix them, that some have tried to reconcile these jarring accounts, by supposing that there were three several illustrious personages of that name ; a supposition which I shall not pretend either to affirm or deny.

" The Thebans," says Pausanias (*x*), " assure us, that Linus was buried in their city; and that Philip, the son of Amyntas, after the battle of Chæronæa, which was fatal to the Greeks, excited

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(*r*) P. 169 (*s*) *Præp. Evang.* (*t*) *Lib.* iii. *cap.* 35.

(*u*) Mr. Marpurg tells us, I know not from what authority, that Linus invented *cat-gut* strings for the use of the lyre, which, before his time, was only strung with thongs of leather, or with different threads of flax twisted together. Geschichte der MUSIK, page 17.

(*x*) *In Bœotic.*

* According to Frazer it is probable that the dirge known as the *linos-song* was a lamentation for the departure of summer. It was chanted, he observes, at the vintage and probably at the harvest. The Linos song was sung in Syria, Egypt and in other countries.

by a dream, removed his bones into Macedon, whence, by counsel received in another dream, he sent them back to Thebes; but time has so defaced his tomb, that it is no longer discoverable."

Homer (y) has paid a tribute to the memory of Linus, in his description of the shield of Achilles.

> To these a youth awakes the warbling strings,
> Whose tender lay the fate of Linus sings ;
> In measur'd dance behind him move the train,
> Tune soft the voice, and answer to the strain (z). POPE.

ORPHEUS is one of the most ancient and venerable names among the poets and musicians of Greece. His reputation was established as early as the time of the Argonautic expedition, in which he was himself an adventurer; and is said by Apollonius Rhodius, not only to have incited the Argonauts to row by the sound of his lyre, but to have vanquished, and put to silence the Sirens, by the superiority of his strains (a). Yet, notwithstanding the great celebrity he had so long enjoyed, there is a passage in Cicero, which says, that Aristotle, in the third book of his *Poetics*, which is now lost, *was of opinion that such a person as Orpheus never existed* (b); but as the work of Cicero, in which this passage occurs, is in dialogue, it is not easy to discover what was his own opinion upon the subject, the words cited being put into the mouth of Caius Cotta. And Cicero, in other parts of his writings, mentions Orpheus as a person of whose existence he had no doubts. There are several ancient authors, among whom is Suidas, who enumerate five persons of the name of Orpheus, and relate some particulars of each. And it is very probable that it has fared with Orpheus as with Hercules, and that writers have attributed to *one* the actions of *many*. But however that may have been, I shall not attempt to collect all the fables that poets and mythologists have invented concerning him; they are too well known to need insertion here. I shall, therefore, in speaking of him, make use only of such materials as the best ancient historians, and the most respectable writers among the moderns, have furnished towards his history.

Dr. Cudworth, in his *Intellectual System* (c), after examining and confuting the objections that have been made to the being of an Orpheus, and, with his usual learning and abilities, clearly establishing his existence, proceeds, in a very ample manner, to speak of the opinions and writings of our bard, whom he regards not only as the first musician and poet of antiquity, but as a great mythologist, from whom the Greeks derived the Thracian religious rites and mysteries.

(y) *Lib.* xviii. *ver.* 569.

(z) *Lib.* xviii. In his notes upon these verses, Mr. Pope says, " there are two interpretations of them in the original. That which I have chosen is confirmed by the testimony of Herodotus, *lib.* ii, and Pausanias, *Bœoticis*. Linus was the most ancient name in poetry, the first upon record who invented verse and measure amongst the Greeks. There was a solemn custom among them, of bewailing annually the death of their first poet. Pausanias informs us, that before the yearly sacrifice to the Muses on Mount Helicon, the obsequies of Linus were performed, who had a statue and altar erected to him in that place. Homer alludes to that custom in this passage, and was doubtless fond of paying this respect to the old father of poetry."

(a) This celebrated voyage, which is the first epoch in the Grecian history, upon which any stress can be laid, was undertaken, according to archbishop Usher, and the authors of the *Universal History*, 1280 B.C. Dr. Blair places it 1263 ; and Sir Isaac Newton, and Dr. Priestley, 936 years before the same period ; but all chronologers agree in fixing this enterprize near a century before the Trojan war.

(b) Orpheum *Poetam docet* Aristoteles *nunquam fuisse.* De Nat. Deor. *l.* i. *sec.* 38.

(c) Page 294. 2d Edition.

" It is the opinion," says he, " of some eminent philologers (*d*) of later times, that there never was any such person as Orpheus, except in Fairy land; and that his whole history was nothing but a mere romantic allegory, utterly devoid of truth and reality. But there is nothing alledged for this opinion from antiquity, except the one passage of Cicero concerning Aristotle, who seems to have meant no more than this, that there was no such poet as Orpheus, anterior to Homer, or that the verses vulgarly called Orphical, were not written by Orpheus. However, if it should be granted that Aristotle had denied the existence of such a man, there seems to be no reason why his single testimony should preponderate against the universal consent of all antiquity, which agrees, that Orpheus was the son of Oeager, by birth a Thracian, the father, or chief founder of the mythological and allegorical theology amongst the Greeks, and of all their most sacred religious rites and mysteries; who is commonly supposed to have lived before the Trojan war, that is, in the time of the Israelitish judges, or at least to have been senior both to Hesiod and Homer, and to have died a violent death, most affirming that he was torn in pieces by women. For which reason, in the vision of Herus Pamphylius, in Plato, Orpheus's soul passing into another body, is said to have chosen that of a swan, a reputed musical animal, on account of the great hatred he had conceived for all women, from the death which they had inflicted on him. And the historic truth of Orpheus was not only acknowledged by Plato, but also by Isocrates, who lived before Aristotle, in his oration in praise of Busiris; and confirmed by the grave historian Diodorus Siculus (*e*) who says, that Orpheus diligently applied himself to literature, and when he had learned *τα μυϑολογουμενα*, or the mythological part of theology, he travelled into Egypt, where he soon became the greatest proficient among the Greeks, in the mysteries of religion, theology, and poetry. Neither was this history of Orpheus contradicted by Origen, when so justly provoked by Celsus, who had preferred him to our Saviour; and, according to Suidas, Orpheus the Thracian was the first inventor of the religious mysteries of the Greeks, and that religion was thence called *Threskeia,* as it was a Thracian invention. On account of the great antiquity of Orpheus, there have been numberless fables intermingled with his history, yet there appears no reason that we should disbelieve the existence of such a man."

The bishop of Gloucester (*f*) speaks no more doubtfully of the existence of Orpheus, than of Homer and Hesiod, with whom he

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(*d*) G. I. Vossius *De Ar. Po. cap.* 13. .

(*e*) *Lib.* iv. *cap.* 25.

(*f*) *Div. Leg.* book ii. *sect.* 1.

ranks him, not only as poet, but also as a theologian, and founder of religion. This learned author has thrown new lights upon the character of Orpheus; our pursuits are somewhat different; it was his business to introduce him to his readers as a philosopher, a legislator, and a mystagogue; and it is mine, after establishing his existence, to rank him among the first cultivators of music and poetry, and to give him that exalted and respectable station among illustrious bards, which has been allowed him by almost all antiquity.

The family of Orpheus is traced by Sir Isaac Newton for several generations: "Sesac passing over the Hellespont, conquers Thrace, kills Lycurgus, king of that country, and gives his kingdom, and one of his singing women to Oeagrus, the son of Tharops, and father of Orpheus; hence Orpheus is said to have had the Muse Calliope for his mother."

He is allowed by most ancient authors to have excelled in poetry and music, particularly the latter; and to have early cultivated the lyre, in preference to every other instrument; so that all those who came after him were contented to be his imitators; whereas he adopted no model, says Plutarch; for before his time no other music was known, except a few airs for the flute. Music was so closely connected in ancient times with the most sublime sciences, that Orpheus united it not only with philosophy, but with theology. He abstained from eating animal food, and held eggs in abhorrence as aliment, being persuaded that the egg subsisted before the chicken, and was the principle of all existence: both his knowledge and prejudices, it is probable, were acquired in Egypt, as well as those of Pythagoras, many ages after.

With respect to his abstaining from the flesh of oxen, Gesner supposes it to have proceeded from the veneration shewn to that animal, so useful in tillage, in the Eleusinian mysteries, instituted in honour of Ceres, the Goddess of Agriculture. He might have added that, as these mysteries were instituted in imitation of those established in Egypt, in honour of Osiris and Isis, this abstinence from animal food was of the like origin, and a particular compliment to Apis. But the abbé Fraguier, in an ingenious Dissertation upon the *Orphic Life* (*g*), gives still more importance to the prohibition; for as Orpheus was the legislator and humanizer of the wild and savage Thracians, who were canibals, a total abolition of eating human flesh could only be established by obliging his countrymen to abstain from that of everything that had life.

With respect to theology, Diodorus Siculus tells us, that his father Oeagrus gave him his first instructions in religion, imparting to him the mysteries of Bacchus, as they were then practised in Thrace. He became afterwards a disciple of the Idæi Dactyli in Crete, and there acquired new ideas concerning religious ceremonies. But nothing contributed so much to his skill in theological matters as his journey into Egypt, where being initiated into the mysteries

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(*g*) *Mem. des Inscrip.* tom. v. p. 117

of Isis and Osiris, or of Ceres and Bacchus, he acquired a knowledge concerning initiations, expiations, funeral rites, and other points of religious worship, far superior to any one of his age and country. And being much connected with the descendants of Cadmus, the founder of Thebes in Bœotia, he resolved, in order to honour their origin, to transport into Greece the whole fable of Osiris, and apply it to the family of Cadmus. The credulous people easily received this tale, and were much flattered by the institution of the ceremonies in honour of Osiris. Thus Orpheus, who was held in great veneration at the Grecian Thebes, of which he was become a citizen, admirably adapted this fable, and rendered it respectable, not only by his beautiful verses, and manner of singing them, but by the reputation he had acquired of being profoundly skilled in all religious concerns.

At his return into Greece, according to Pausanias (*h*), he was held in the highest veneration by the people, as they imagined he had discovered the secret of expiating crimes, purifying criminals, curing diseases, and appeasing the angry Gods. He formed and promulgated an idea of a hell, from the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians, which was received throughout all Greece (*i*). He instituted the mysteries and worship of Hecate among the Eginetes (*k*), and that of Ceres at Sparta.

Justin Martyr says, that he introduced among the Greeks near three hundred and sixty Gods; Hesiod and Homer pursued his labours, and followed the same clue, agreeing in the like doctrines, having all drank at the same Egyptian fountain.

Profane authors look upon Orpheus as the inventor of that species of magic, called *evocation of the manes,* or raising ghosts; and indeed the hymns which are attributed to him are mostly pieces of incantation, and real conjuration. Upon the death of his wife Eurydice, he retired to a place in Thesprotia, called Aornos, where an ancient oracle gave answers to such as evoked the dead. He there fancied he saw his dear Eurydice, and at his departure flattered himself that she followed him; but upon looking behind him, and not seeing her, he was so afflicted, that he soon died of grief (*l*).*

There were persons among the ancients who made public profession of conjuring up ghosts, and there were temples where the ceremony of conjuration was to be performed. Pausanias (*m*) speaks of that which was in Thesprotia, where Orpheus went to call up the ghost of his wife Eurydice. It is this very journey,

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(*h*) *Lib.* ix. *cap.* 30.

(*i*) Diod. Sic. *lib.* i.

(*k*) Pausan. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 30.

(*l*) Ib. *lib.* ix.

(*m*) *In Bœot.*

* The Orphic beliefs are well worth study and amongst modern writers may be mentioned :—

BURY.—*History of Greece, Chapter VII.*
STEWART.—*The Myths of Plato.*
JEVONS.—*Introduction to the History of Religion.*
ADAM'S.—*Religious Teachers of Greece.*

Cotterill in *Ancient Greece* (p. 282) says : " The Orphic teachings doubtless were associated with much superstition and priestcraft, but, together with Pythagorean mysticism, they helped by their imaginative parables to keep alive in the hearts of many the beliefs that lie at the root of all true religion."

and the motive which put him upon it, that made it believed he went down into hell.

But it is not only the poets who speak of conjuring up spirits; examples of it are to be found both in sacred (*n*) and profane history. Periander, the tyrant of Corinth [*fl* 625 B.C., 585 B.C.] visited the Thesprotians, to consult his wife about something left with her in trust; and we are told by the historians, that the Lacedæmonians having starved Pausanius their general to death [470 B.C.] in the temple of Pallas, and not being able to appease his *manes*, which tormented them without intermission, sent for the magicians from Thessaly, who, when they had called up the ghosts of his enemies, so effectually put to flight the ghost of Pausanias, that it never more chose to shew its face.

The poets have embellished this story, and given to the lyre of Orpheus, not only the power of silencing Cerberus, and of suspending the torments of Tartarus, but also of charming even the infernal deities themselves, whom he rendered so far propitious to his entreaties, as to restore to him Eurydice, upon condition that he would not look at her, till he had quitted their dominions; a blessing which he soon forfeited, by a too eager and fatal affection.

> All dangers past, at length the lovely bride
> In safety goes, with her melodious guide;
> Longing the common light again to share,
> And draw the vital breath of upper air:
> He first, and close behind him follow'd she,
> For such was Proserpine's severe decree,
> When strong desires th' impatient youth invade,
> By little caution, and much love betray'd:
> A fault which easy pardon might receive,
> Were lovers judges, or could hell forgive.
> For near the confines of etherial light,
> And longing for the glimmering of a sight
> Th' unwary lover cast a look behind,
> Forgetful of the law, nor master of his mind.
> Straight all his hopes exhal'd in empty smoke;
> And his long toils were forfeit for a look.
>
> DRYDEN'S Virgil (*o*).

Tzetzes (*p*) explains the fable of his drawing his wife Eurydice from hell by his great skill in medicine, with which he prolonged her life, or, in other words, snatched her from the grave. Æsculapius, and other physicians have been said to have raised from the dead those whom they had recovered from dangerous diseases.

The bishop of Gloucester, in his learned, ample, and admirable account of the Eleusinian mysteries, says, " While these mysteries

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(*n*) Witch of Endor, 1 *Sam.* chap. xxviii. ver. 11 and 12.

(*o*) *Georgic* IV.

(*p*) Chiliad. I. Hist. 54. He flourished about 1170.

were confined to Egypt, their native country, and while the Grecian law-givers went thither to be initiated, as a kind of designation to their office, the ceremony would be naturally described in terms highly allegorical.—This way of speaking was used by Orpheus, Bacchus, and others; and continued even after the mysteries were introduced into Greece, as appears by the fables of Hercules, Castor, Pollux, and Theseus's descent into hell; but the allegory was so circumstanced, as to discover the truth concealed under it. So Orpheus is said to get to hell by the power of his harp.

> *Thrëicia fretus citharâ, fidibusque canoris.*
> Virg. *Æn.* VI. *ver.* 119.

that is in quality of law-giver; the harp being the known symbol of his laws, by which he humanized a rude and barbarous people.—Had an old poem, under the name of Orpheus, entitled *A Descent into Hell* been now extant, it would perhaps have shewn us, that no more was meant than Orpheus's initiation."

Many ancient writers in speaking of his death, relate, that the Thracian women, enraged at being abandoned by their husbands, who were disciples of Orpheus, concealed themselves in the woods, in order to satiate their vengeance; and, notwithstanding they postponed the perpetration of their design some time through fear, at length, by drinking to a degree of intoxication, they so far fortified their courage as to put him to death. And Plutarch (*q*) assures us, that the Thracians stigmatized their women, even in his time, for the barbarity of this action (*r*).

Our venerable bard is defended by the author of the *Divine Legation,* from some insinuations to his disadvantage in Diogenes Laertius. "It is true," says he, "if uncertain report was to be believed, the mysteries were corrupted very early; for Orpheus himself is said to have abused them. But this was an art the debauched mystæ of later times employed to varnish their enormities; as the detested pederasts of after-ages, scandalized the blameless Socrates. Besides, the story is so ill-laid, that it is detected by the surest records of antiquity: for in consequence of what they fabled of Orpheus in the mysteries, they pretended he was torn in pieces by the women; whereas it appeared from the inscription on his monument at Dium in Macedonia, that he was struck dead with lightning, the envied death of the reputed favourites of the Gods."

This monument, at Dium, consisting of a marble urn on a pillar, was still to be seen in the time of Pausanias. It is said, however, that his sepulchre was removed from Libethra, upon mount

(*q*) *De Ser. Num. Vind.*

(*r*) It is related, that after he had been torn to pieces by the Thracian women, his lyre, happening to fall into the Hebrus during the scuffle, was carried to Lesbos, where it was taken up and deposited in the temple of Apollo. But, according to Lucian, Neanthus, the son of Pittacus the tyrant, bought it afterwards of the priests, imagining, that by merely touching this instrument, he should draw after him trees and rocks; it is true he succeeded no otherwise than by provoking the dogs in the neighbourhood to tear him to pieces. But though he could not share the fame, he shared the fate of the unfortunate Orpheus.

Olympus, where Orpheus was born, and was thence transferred to Dium by the Macedonians, after the ruin of Libethra, by a sudden inundation, which a dreadful storm had occasioned. This event is very minutely related by Pausanias (*s*).

Virgil bestows the first place in his Elysium upon the legislators, and *those who brought mankind from a state of nature into society*:

Magnanimi heroës, nati melioribus annis.

At the head of these is Orpheus, the most renowned of the European law-givers; but better known under the character of poet: for the first laws being written in measure, to allure men to learn them, and, when learnt, to retain them, the fable would have it, that by the force of harmony, Orpheus softened the savage inhabitants of Thrace:

——Threïcius longa cum veste sacerdos
Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum:
Jamque eadem digitis, jam pectine pulsat eburno (*t*).
Æn. lib. vi. ver. 645.

The seven strings given by the poet in this passage to the lyre of Orpheus, is a circumstance somewhat historical. The first Mercurian lyre had, at most, but four strings. Others were afterwards added to it by the second Mercury, or by Amphion; but, according to several traditions preserved by Greek historians, it was Orpheus who completed the second tetrachord, which extended the scale to a heptachord, or *seven sounds*, implied by the *septem discrimina vocum*: for the assertion of many writers, that Orpheus added two new strings to the lyre, which before had seven, clashes with the claims of Pythagoras to the invention of the octachord, or addition of an eighth sound to the heptachord, which made the scale consist of two disjunct, instead of two conjunct tetrachords, and of which almost all antiquity allows him to have been the inventor. Nor is it easy to suppose, that the lyre should have been represented in ancient sculpture with four or five strings only, if it had had nine so

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(*s*) *Lib.* ix.

(*t*) It is curious to observe how inaccurately the most elegant writers, and sublime poets, speak of subjects for which they have no taste, and in which they have acquired no knowledge. Our great poet, Dryden, though he has extended Virgil's three lines into four, has but ill expressed the original.

The Thracian bard surrounded by the rest,
There stands conspicuous in his flowing vest;
His flying fingers, and harmonious quill,
Strike seven distinguish'd notes, and sev'n at once they fill.

The latter part of this last verse says nothing to a musician, and, indeed, but little to any one else the four fingers and thumb of one hand, and the plectrum in the other, could *fill* at most but six notes. Mr. Pitt is still more unhappy in his version:

There Orpheus, graceful in his long attire,
In *seven-divisions* strikes the sounding lyre.

Now, a *division* is, unluckily, a technical term in music which implies a rapid flight, either with a voice or instrument: when applied to singing, it tells us that a great number of notes are given to one syllable; but we are as certain as we can be about any thing that concerns ancient music, that neither the Greeks nor Romans had either the word or thing in the sense which we annex to *division*; and it is but an aukward way of describing an instrument with seven distinct strings, or sounds, to say that it had seven divisions. It seems as if the poet meant no more, by the whole passage, than that "the Thracian priest (Orpheus) sung to the *seven-stringed Lyre*, upon which he sometimes played with his fingers, and sometimes with the ivory plectrum."

early as the time of Orpheus, who flourished long before sculpture was known in Greece (*u*).

Orpheus is mentioned by Pindar in his 4th Pythic. The passage is curious: " Orpheus," says he, speaking of the Argonauts, "joins these heroes; Orpheus father of the lyre and of song; Orpheus whom the whole universe celebrates, and whose sire is Apollo." Herodotus likewise speaks of the Orphic mysteries (*x*). His hymns, says Pausanias, were very short, and but few in number; the Lycomides, an Athenian family, knew them by heart, and had an exclusive privilege of singing them, and those of their old poets, Musæus, Onomacritus, Pamphus, and Olen, at the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries; that is, the priesthood was hereditary in this family (*y*).

Iamblicus tells us, that the poems under the name of Orpheus were written in the Doric dialect, but have since been transdialected, or modernized. It was the common opinion in antiquity that they were genuine; but even those who doubted of it, gave them to the earliest Pythagoreans, and some of them to Pythagoras himself, who has frequently been called the follower of Orpheus, and been supposed to have adopted many of his opinions (*z*).

If I have selected with too much sedulity and minuteness whatever ancient and modern writers furnish relative to Orpheus, it has been occasioned by an involuntary zeal for the fame of this musical and poetical patriarch; which, warm at first, grew more and more heated in the course of enquiry; and, stimulated by the respect and veneration which I found paid to him by antiquity, I became a kind of convert to this mystagogue, and eagerly aspired

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(*u*) What is here said concerning the progressive improvements of instrumental music, must be wholly confined to Greece ; for proofs have already been given of the Egyptians having been in possession of more perfect instruments than those just mentioned, long before the time when Orpheus is supposed to have flourished.

(*x*) Pindar was born 521 B.C. and Herodotus 484. Euripides and Aristophanes both quote Orpheus ; the tragedian was born 477 years B.C. and the comic poet was his cotemporary. Besides these, Apolonius Rhodius, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Valerius Flaccus, among the poets ; and Plato, Isocrates, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, Apollodorus, Hyginus, Plutarch, and many other philosophers historians, and mythologists, cite his works, and speak of him, without throwing the least doubt upon his existence.

(*y*) Suidas gives to Orpheus a son, of the name of Leos, whom Pausanias makes the head of one of the great Athenian tribes ; who, by the counsel of the oracle, devoted his three daughters, *Δεωκοραι*, *Pasithea*, *Theope*, and *Eubule*, to the safety of the state.

(*z*) Of the poems that are still subsisting under the name of Orpheus, which were collected and published at Nuremberg, 1702, by Andr. Christ. Eschenbach, and which have been since reprinted at Leipsic, 1764, under the title of ΟΡΦΕΩΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ, several have been attributed to Onomacritus, an Athenian, who flourished under the Pisistratidæ, about 500 years B.C. Their titles are :—

I. The *Argonautics*, an epic poem.

II. Eighty-six hymns, which are so full of incantations and magical evocation, that Daniel Heinsius has called them *veram satanæ liturgiam* the true liturgy of the devil. Pausanias, who made no doubt that the hymns subsisting in his time were composed by Orpheus, tells us, that, though less elegant, they had been preferred, for religious purposes, to those of Homer.

III. *De Lapidibus*, a poem on precious stones.

IV. *Fragments*, collected by Henry Stevens.

Orpheus has been called the inventor, or at least the propagator, of many arts and doctrines among the Greeks.

1. The *combination of letters*, or the art of writing. 2. *Music*, the lyre, or cithara, of seven strings, adding three to that of Mercury. 3. *Hexameter verse*. 4. *Mysteries* and *Theology*. 5. *Medicine*. 6. *Magic* and *Divination*. 7. *Astrology*. Servius upon the sixth *Æneid*, p. 450, says Orpheus first instituted *the harmony of the spheres*. 8. He is said likewise to have been the first who imagined *a plurality of worlds*, or that the moon and planets were inhabited.

at initiation into his mysteries——in order to reveal them to my readers.

MUSÆUS is more celebrated by ancient writers as a philosopher, astronomer, epic poet, and priest of Ceres, than as a musician; however, he lived in so remote a period, and has so far survived his contemporaries, that he is one of the few melancholy remains of his age, of which posterity has cherished the memory; he therefore cannot, without injustice, be omitted: for whoever looks into the ingenious and well-digested biographical chart of Dr. Priestley, will find Linus, Orpheus, and Musæus, placed in such barren regions of history, that, like the once beautiful cities of Palmyra and Balbec, they now stand in a desert; but great and exalted characters are buoyed up by time, and resist the stream of oblivion, which soon sweeps away all such as have not eminently distinguished themselves.

Musæus, according to Plato and Diodorus Siculus, was an Athenian, the son of Orpheus, and chief of the Eleusinian mysteries, instituted at Athens in honour of Ceres; or, according to others, he was only the disciple of Orpheus; but from the great resemblance which there was between his character and talents, and those of his master, by giving a stronger outline to the figure, he was called his son, as those were styled the children of Apollo, who cultivated the arts, of which he was the titular God.

Musæus is allowed to have been one of the first poets who versified the oracles. He is placed in the Arundelian marbles, Epoch 15, 1426 B.C., at which time his hymns are there said to have been received in the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. Laertius tells us (*a*), that Musæus not only composed a Theogony, but formed a Sphere for the use of his companions; yet, as this honour is generally given to Chiron, it is more natural to suppose, with Sir Isaac Newton, that he enlarged it with the addition of several constellations after the conquest of the Golden Fleece. The sphere itself shows that it was delineated after the Argonautic expedition, which is described in the asterisms, together with several other more ancient histories of the Greeks, and without any thing later: for the ship Argo was the first long vessel which they had built; hitherto they had used round ships of burthen, and kept within sight of the shore: but now, by the dictates of the oracle, and consent of the princes of Greece, the flower of that country sail rapidly through the deep, and guide their ship by the stars (*b*).

Musæus is celebrated by Virgil in the character of Hierophant, or priest of Ceres, among the most illustrious mortals who have merited a place in Elysium. Here he is made the conductor of Æneas to the recess, where he meets the shade of his father, Anchises (*c*).

A hill near the citadel of Athens was called Musæum, according to Pausanias, from Musæus, who used to retire thither to meditate,

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(*a*) Proem. *lib.* i.

(*b*) *Chronol. of the Greeks*, p. 84.

(*c*) *Musæum ante omnes.—En.* lib. vi. ver. 667.

and compose his religious hymns, and at which place he was afterwards buried. The works which went under his name, like those of Orpheus, were by many attributed to Onomacritus. Nothing remains of this poet now, nor were any of his writings extant in the time of Pausanias, except a hymn to Ceres, which he made for the Lycomides (*d*). And as these hymns were likewise set to music, and sung in the mysteries by Musæus himself, in the character of a priest, he thence, perhaps, acquired from future times the title of musician, as well as of poet, the performance of sacred music being, probably, at first confined to the priesthood in these celebrations, as it had been before in Egypt, whence they originated. However, he is not enumerated among ancient musicians by Plutarch ; nor does it appear that he merited the title of son and successor to Orpheus for his musical abilities, so much as for his poetry, piety, and profound knowledge in religious mysteries. But notwithstanding the numberless testimonies come down to us from the best and most ancient writers of Greece and Rome, concerning *Linus, Orpheus,* and *Musæus,* Vossius, in the true spirit of system, and licentiousness of an etymologist, as well as from an ambition of being thought deeply versed in the Eastern languages, particularly the Phœnician, pretends to resolve those names, which have been known and revered by all antiquity, into words signifying *things,* not *persons*: as Linos, *a Song* ; Mosa, *art, discipline* ; Orpheo, *Science*. But if this fancy were generally practised upon ancient authors, there would be little chance of one among them escaping annihilation (*e*).

Though *Eumolpus* and *Melampus* are names which frequently occur among those of the first poets and musicians of Greece, it does not appear that they rendered music any particular service ; they were both, indeed, priests of Ceres, and both wrote hymns for the use of her worship, which, perhaps they likewise set to music, and sung themselves, in the celebration of the mysteries ; but there are no memorials of their performance upon the instruments then in use, or cultivation of music, apart from its alliance with poetry and religion.

Eumolpus, according to the Oxford marbles, was the son of Musæus*, and, at once, priest, poet, and musician, three characters that were constantly united in the same person, during the first ages of the world. He was the publisher of his father's verses,

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(*d*) There were two other poets in antiquity of the name of Musæus, of which one was a Theban the son of Philammon and Thamyra, who, according to Suidas, flourished before the Trojan war ; the other, who was much younger, and an Ephesian, is supposed by many to have been the author of a poem still extant, called *Hero* and *Leander*, from which Ovid enriched his epistle, that bears the same title.

(*e*) De Art. Poet. Nat. *cap.* xiii. § 3. *Puto enim, triumviros istos poëseos*, Orphea, Musæum, Linum, *non fuisse*: *sed esse nomina ab antiqua Phænicum lingua, qua usi Cadmus, et aliquandiu posteri. Sanè* λινος carmen, *sive* canticum, *ac precipuè lugubre: ut ex Athenæo, Eustatio, Suida constat. Nomen, ut puto, non quia Linum eo deplorarent quod grammaticum est commentum*; *sed ab Hebræo* חלין, helin, murmurare, *unde* תלונח, telounah, querela murmuratio. *Ut Linus nomen poetæ sit lugubria canentis.* Musæus *absque dubio à* Musa, *sive* Μωσα, *quod à* מוסר, Mosar, ars, disciplina. Orpheus *itidem à* scientia *nomen habuerit,* à Orseo.

* According to other accounts the son of Poisedon (Neptune) and Chione. His name means "the good singer."

and, like him, having travelled into Egypt for the acquisition of knowledge, afterwards became so eminent at Athens, as hierophant in the Eleusinian mysteries, that, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, the priests and singers, at Athens, were afterwards called *Eumolpides,* from *Eumolpus,* whom they regarded as the founder of their order.

And we learn from the same writer, that *Melampus** was enumerated among those early civilizers of Greece, who thought it necessary to travel into Egypt to qualify themselves for the high employments at which they aspired in their own country. Orpheus proceeded thence a legislator and philosopher ; and *Melampus,* who had different views, commenced, at his return, physician and diviner, arts which in Egypt were professed together. Apollodorus says, that he was the first who cured diseases by medicinal potions. Physic had its miraculous powers during the infancy of the art, as well as music ; and life and health being esteemed more precious and solid blessings than the transient pleasures of the ear, bore a much higher price: for though bards were often distinguished by royalty, and their talents recompensed by gifts and honours, yet we do not find in ancient records that any one of them ever experienced such munificence as Melampus. It is related by Pausanias, that having cured the daughters of Prætus, king of Argos, of an atrabilarious disorder, with hellebore, he was rewarded with one of his royal patients for wife, and a third part of her father's kingdom in dowry.

I now come to the TROJAN WAR,** the second important epoch in the Grecian History (*f*). Antiquity has paid such respect to the personages mentioned in the poems of Homer, as never to have doubted of the real existence of any one of them. The poets and musicians, therefore, who have been celebrated by this great sire of song are ranked among the bards of Greece who flourished about the time of the Trojan War, and of whose works, though nothing entire remains, yet the names, and even fragments of some of them are to be found in several ancient authors posterior to Homer (*g*).

(*f*) In settling the time of this memorable event, though there is a considerable disagreement among the chronologers, yet, by stating the difference, and taking the mean, an idea may be formed of the distance between that period and the Christian æra, when certain chronology begins, and the disputes of historians concerning the dates of great events and transactions upon the globe, are terminated.

Dionysius Hallicarnassensis, book the first, tells us, from Cato, that Rome was built 432 years after the taking of Troy, and the interval from the building of Rome to the birth of Christ, according to Varro, being 753 years, it places the siege of Troy 1185 B.C. which nearly reconciles the chronology of the Oxford marbles, Archbishop Usher, and Dr. Blair. However, Sir Isaac Newton, who is followed by Dr. Priestley, fixes this period only 904 B.C. and the building of Rome 627.

(*g*) Dr. Blair places the time when Homer flourished, about 900 B.C. Dr. Priestley 850. The Arundelian marbles 300 after the taking of Troy, and near 1000 B.C. and all agree that he lived above 400 years before Plato and Aristotle.

* The son of Amythaon and the introducer of the cult of Dionysus into Greece. He understood the language of birds and by their help was able to foretell events.

** Explorations by Schlumann on the site of the city of Troy have demonstrated some historical foundation for the Homeric epic. The ruins of several cities have been laid bare and some of the early settlements date so far back as 2500 B.C. The epic Fall of Troy under Priam is traditionally put at about 1184 B.C.

Homer was, in general, so accurate with respect to costume, that he seldom mentioned persons or things that we may not conclude to have been known during the times of which he writes; and it was Pope's opinion that his account of people, princes, and countries, was purely historical, founded on the real transactions of those times, and by far the most valuable piece of history and geography left us concerning the state of Greece in that early period. His geographical divisions of that country were thought so exact, that we are told of many controversies concerning the boundaries of Grecian cities, which have been decided upon the authority of his poems.

The works of Homer were the bible of the Greeks: and what classical reader will be so sceptical now as to doubt of what Homer says? Indeed, as the first written memorials of human transactions were in verse, *Poetry* must be *History*, till *Prose* can be found. I shall, therefore, give a short account of each bard that is mentioned in the Iliad and Odyssey, in order to fill up the interval between the Argonautic expedition, and the regular celebration of the Olympic games. But, previous to this, it may be necessary to take a view of the state of Grecian arts and sciences in general, during this early period, and, afterwards, to consider the use of music in particular, as far as it was connected with *Religion, War, Poetry, public Feasts* and *Banquets,* and *Private Life.*

In the Odyssey, book the 17th, Homer speaks of arts in such terms of respect and enthusiasm, as could only flow from a mind truly sensible to their charms and utility.

Round the wide world are sought those men divine,
Who public structures raise, or who design;
Those to whose eyes the gods their ways reveal,
Or bless with salutary arts to heal;
But chief to Poets such respect belongs,
By rival nations courted for their songs;
These states invite, and mighty kings admire,
Wide as the sun displays his vital fire.

"This is an evidence," says Mr. Pope, "of the great honour anciently paid to persons eminent in mechanical arts: the architect and public artisans, *δημιουργοι,* are joined with the prophet, physician, and poet, who were esteemed almost with a religious veneration, and looked upon as public blessings."

Homer certainly gives us higher ideas of the arts than the progress which the Greeks had made in them at the time of the Trojan war, or even in his own time, will allow: particularly *Painting.* Pope, in speaking of the shield of Achilles, seems to consider it as a complete *idea* of that art, and a sketch for what may be called a *universal picture*; but he is obliged to confess that Homer in this, as in other arts, comprehended whatever was known in his own time, and that it is even highly probably that he extended his ideas yet further, and gave a more enlarged notion of it. For there is scarce a species or branch of this art which is not to be found in the description of this shield (*h*).

In support of this reasoning, Pope was obliged to oppose his own opinion to that of all antiquity; forgetting that there was an easier solution of the difficulties which lay in the way of his hypothesis: for as Homer had travelled into Egypt, it may be supposed that he had *there* acquired ideas of the arts in general, far superior to those which his own country furnished; particularly of painting, sculpture, and architecture, which we are certain, from what still remains of them in Egypt, were cultivated, and greatly advanced towards perfection, before the time of Homer, or even the Trojan war; and this author, on another occasion, allows him to have drawn his knowledge from that source. "Magic," he says, "is supposed to have been first practised in Egypt, and to have spread afterwards among the Chaldeans: It is very evident that Homer had been in Egypt, where he might hear an account of the wonders performed by it (*i*)."

With respect to music, we find it mentioned with a degree of rapture in more than fifty places of the Iliad and Odyssey. However it is in such close union with poetry, that it is difficult to discriminate to which the poet's praises belong. The lyre indeed is constantly in the hands of the bard, but merely as an instrument of accompaniment to the voice. So that I fear, music and the lyre were frequently only vehicles through which Homer celebrated the power of poetical numbers. Singing there is without instruments, but of instrumental music without vocal, there does not appear the least trace in the writings of Homer. Even dancing was accompanied by the voice, according to the following passage:

> Then to the *dance* they form the *vocal* strain,
> Till Hesperus leads forth the starry train (*k*).

It seems as if nothing would convey to the reader a more just and clear idea of the state of music in the time of the Trojan war or at least of Homer, than a list of the instruments mentioned in the original; these are the *lyre*, the *flute*, and the *syrinx* (*l*). The lyre has been called by translators, lute, harp, cithara, and testudo, just as the convenience of versification required; and if these and the lyre were not in ancient times one and the same instrument, they were certainly all of the same kind (*m*).

(*h*) See Pope's Observations on the Shield of Achilles. *Iliad*. B. 18.

(*i*) Notes to the Odyssey, b. x.

(*k*) *Odyssey*, b. xv. See likewise b. iv. v. 25.

(*l*) Indeed the word Αυρα, *lyre*, never occurs in the Iliad or Odyssey. Φορμιγξ, κιθαρα, χελυς, are in Homer the Greek names for stringed instruments answering to *lyre*, *harp*, *cithara*, *chelys*, or *testudo*. Αυρα, however occurs in the hymn to Mercury, attributed to Homer.

(*m*) Eustathius tells us that the appellation of λυρα came from λυτρα, a *payment*, or *indemnification*, alluding to its having been given by Mercury to Apollo, to make him amends for the oxen that he had stolen from him. The instrument, long before it received this name, was called χιλυς, *chelys*, *testudo*. This seems to furnish a fanciful etymology for the *lute*, which is certainly a much more modern instrument than the harp or lyre.

The flute and syrinx have already been said to be of Egyptian origin, and of great antiquity. These instruments are specified by Homer in a passage where they do not appear in Pope's version.

> Now o'er the fields, dejected, he surveys
> From thousand Trojan fires the mounting blaze;
> Hears in the passing wind the *music blow*,
> And marks distinct the voices of the foe (*n*).

Under whatever idea or denomination the public worship of the Supreme Being has been established, music appears, at all times and in every place, to have been admitted in the celebration of *Religious Rites* and *Ceremonies*. That the Greeks, and before them the Egyptians and Hebrews, used music in solemn sacrifices, as well as in festivals of joy, is so certain and well known, that proofs are here unnecessary. A passage has already been cited from the Iliad, on another occasion, page 158, which puts the use of hymns and songs of piety in supplicating Apollo, out of doubt; and, according to a passage given from Æschylus, by Eustathius, notwithstanding the multiplicity of the Grecian divinities, "*Death* was the only God who could neither be moved by offerings, nor conquered by sacrifices and oblations; and therefore he was the only one to whom no altar was erected, and *no hymns were sung* (*o*)."

With respect to *Military Music*, the trumpet is mentioned by Homer in a simile; yet it is agreed by all the critics, that it was unknown to the Greeks during the Trojan war, though it was in common use in the time of the poet. According to archbishop Potter (*p*), before the invention of trumpets, the first signals of battle in primitive wars were lighted torches; to these succeeded shells of fishes, which were sounded like trumpets. "Nothing is more useful," says Plutarch, "than music, to stimulate mankind to virtuous actions, particularly in exciting that degree of courage, which is necessary to brave the dangers of war. To this end some have used the Flute, and others the Lyre. The Lacedæmonians, in approaching the enemy, played upon the *Flute*, the air or melody that was set to the song or hymn addressed to Castor; and the Cretans played their military marches for many ages on the *Lyre*." The Thebans and Lacedæmonians had a Flute upon their ensigns; the Cretans, a Lyre; and many ancient nations and cities have impressed the Lyre upon their coins, as their particular symbol. The city of Rhegium, for instance, had a woman's head on one side, and on the reverse a *Lyre*. In a medal inscribed *Caleno*, the Minotaur is seen, with the addition of the *Lyre*. The

(*n*) ʼΑυλων, συριγγων τʼενοπην, ὁμαδον τʼανθρωπων. *Il.* K. 13.

(*o*) Μονος θεὼν θανατος ὀν δωρων ερα,
Ουδʼ αν τι θυων, ὀυδ επισπενδων λαβοις,
Ουδʼ εστι βωμος, ὀυδε παιωνιζεται.

(*p*) *Archæologia Græca*, vol. II, ch. ix.

Thespians had one of the Muses and a *Lyre*; the Lapithæ, a Diana, and on the reverse a *Lyre*; the isle of Chios, Homer on one side, and on the other a Sphynx, with a Lyre in its paw. The inhabitants of the isle of Tenedos had on one side of their coins a head with two faces, and on the reverse an ax with a bunch of grapes, the symbol of Bacchus, near it on one side; and a Lyre, the symbol of Apollo, on the other. The Lyre with thirteen strings is likewise to be seen on two Roman coins in Montfaucon (*q*). We find, during the siege of Troy, that Heralds gave the signals of battle. Nestor says to Agamemnon before an engagement:

> Now bid thy Heralds sound the loud alarms,
> And call the squadrons sheath'd in brazen arms (*r*).

The vociferous Stentor is celebrated by Homer as the most illustrious Throat-performer, or herald of antiquity:

> Stentor the strong, endued with brazen lungs,
> Whose throat surpass d the noise of fifty tongues (*s*).

Pope observes on this passage, that "there was a necessity for cryers whose voices were stronger than ordinary, in those ancient times, before the use of trumpets was known in their armies. And that they were in esteem afterwards, may be seen from Herodotus, where he takes notice that Darius had in his train an Egyptian, whose voice was louder and stronger than that of any other man of his age."

That Poetry was inseparable from Music, has already been frequently observed; and in the time of Homer as a *poet* was constantly styled a *singer*, so there was no other appellation for a *poem*, but that of *song*. I shall only select one passage here, from among the many that are to be found in the Iliad and Odyssey, relative to the union of sound and sense. Agamemnon meeting with Achilles in the shades, relates to him how much his fall had been lamented by the Grecians at Troy:

> Round thee, the Muses, with alternate strain,
> In ever consecrating verse complain.
>   Each warlike Greek the moving music hears,
>   And iron-hearted heroes melt in tears (*t*).

Among the numerous *public feasts* and *banquets* described by Homer, there is not one without music and a bard. And, according to the ideas of that poet, the Gods themselves upon such

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(*q*) *Suppl.* p. 74.

(*r*) *Il.* book ii.

(*s*) *Ibid.* book v.

(*t*) *Odyss.* book xxiv. ver. 77.

occasions, receive delight from the voice and lyre of Apollo and the Muses.

Thus the blest Gods the genial day prolong
In feasts ambrosial, and celestial song;
Apollo tun'd the lyre (*u*), the Muses round
With voice alternate aid the silver sound (*x*).

Again, in the last book of the Iliad, Juno, speaking of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and exercising her irrascible disposition upon almost all the celestial synod, says,

To grace those nuptials, from the blest abode
Yourselves were present where this minstrel God (*y*),
Well pleas'd to share the feast, amid the choir
Stood proud to hymn, and tune his youthful lyre.

The banquet, on the arrival of Telemachus at the palace of Menelaus in Sparta, is thus described.

While this gay friendly troop the king surround,
With festival and mirth the roofs resound:
A bard amid the joyous circle sings
High airs, attemper'd to the vocal strings (*z*).

To these I shall only add the following comprehensive panegyric upon poetry and music, which Homer has put into the mouth of the wise Ulysses.

How sweet the products of a peaceful reign!
The heav'n-taught poet, and enchanting strain:
The well fill'd palace, the perpetual feast,
A land rejoicing, and a people blest.
How goodly seems it ever to employ
Man's social days in union and in joy!
The plenteous board, high heap'd with cates divine,
And o'er the foaming bowl, the laughing wine (*a*).

It is true, that these verses are addressed to the voluptuous king of an effeminate people; but Pope has so well defended our author from the attacks of sour critics, that I shall give an extract from his note on this passage, as his sentiments correspond exactly with my own feelings.

" It is not impossible," says he, " but there may be some compliance with the nature and manners of the Phæacians, especially because Ulysses is always described as an artful man, not without

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(*u*) It is worthy of remark, that the instrument assigned by the poet to Apollo is, in the original, invariably called φορμιγξ, which is the appellation given to it by Pindar. This has been supposed to be an Egyptian word, and perhaps was that by which the Theban harp, or lyre, was called. See p. 182.

(*v*) *Iliad, lib.* i.

(*y*) Apollo. In modern language she would have called him the *fiddling* God.

(*z*) *Odyssey*, book iv. ver. 21.

(*a*) *Odyssey*, book ix. ver. 3.

some mixture of dissimulation: but it is no difficult matter to take the passage literally, and yet give it an irreproachable sense. Ulysses had gone through innumerable calamities; he had lived to see a great part of Europe and Asia laid desolate by a bloody war; and after so many troubles, he arrives in a nation that was unacquainted with all the miseries of war, where all the people were happy, and passed their lives in ease and pleasures: this calm life fills him with admiration, and he artfully praises what he found praiseworthy in it; namely, the entertainments and music, and passes over the gallantries of the people, as Dacier observes, without any mention. Maximus Tyrius fully vindicates Homer. "It is my opinion," says that author, "that the poet, by representing these guests in the midst of their entertainments delighted with the song and music, intended to recommend a more noble pleasure than eating and drinking; such a pleasure as a wise man may imitate, by approving the better part, and rejecting the worse, and chusing to please the ear rather than the belly." *Dissert.* xii. If we understand the passage otherwise, the meaning may be this. "I am persuaded," says Ulysses, "that the most agreeable end which a king can propose, is to see a whole nation in universal joy. When music and feasting are in every house, when plenty is on every table, and there are wines to entertain every guest: this to me appears a state of the greatest felicity." In this sense Ulysses pays Alcinous a very agreeable compliment; as it is certainly the most glorious aim of a king to make his subjects happy, and diffuse an universal joy through his dominions: he must be a rigid censor indeed, who blames such pleasures as these, which have nothing contrary in them to virtue and strict morality; especially as they here bear a beautiful opposition to all the horrors which Ulysses had seen in the wars of Troy, and shew Phæacia as happy as Troy was miserable. I will only add, that this agrees with the oriental way of speaking; and in the poetical parts of the Scriptures, the voice of melody, feasting and dancing, are used to express the happiness of a nation (*b*)."

The use of music, *in private life,* occurs so frequently in Homer, that, beautiful as his descriptions of it are, I should fear to tire the reader if I gave them all. However, some of them are of too much importance to the subject to be past unnoticed. Among these, for the honour of music, it must be remarked, that he thought it so much an accomplishment for princes, as to make both Achilles and Paris performers on the lyre.

(*b*) During his younger years, Pope chose to pass for a friend and admirer of music. He wrote a charming ode on St. Cecilia, because his model, Dryden, had written one before on the same subject; and he speaks respectfully of music in his notes on Homer, out of regard and veneration for his author, whom he is to defend on all occasions. But nothing is more certain than that Pope was by nature wholly insensible to the charms of music, and took every opportunity of throwing contempt upon those who either cultivated, or listened to it with delight. He asked his friend Dr. Arbuthnot, whose nerves were more tuneable than his own, whether at lord Burlington's concerts, the rapture which the company exprest upon hearing the compositions and performance of Handel, did not proceed wholly from affectation? I may therefore apply to Pope in defence of music, what this admirable writer himself says of de la Motte, when he speaks favourably of Homer: that "no praise can be more glorious than that which comes from the mouth of an enemy." *Iliad*, book ix. note on verse 295.

In the solemn embassy sent by Agamemnon to Achilles, during his retirement, after he had quitted the Grecian camp in disgust, it is said by Homer of the delegates, that

Amus'd at ease, the godlike man they found,
Pleas'd with the solemn harp's harmonious sound.
(The well-wrought harp from conquer'd Thebæ came,
Of polish'd silver was its costly frame;)
With this he sooths his angry soul, and sings
Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings (*c*).

Paris when he declined the combat with Menelaus, is upbraided by Hector for his beauty, effeminacy, and fondness for dress, and *for music.*

Thy graceful form instilling soft desire,
Thy curling tresses, and thy silver lyre (*d*).

" It is ingeniously remarked by Dacier," says Pope, " that Homer, who celebrates the Greeks for their long hair, and Achilles for his skill on the harp, makes Hector in this place object them both to Paris. The Greeks nourished their hair to appear more dreadful to the enemy, and Paris to please the eyes of women. Achilles sung to his harp the acts of heroes, and Paris the amours of lovers. The same reason which made Hector here displeased at them, made Alexander afterwards refuse to see this lyre of Paris when offered to be shewn to him, as Plutarch relates the story in his oration of the fortune of Alexander."

Not only the heroes of Homer are musical, but some of his divinities, particularly Calypso and Circe; both of whom are found singing by Hermes and Ulysses (*e*). And a still further confirmation of the importance of music in the opinion of Homer is, that it has a place in four of the twelve compartments into which his description of the shield of Achilles has been divided by the critics.

1. A town in peace:

Here sacred pomp, and genial feast delight,
And solemn dance, and hymeneal rite:
Along the street the new made brides are led,
With torches flaming to the nuptial bed ;
The youthful dancers in a circle bound
To the soft flute, and cittern's silver sound (*f*).

(*c*) *Iliad*, book ix.

(*d*) *Ibid.* book iii. I know not whether it has ever been remarked, that in the original the instrument used by Achilles is called by the same name, *φορμιγξ*, as that which the poet always gives to Apollo ; and that with which Hector upbraids Paris, which in the translation is styled the silver lyre, is called *κιθαρα* by Homer. This distinction may perhaps be thought of small importance, and yet it seems to constitute the same kind of difference between the two instruments, as there was between the two heroes who used them ; the *cithara* may in ancient times have been thought inferior to the *phorminx*, as the modern guitar is esteemed at present a trivial and effeminate instrument, when compared with the double harp.

(*e*) *Odys.* book v. and x.

(*f*) *Iliad*, book xviii.

2. Shepherds piping on reeds (*g*):

3. Song and dance accompanied by the lyre, during the time of vintage (*h*).

4. A figur'd dance succeeds: such one was seen
In lofty Gnossus, for the Cretan queen,
Form'd by Dædalean art; a comely band
Of youths and maidens, bounding hand in hand;
The maids in soft cymarrs of linen drest;
The youths all graceful in the glossy vest;
Of those, the locks with flow'ry wreath enroll'd;
Of these, the sides adorn'd with swords of gold,
That, glitt'ring gay, from silver belts depend.
Now all at once they rise, now all descend,
With well-taught feet: now shape, in oblique ways,
Confus'dly regular the moving maze:
Now forth at once, too swift for sight they spring,
And undistinguish'd blend the flying ring:
So whirls a wheel, in giddy circle tost,
And rapid as it runs, the single spokes are lost.
The gazing multitudes admire around;
Two active tumblers in the centre bound;
Now high now low, their pliant limbs they bend,
And gen'ral songs the sprightly revel end (*i*).

Dancing, like poetry, has been at all times, and in all places, so inseparable from music, that the history of the one necessarily involves that of the other. It was this union which tempted me to insert the whole description of a dance from Homer, as it paints in so ample and animated a manner, the state of dancing in Greece during his time.

Pope, in his notes on this passage, says, that "there were two sorts of dances, the Pyrrhic, and the common dance: Homer has joined both in this description. We see the Pyrrhic, or military, is performed by youths who have swords on, the other by virgins crowned with garlands.

"Here the ancient scholiast says, that whereas before it was the custom for men and women to dance separately, the contrary custom was afterwards brought in by seven youths, and as many virgins, who were saved by Theseus from the labyrinth; and that this dance was taught them by Dædalus: to which Homer here alludes

"It is worth observing, that the Grecian dance is still performed in this manner in the oriental nations: the youths and maids dance in a ring, beginning slowly; by degrees the music plays a quicker time, till at last they dance with the utmost swiftness: and, towards the conclusion, they sing, as it is said here, in a general chorus." In this manner, likewise, the religious dance of the dervishes is performed in the Turkish mosques.

(g) Συριγξι. (h) *Iliad*, book xviii. (i) *Ibid.*

I have now to speak of the Bards, or Rhapsodists, whom the writings of Homer have immortalized. Fabricius has given a list of more than seventy poets, who were supposed to have flourished before the time of Homer. Of twenty among these, fragments of their writings are still to be found dispersed through Greek literature ; and near thirty of them have been celebrated by antiquity as improvers of the art of music, and of musical instruments. I should here insert the names of all these ante-Homerian musicians, and relate what has been recorded concerning them in ancient authors ; but as the plan of my work is limited to two volumes, it would be encroaching on that place which must be reserved for persons and transactions of more modern times, and of greater certitude. Indeed several of them have been mentioned already, and as the rest may force themselves in my way during the course of my narrative, I shall here confine myself to the bards of the Iliad and Odyssey.

Among these, the seer TIRESIAS* seems the most ancient, though he is only mentioned in the Odyssey, which relates no events but such as happened to Ulysses after the Trojan war. Music, Poetry, Prophecy, and the Priesthood, seem inseparable employments in high antiquity (*k*). The Egyptians, Hebrews, and early Greeks certainly united them: and, among the last, Orpheus, Musæus, Eumolpus, and Melampus, have been instanced already. Tiresias was the most celebrated prophet in the Grecian annals. Ulysses is ordered by Circe to consult him in the shades.

There seek the Theban bard depriv'd of sight,
Within irradiate with prophetic light (*l*).

But, besides the honour done to him by Homer, Sophocles makes him act a venerable and capital part in his tragedy of Oedipus. Callimachus ascribes to Minerva the gift of his superior endowments; the pre-eminence of his knowledge is likewise mentioned by Tully, in his first book of *Divination* (*m*). And not only Tiresias is celebrated by Diodorus Siculus (*n*), but his daughter Daphne,** who, like her father, was gifted with a prophetic spirit, and was appointed priestess at Delphos. She wrote many oracles in verse, whence Homer was reported to have taken several lines, which he interwove in his poems. As she was often seized with a divine fury, she acquired the title of Sibyl, which signifies enthusiast. She is the first on whom it was bestowed: in after-times this

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(*k*) The priests in Roman catholic countries are still obliged by their function to cultivate music as well as theology ; and most of the numerous musical treatises that have been printed in Italy, have been composed by churchmen ; as those of Franchinus, Pietro Aaron, Zarlino, and Kircher.

(*l*) *Odys.* book ii.

(*m*) Ovid, in his *Metamorphoses*, gives a very jocular reason for the blindness and prophetic knowledge of Tiresias, deriving them from a matrimonial contest between Jupiter and Juno.

(*n*) *Lib.* iv.

* Dr. Smith (*Classical Dictionary*) says: "The blind seer Tiresias, acts so prominent a part in the mythical history of Greece, that there is scarcely any event with which he is not connected in some way or other. There is a fine poem, "Tiresias," by Tennyson.

** Better known as Manto.

denomination was given to several other females, that were supposed to be inspired, and who uttered and wrote their predictions in verse, which verse being sung, their function may be justly said to unite the priesthood with prophecy, poetry, and music.

THAMYRIS is called by Homer *Κιϑαϱιστης, one who plays on the Cithara*. Plutarch, in his *Dialogue on Music*, tells us, that he was born in Thrace, the country of Orpheus, and had the sweetest and most sonorous voice of any bard of his time. He was the son of Philammon, of whom mention has already been made. Homer, in his Catalogue of Ships, where he speaks of the cities under the dominion of Nestor, mentions Dorion as the place where Thamyris contended with the Muses, whom he had the arrogance to challenge to a trial of skill in poetry and music. The conditions and consequences of this contention are fully described by the poet.

> And Dorion, fam'd for Thamyris' disgrace,
> Superior once of all the tuneful race,
> Till, vain of mortals empty praise, he strove
> To match the seed of cloud-compelling Jove!
> Too daring bard! whose unsuccessful pride
> Th' immortal Muses in their art defy'd:
> Th' avenging Muses of the light of day
> Depriv'd his eyes, and snatch'd his voice away;
> No more his heav'nly voice was heard to sing,
> His hand no more awak'd the silver string (*o*).

Homer availed himself of the popular story concerning the blindness of Thamyris, and embellished it by his versification. Probably the whole allegory of this blindness had its rise from his having injured the organ of sight by too intense an application to the study of music and poetry. And it is the opinion of Pausanias, that there was no other difference between his misfortune and that of Homer, than that Thamyris was wholly silenced by it, and Homer, without being discouraged, continued his poetical and musical occupation long after his blindness.

The same writer, however, informs us, that the painter Polygnotus, in his celebrated picture of Ulysses' descent into hell, which was preserved in the temple of Delphos, had represented the wretched Thamyris with his eyes put out, his hair and beard long and dishevelled, and his lyre broken and unstrung, lying at his feet. It is certain too, according to Pausanias, that this bard was not only the subject of painting and poetry, but of sculpture; for he tells us, that among the statues with which mount Helicon was decorated, he saw one of Thamyris, represented blind, and holding a broken lyre in his hand.

According to Diodorus Siculus, he learnt music at the school of Linus. Pliny tells us that he was the first who performed on an instrument without the voice, or the first *Solo* player (*p*); and, if

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(*o*) *Iliad*, book ii.

(*p*) *Citharâ* sine voce *cecinit primus*. *Canere* with the Romans, applied to instruments, implied only *to play*. To say, however, that a performer makes his instrument *sing*, is at present the highest encomium that can be bestowed upon him.

we may credit Suidas, he was generally regarded as the eighth among the epic poets who preceded Homer.

As to his works, which are wholly lost, antiquity has preserved the names of several. Tzetzes mentions a *Cosmogony*, or creation of the world, in 500 verses, and Suidas a *Theogony* in 3000; perhaps both these writers speak of one and the same poem. He was said chiefly to have excelled in the composition of hymns; on which account the fanciful philosopher, Plato, compares him with Orpheus; and as he makes the soul of this bard, after death, pass into that of a swan, he fixes the residence of that of Thamyris in a nightingale.

We only know his poem upon the War of the Titans by what Plutarch tells us of it from Heraclides of Pontus. Clemens Alexandrinus attributes to him the invention of the Dorian mode or melody, which, if it could be proved, would be of more importance to the present enquiries than the ascertaining his poetical works. But this mode, it has been suggested already, was so ancient, that it may well be imagined to have been brought out of Egypt by the first invaders of Greece, who settled in that part of it which was called Doria.

In speaking of DEMODOCUS, Homer has taken occasion to exalt the character of poet and bard to the summit of human glory. The hospitable king of the Phæacians, in order to entertain Ulysses, says,

Let none to strangers, honours due disclaim;
Be there Demodocus, the bard of fame,
Taught by the Gods to please, when high he sings
The vocal lay responsive to the strings (*q*).

Pope observes upon this passage, that Homer shews in how great request music was held in the courts of all the eastern princes: he gives a musician to Ithaca, another to Menelaus at Lacedæmon. and Demodocus to Alcinous.

The herald now arrives, and guides along
The sacred master of celestial song:
Dear to the Muse! who gave his days to flow
With mighty blessings, mix'd with mighty woe:
With clouds of darkness quench'd his visual ray,
But gave him skill to raise the lofty lay.
High on a radiant throne, sublime in state,
Encircled by high multitudes he sate:
With silver shone the throne; his lyre well strung
To rapturous sounds, at hand Pontonous hung.
Before his seat a polish'd table shines,
And a full goblet foams with gen'rous wines:
His food a herald bore (*r*).

(*q*) *Odyssey*, book viii.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

It has been generally thought, says Pope, that Homer represents himself in the person of Demodocus. It is remarkable, at least, that he takes very extraordinary care of his brother poet, and introduces him as a person of great distinction. He calls him in his book, the hero Demodocus: he places him on a throne studded with silver, and gives him an herald for his attendant: nor is he less careful to provide for his entertainment; he has a particular table, and a capacious bowl set before him to drink from, as often as he had a mind, as the original expresses it. Some merry wits have turned the last circumstance into raillery, and insinuate that Homer in this place, as well as in the former, means himself in the person of Demodocus; an intimation that he would not be displeased to meet with the like hospitality.

> Then fir'd by all the Muse, aloud he sings
> The mighty deeds of demi-gods and kings—
> Touch'd at the song, Ulysses strait resign'd
> To soft affliction all his manly mind (*s*).

Homer several times in this book ascribes the song of Demodocus to immediate inspiration; and this supernatural assistance reconciles it to human probability, says Pope, and the story becomes credible, when it is supposed to be related by a Deity. Aristotle, in his Poetics, commends this conduct as artful and judicious; Alcinous, says he, invites Ulysses to an entertainment, in order to amuse him, where Demodocus sings his actions, at which he cannot refrain from tears, which Alcinous perceives, and this brings about the discovery of Ulysses.

To cite all the praise which Homer in his Odyssey has bestowed upon Demodocus, would be to transcribe the whole eighth book. It may be worth observing that he sung and played extempore.

> The bard, advancing, meditates the lay (*t*).

And again:

> O more than man! thy soul the Muse inspires,
> And Phœbus animates with all his fires:
> For who by Phœbus uninform'd could know
> The woe of Greece, and sing so well the woe?
> Just to the tale, as present at the fray,
> Or taught the labours of the dreadful day:
> The song recalls past horrors to my eyes,
> And bids proud Ilion from her ashes rise (*u*).

Here Ulysses himself ascribes the songs of Demodocus to immediate inspiration; and Apollo is made the patron of the poets, Eustathius observes, because he is the God of prophecy. He adds,

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(*s*) *Odyssey*, book viii.

(*t*) *Ibid.*

(*u*) *Odyssey*, book viii.

that Homer in this passage, likewise, represents himself in the person of Demodocus: it is he who wrote the war of Troy with as much faithfulness, as if he had been present at it; it is he who had little or no assistance from former relations of that story, and consequently receives it from Apollo and the Muses. This is a secret, but artful insinuation, that we are not to look upon the Iliad as all fiction and fable, but in general as a real history, related with as much certainty as if the poet had been present at those memorable actions.

Homer, it is certain, has neglected nothing which can give dignity and importance to this Bard. He never moves without a herald; he has a distinguished place at the king's table; is helped by Ulysses to the first cut; and

For him the goblet flows with wines, unmixt.

The following lines are so beautiful, and applicable to the present subject, that I cannot help inserting them, though I have already, perhaps, been too profuse of quotations; not with the design of swelling the volume, or from a scarcity of other materials, but because the passages interested me, and inclined me to hope, that they would be equally striking to the reader (*x*).

The Bard a herald guides: the gazing throng
Pay low obeysance as he moves along:
Beneath a sculptur'd arch he sits enthron'd,
The peers encircling form an awful round.
Then from the chine, Ulysses carves with art
Delicious food, an honorary part;
This, let the master of the lyre receive,
A pledge of love! 'tis all a wretch can give.
Lives there a man beneath the spacious skies,
Who sacred honours to the Bard denies?
The Muse the Bard inspires, exalts his mind;
The Muse indulgent loves th' harmonious kind.

If music be degenerated in these times, the honours conferred upon musicians are likewise diminished: for though a vocal performer may acquire the *trifling* reward of fifty guineas a song, yet we never hear of one being seated at a king's table, or even that any modern Hero, or General, however inferior in fame and merit to Ulysses, condescends to carve for him.

Indeed Homer, through the whole Odyssey, speaks with the highest respect of the art which he himself loved, and in which he so eminently excelled. Poets, says Eustathius, were ranked in the

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(*x*) History can only consist of quotations, when we write of times anterior to our own, or concerning things of which we have not been eye-witnesses. In treating, therefore, every subject which relates to antiquity, it is necessary to give the sentiments of those who have written upon it before, either in support of our own assertions, or to confute those of others. And indeed all that is left for an historian of ancient music, is to collect the scattered fragments, hints, and allusions, relative to it, which occur in old authors; to arrange them in chronological order, and to connect and explain them by reflection and conjecture.

class of philosophers; and the ancients made use of them as preceptors in music and morality (*y*).

Demodocus is supposed by the same critic, and by others, to have been the Bard, already mentioned (*z*), with whom Agamemnon left Clytemnestra in charge. He was blind, as well as Tiresias, Thamyris, and Homer. The instrument he played upon is called in the Odyssey *Phorminx*. Plutarch (*a*) says, that he wrote the destruction of Troy in verse, and the nuptials of Vulcan and Venus. And Ulysses is said, by Ptolemy Hephæstion, to have gained the prize at the Tyrrhene games, by singing the verses of Demodocus.

The last Bard of whom I shall give any account, among the musicians that are celebrated by Homer, is PHEMIUS, whom Eustathias calls a philosopher; a title lavished on the poets and musicians of antiquity. The same scholiast calls him brother of Demodocus, and says that he accompanied Penelope into Ithaca, when she went thither to espouse Ulysses, in the same character of Bard, as that in which his brother attended Clytemnestra. He was the father-in-law of Homer, having married his mother Crytheis, after the illegitimate birth of the great poet. This story is circumstantially related by the author of the Life of Homer, ascribed to Herodotus by Plutarch and others: though unjustly, according to the opinion of Fabricius, and the best modern critics. But Eustathius informs us, that under the name of Phemius, Homer meant to celebrate one of his friends who was so called, and who had been his preceptor; thence, figuratively, styled his father.

What kind of poets Homer saw in his own time, says Pope (*b*), may be gathered from his description of Demodocus and Phemius, whom he has introduced to celebrate his profession. Homer seems particularly solicitous to preserve the honour of Phemius, by informing us that he was pressed into the service of the suitors of Penelope, for the amusement of whom he was obliged to exercise his talents in the midst of riot and debauchery.

To Phemius was consign'd the chorded lyre,
Whose hand reluctant touch'd the warbling wire:
Phemius, whose voice divine could sweetest sing
High strains responsive to the vocal string (*c*).

From the instructions which Penelope gives to the Bard, we may, however, form some idea of the kind of songs that were usually performed at the banquet of princes.

Phemius! let acts of Gods, and heroes old,
What ancient Bards in hall and bow'r have told,
Attemper'd to the lyre, your voice employ;
Such the pleas'd ear will drink with silent joy (*d*).

(*y*) But he tells us likewise, that these αοιδοι were said by some writers to have had their names from this circumstance; ὡς αιδοια μη εχοντες; exactly resembling the Italian singers. "If this be true," says Pope, "it makes a great difference between the ancient and modern poets, and is the only advantage that I know of which we have over them." This idea sufficiently qualifies a Bard for the office of guardian to the chastity of a frail princess, and puts him upon a footing with the Chamberlains, the Ευνουχοι of ancient Persia, and other eastern countries.

(*z*) See page 152.

(*a*) *De Musica.*

(*b*) *Essay on Homer*, sect. ii.

(*c*) *Odyssey*, book i.

(*d*) *Odys.* book i.

That poetry was regarded, during the time of Homer, as immediate inspiration from the Gods, has been already remarked in the preceding article: and it is evident that his bards sung *extempore,* either upon a given subject, or one of their own choice; nor does it ever appear that any of the poets or musicians, mentioned by Homer, sung verses which had been previously written or composed. And yet Homer makes Ulysses himself inform us, that there was no convivial assembly without a Bard:

> I see the smokes of sacrifice aspire,
> And hear, *what graces every feast,* the *lyre* (*e*).

And in the twenty-second book of the Odyssey,

> Phemius alone the hand of vengeance spar'd,
> Phemius the sweet, the heav'n-instructed Bard.

The speech which he makes to the avenging Ulysses, in order to deprecate his wrath, is so fine an eulogium upon poetry and music in general, that I cannot better close this chapter than by transcribing it entire.

> O king! to mercy be thy soul inclin'd,
> And spare the Poet's ever gentle kind.
> A deed like this thy future fame would wrong,
> For dear to Gods and men is sacred song.
> Self-taught I sing, by Heav'n, and Heav'n alone
> The genuine seeds of poesy are sown;
> And, what the Gods bestow, the lofty lay
> To Gods alone, and God-like worth, we pay.
> Save then the *Poet,* and thyself reward,
> 'Tis thine to merit, mine is to record (*f*).

(*e*) *Ibid.* book xvii.

(*f*) It may be of some importance to music to remark here, that Pope, in his Life of Homer, informs us, "The word *Poet* does not occur in all the writings of this author, nor was it known during his time." We see it, however, very frequently in the *translation*, where the original only has αοιδος, *Bard, Minstrel, Singer.*

Chapter IV

Of the State of Music in Greece, from the time of Homer, till it was subdued by the Romans, including the Musical Contests at the Public Games

IT has been imagined, with great appearance of truth, that the occupation of the first *Poets* and *Musicians* of Greece, very much resembled that of the *Bards* among the Celts and Germans, and the *Scalds* in Iceland and Scandinavia; Chanters, who sung their works in great cities, and in the palaces of princes, where they were treated with much respect, and regarded as inspired persons. Such, at first, were likewise the *Troubadours* of Provence and Languedoc, and the *Minstrels* of other countries, till they became too numerous and licentious to create wonder or esteem. However, it is well known that a great number of historical events are preserved in the writings of these ancient poets; and that the pictures they have left of the times when they flourished, are simple and genuine. If the writings of the ancient *Romancers*, or *Troubadours* of Greece, possessed the same merit, which we have great reason to believe they did, the historians of after-times, who had no other source to draw information from than their songs, did well to avail themselves of such materials.

Unfortunately, for my present enquiries, from the time of Homer till that of Sappho, there is almost a total blank in literature; for though several names of poets and musicians are recorded between those periods, yet, of their works, only a few fragments remain. Nor are any literary productions preserved entire, between the time of Sappho and Anacreon, who flourished at the distance of near a hundred years from each other; and between the poems of Anacreon and Pindar, there is another chasm of near a century. After this, the works which still subsist of the three great tragic poets, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and of the historians, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon; together with those of Plato, Aristotle, Aristoxenus, Euclid, Theocritus, Callimachus, Polybius, and many others, all produced within the space of less than three hundred years; mark this as one of those illustrious and uncommon periods, in which all the powers of human nature and genius seem to have been called forth and exerted, in order to furnish light and instruction to mankind, in intermediate ages of darkness, indolence, calamity, and barbarism.

the *nine-stringed-instrument* (*r*); and Ion of Chios, a tragic and lyric poet, and philosopher, who first recited his pieces in the 82d Olympiad, 425 B.C. mentions, in some verses quoted by Euclid, the *ten-stringed Lyre* (*s*); a proof that the third conjoint tetrachord was added to the scale in his time, which was about fifty years after Pythagoras is supposed to have constructed the octachord (*t*).

The different claimants among the Greeks to the same musical discoveries, only prove that music was cultivated in different countries; and that the inhabitants of each country invented and improved their own instruments, some of which happening to resemble those of other parts of Greece, rendered it difficult for historians to avoid attributing the same invention to different persons. Thus the single Flute was given to Minerva, and to Marsyas; the Syrinx, or Fistula, to Pan, and to Cybele; and the Lyre, or Cithara, to Mercury, Apollo, Amphion, Linus, and Orpheus. Indeed, the mere addition of a string or two to an instrument without a neck, was so obvious and easy, that it is scarce possible not to conceive many people to have done it at the same time.

With respect to the number of strings upon the lyre of Timotheus, the account of Pausanias and Suidas is confirmed in the famous *Senatus-Consultum* against him, already slightly mentioned in the Dissertation, but of which I shall here give a more particular account.

This curious piece of antiquity is preserved at full length in Boethius (*u*). Mr. Stillingfleet (*x*) has lately given an extract from it, in proof of the simplicity of the ancient Spartan music. The fact is mentioned in Athenæus; and Casaubon, in his notes upon that author (*y*), has inserted the whole original text from Boethius, with corrections, to which I refer the learned reader. I shall here, however, give a faithful translation of this extraordinary Spartan *Act of Parliament.*

" *Whereas* Timotheus *the Milesian, coming to our city, has dishonoured our ancient music, and, despising the Lyre of seven strings, has, by the introduction of a greater variety of notes, corrupted the ears of our youth; and by the number of his strings, and the novelty of his melody, has given to our music an effeminate and artificial dress, instead of the plain and orderly one in which it has hitherto appeared; rendering melody infamous, by composing*

(*r*) Εννεαχορδον ὀργανον. *Lib.* iv. & xiv. Theocritus, *Id.* viii. speaks of a Syrinx with nine notes, *συριγγα ἐννεαφωνον*; but considering the extention of the Scale in his time, 262 B.C. it is no great wonder if the simplest of instruments had a compass of nine sounds.

(*s*) Δεκαχορδῳ λυρα.

(*t*) Ion died, according to Fabricius, vol. i. p. 681, 419 B.C. and 78 years after Pythagoras. Besides Tragedies and Dithyrambics, Ion composed *Odes*, *Pæans*, *Hymns* and *Scolia*, or convivial songs. The *three conjoint Tetrachords*, *Mes. Synem.* and *Diez.* with which the *Decachordon* was furnished consisted, perhaps, of these sounds: BCDE, EFGA, A B♭ c d.

(*u*) *De Musica, cap.* i.

(*x*) *Prin. and Power of Harm.* § 185.

(*y*) *Animad. in Athen.* p. 386.

in the Chromatic, instead of the Enharmonic (z);————— *The Kings and the Ephori have, therefore, resolved to pass censure upon* Timotheus *for these things: and, farther, to oblige him to cut all the superfluous strings of his* eleven, *leaving only* the seven tones; *and to banish him from our city; that men may be warned for the future, not to introduce into Sparta any unbecoming customs.*"—]

The same story, as related in Athenæus, has this additional circumstance, that when the public executioner was on the point of fulfilling the sentence, by cutting off the new strings, Timotheus, perceiving a little statue in the same place, with a lyre in its hand, of as many strings as that which had given the offence, and showing it to the judges, was acquitted.

Indeed the decree only informs us, that the use of a lyre, with more than seven strings, was not allowed at this time by the Lacedæmonians; but does not prove that the rest of Greece had confined their music within the compass of *seven* notes; nor, consequently, ascertain how many of the *eleven* strings were additions *peculiar* to Timotheus. That the outcry against the novelties of this musician was, however, not confined to Sparta, appears from a passage in Plutarch's Dialogue, where he gives a list of the innovators, who had corrupted and enervated the good old melody, by additional notes both upon the Flute and Lyre (*a*).

" Lasus of Hermione," says he, "by changing musical Rhythms to the Dithyrambic irregularity of movement, and, at the same time, emulating the compass and variety of the Flute, occasioned a great revolution in the ancient music. Melanippides, who succeeded him, in like manner, would not confine himself to the old music, any more than his scholar Philoxenus, or Timotheus."

The same thing also appears from the bitter invectives to which the comic poets at Athens, especially Pherecrates and Aristophanes, gave a loose; not, perhaps, from understanding music, or being at all sensible of its effects, but from that envy, which the great reputation of the musician had excited. An exalted character is a shooting butt, at which satirists, and wicked wits, constantly point their arrows; and the stage at all times wages war against whatever calls off the public attention from itself.

The abuse, therefore, of this musician, which abounds in ancient authors, is perhaps, as great a proof of his superiority, as the praise. A Greek epigram, preserved in Macrobius, informs us, that the Ephesians gave him a thousand pieces of gold for composing a poem in honour of Diana, at the dedication of the temple of that Goddess; and was not that a sufficient reason for *hungry* authors to rail?

(*z*) This part of the original is very corrupt; the meaning, however, appears to be, that in a contest at the Carnean festival, he had sung a poem upon the labour of Semele at the birth of Bacchus, in which he had not sufficiently attended to decency and decorum.

(*a*) Plutarch accuses Lasus of imitating the many sounds, the πολυφωνια of Flutes. And Plato, in his *Rep. lib.* iii. inveighing against instruments of *many strings*, calls them imitations of the Flute: αὐγον μιμηματα; and in his third book, *De Leg.* he complains of the Lyre *imitating* the Flute.

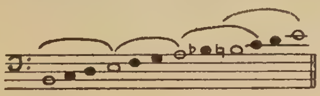
Plutarch tells us, that the comic poet Pherecrates introduced *Music* on the stage, under the figure of a woman, whose body was terribly torn and mangled. She is asked by *Justice,* under the figure of another woman, the cause of her ill-treatment? when she relates her story in the following words: " The first source of all my misfortunes was Melanippides, who began to enervate and debilitate me by his *twelve strings.* However, this would not have reduced me to the deplorable condition in which I now appear, if Cinesias, that cursed Athenian, had not contributed to ruin and disfigure me in his Dithyrambic Strophes, by his false and untuneable inflexions of voice. In short, his cruelty to me was beyond all description; and next to him, Phrynis took it into his head to abuse me by such divisions and flourishes, as no one ever thought of before, making me subservient to all his whims, twisting and twirling me a thousand ways, in order to produce from *five strings,* the *twelve* different *modes* (*b*). But still, the freaks of such a man would not have been sufficient to complete my ruin, for he was able to make me some amends. Nothing now was wanting but the cruelty of one Timotheus to send me to the grave, after maiming and mangling me in the most inhuman manner." " Who is this Timotheus?" says Justice.

MUSIC.

" O 'tis that vile Milesian blade,
Who treats me like an arrant jade;
Robs me of all my former fame;
And loads me with contempt and shame:
Contriving still, where'er he goes,
New ways to multiply my woes:
Nay more, the wretch I never meet,
Be it in palace, house, or street,
But strait he strips off all my things,
And *ties* me with a *dozen strings* (*c*)."

(*b*) This passage seems manifestly to imply an instrument with a *neck*, by which the sounds of *five strings* only, were multiplied to those of all the twelve modes; and this was, probably, the first attempt of the kind in Greece; at least it is the first that I have seen upon record.

(*c*) This is a fragment from a comedy written by Pherecrates, called Chiron, and the only remains of that poet; and as Timotheus is accused by him of multiplying the strings of the lyre to *twelve*, as that instrument had *ten* before his time, it is probable that the two sounds he added were B♮ for the *Chromatic Genus*, which he stands accused, by the *Senatus-Consultum*, of having introduced at Sparta; and the *Nete Diezeugmenon*, or sound E, upon the first line in the treble, which, though supposed to have been added to the Scale by Pythagoras, may, perhaps, never have been heard by the Spartans, before the arrival of Timotheus among them. If this conjecture be right, his Scale must have been the following:



It appears from the above fragment, that Timotheus was not the first who used *eleven* strings, since the Lyre of Melanippides was furnished with *twelve*, before his time. There were two Poet-musicians of the name of Melanippides, both anterior to the *elder* Timotheus.

It has already been remarked, that the word *Enharmonic* appears in the copy of the *Senatus-Consultum*, inserted in the Oxford Edition of Aratus, though no notice is taken of it by some translators. It is likewise to be found, not only in the copy of this decree, which Casaubon has given in his notes upon Athenæus, but in a beautiful MS. of the eleventh century, in the British Museum (*d*). If then it is certain that the Lacedæmonians admired the Enharmonic Genus for its *simplicity*, and yet reprobated the Chromatic for its *difficulty* and effeminacy, does it not fortify the hypothesis hazarded in the Dissertation, concerning the plainness and dignity of the ancient Enharmonic?

It appears from Suidas, that the poetical and musical compositions of Timotheus were very numerous, and of various kinds. He attributes to him nineteen *Nomes*, or Canticles, in *Hexameters*: thirty-six *Proems*, or Preludes; eighteen *Dithyrambics;* twenty-one *Hymns*; the poem in praise of Diana; one Panegyric; three Tragedies, the *Persians, Phinidas*, and *Laertes*; to which must be added a fourth, mentioned by several ancient authors, called *Niobe*, without forgetting the poem on *the birth of Bacchus*. Stephen of Byzantium makes him author of eighteen books of *Nomes*, or airs, for the *Cithara*, to eight thousand verses, and of a thousand *Πϱοοιμια*, or *Preludes*, for the *Nomes* of the Flute.

A musician so long eminent as Timotheus, must have excited great desire in young students to become his pupils; but, according to Bartholinus, he used to exact a *double Price* from all such as had previously received instructions from any other master; saying, that he would rather instruct those who *knew nothing*, for *half price*, than have the trouble of *un*teaching such as had already acquired bad habits, and an incorrect and vicious manner of playing.

Timotheus died in Macedonia, according to Suidas, at the age of ninety-seven; though the Marbles, much better authority, say at ninety; and Stephen of Byzantium fixes his death in the fourth year of the 105th Olympiad, two years before the birth of Alexander the Great; whence it appears, that this Timotheus was not the famous player on the Flute, so much esteemed by that prince, who was animated to such a degree by his performance, as to seize his arms; and who employed him, as Athenæus informs us (*e*), together with the other great musicians of his time, at his nuptials. However, by an inattention to dates, and by forgetting that of these two musicians of the same name, the one was a Milesian, and the other a Theban (*f*), they have been hitherto almost always confounded.

(*d*) *Bib. Reg.* 15 B. ix.

(*e*) *Lib.* xii. p. 538.

(*f*) Lucian *Harmonid.*

Of the Isthmian Games [instituted c. B.C. 1326]

These Games were so called from the Isthmus of Corinth, where they were celebrated. In their first institution, according to Pausanias (*g*), they consisted only of funeral rites and ceremonies, in honour of Melicertes; but Theseus afterwards, as Plutarch informs us, (*h*), in emulation of Hercules, who had appointed Games at Olympia, in honour of Jupiter, dedicated these to Neptune, his reputed father, who was regarded as the particular protector of the Isthmus, and commerce, of Corinth. The same trials of skill were exhibited here, as at the other three Sacred Games, and particularly those of Music and Poetry (*i*).

Livy relates a very interesting event which happened during the celebration of these Games, after the Romans had defeated Philip king of Macedon, one of the successors of Alexander the Great, who had been in possession of the chief part of Greece.

The time, says this author, for celebrating the Isthmian Games was now come. There was always a great concourse of people at them, from the natural curiosity of the Greeks, who delighted in seeing all kinds of combats and bodily exercises, as well as from the convenience of the situation, between two seas, for the inhabitants of different provinces to assemble. But being at this time anxious to know their own fate, and that of their country, all Greece flocked thither, the greater part silently foreboding the worst, and some not scrupling openly to express their fears. At length the Romans took their places at the Games and a herald, with a trumpet, in the usual manner, advanced into the middle of the Arena, as if to pronounce the common form of words; but, when silence was ordered, he proclaimed, " that the Roman senate and people, and T. Quinctius Flamininus their general, after vanquishing Philip and his Macedonians, declared the Corinthians, Phocæans, all the Locrians, the island Eubœa, the Magnesians, Thessalonians, Perrhæbi, Achæans, and Phthiotes, all which states had been possessed by Philip, free, independent, and subject only to their own laws." The joy which this proclamation occasioned in the assembly was, at first, too great to be expressed. The spectators could scarce credit what they heard; they regarded each other with astonishment, as if they had waked out of a dream. Each diffident of his own ears, with respect to what particularly concerned himself and his own country, asked his neighbour what had been said. The herald was even called again, so strong a desire had they all, not only to hear, but to see the messenger of their liberty, and they had the satisfaction of hearing him repeat the decree. When their joy was fully confirmed, they expressed it in such loud and reiterated shouts of applause, that it was evident

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(*g*) *Initio Corinthiac.*

(*h*) *In Theseo.*

(*i*) Plutarch, *Sympos.* lib. v. *Quæst.* 2. Julian, *Epist. pro Argiv.* p. 408 D. *Edit. Lips.*

liberty was dearer to them than all the other advantages of life (*k*). After this the Games were celebrated, but with the greatest hurry and confusion; no one had eyes or attention for the spectacle; every avenue of inferior pleasure was obstructed by joy (*l*).

These Games, in which the victors were only rewarded with garlands of pine-leaves,* were celebrated with great magnificence and splendor, as long as paganism continued to be the established religion of Greece; nor were they omitted even when Corinth was sacked and burned by Mummius, the Roman general, at which time the care of them was transferred to the Sicyonians, but was restored again to the inhabitants of Corinth, when that city was rebuilt.

Though every Grecian province had its peculiar Games, and every great city its festivals, in many of which Poets and Musicians contended for pre-eminence; yet, after bestowing so many pages upon the four *Sacred Games,* I should extend my enquiries concerning these institutions no farther, if a celebrated establishment of this kind, among the Athenians, the most elegant, refined, ingenious, and voluptuous people of Greece, did not, from the frequent mention that is made of it in ancient authors, and the renown of the combatants, seem to require particular notice.

Of the Panathenæan Games

There were two solemn festivals under this denomination at Athens, the greater and the less; both of which were celebrated there in honour of Minerva, the patroness of that city. They must have been of very high antiquity, as their first institution was ascribed to Orpheus (*m*), and to king Erichthonius (*n*); and their renewal and augmentation to Theseus (*o*). The greater *Panathenæa* were exhibited every five years, the less every three, or, according to some writers, annually (*p*). Though the celebration of neither, at first, employed more than one day, yet in aftertimes they were protracted for the space of many days, and solemnized with greater preparations and magnificence than at their first institution.

Prizes were established there for three different kinds of combat: the first consisted of Foot and Horse-races; the second, of Athletic exercises; and the third of Poetical and Musical contests. These last are said to have been instituted by Pericles: and that great patron of arts and literature may have been the first who excited emulation in Poets and Musicians, at this festival, by bestowing rewards upon the most excellent; but, according to Plutarch (*q*),

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(*k*) *Plut. Vit. Flamin.* says, the shouts of the people were so loud, that some crows which happened to be flying over their heads, *fell dead* into the Stadium.

(*l*) *Dec.* 4. *lib.* xxxiii, cap. 32.

(*m*) *Theodoret, Therapeut.* lib. i.

(*n*) *Suidas, voc.* Παναθηναια.

(*o*) *Suid. ibid.*

(*p*) *Thucydid.* lib. vi.

(*q*) *De Musica.*

* Later a crown of withered parsley was substituted.

who had consulted the Panathenæan Register, Musical Performances were of much earlier date there than the time of Pericles. Rhapsodists were appointed to sing the verses of Homer at these Games, by Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus.

Singers of the first class, accompanied by performers on the Flute and Cithara, exercised their talents here, upon subjects prescribed by the directors of these exhibitions. And while the Athenian state was free and independent, the noble and generous actions of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had opposed the power of the Pisistratidæ, and of Aristobulus, who had delivered the Athenians from the oppression of the thirty tyrants, imposed upon them by the Lacedæmonians, were celebrated in these songs.

The first who obtained the prize here, on the Cithara, according to the Marbles, was Phrynis,* of Mitylene, about 457 [probably 445] B.C. But this Musician was not equally successful when he contended in these Games with Timotheus, who boasts, himself, of a victory he had obtained over him, in some verses preserved by Plutarch (*r*).

There were premiums likewise given to players on the Flute, an instrument long in the highest estimation throughout all Greece, but in particular request at Athens; perhaps from the legendary account of its invention by Minerva, the protectress of that city. For though the pagan religion seems to have had but little effect in restraining vice, and held out but few allurements to virtue, yet it furnished its votaries with reasons for innumerable follies.

Aristotle (*s*) tells us, that the Flute, after its first invention, was used by mean people, and thought an ignoble instrument, unworthy of a free man, till after the invasion and defeat of the Persians (*t*); when ease, affluence, and luxury soon rendered its use so common, that it was a disgrace to a person of birth not to know how to play upon it. Callias and Critias, celebrated Athenians, Archytas of Tarentum, Philolaüs, and Epaminondas, were able performers on the Flute. Indeed Music, in general, was in such favour, and the study of it was thought so essential a part of education, at Athens, in the time of Pericles and Socrates, that Plato (*u*) and Plutarch (*x*) have thought it necessary to inform us of whom those two great personages received instructions in that art. DAMON, the Athenian, was the music master of both. The philosopher calls him his friend, in a Dialogue of Plato, where Nicias, one of the interlocutors, informs the company, that Socrates had recommended, as a music master to his son, Damon, the disciple of Agathocles, who not only excelled in his own profession, but

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(*r*) *De Laud. Sui.* (*s*) *De Repub:* cap. vi.

(*t*) Strabo says, it was the general opinion, that the Greeks had the chief part of their Music, and Musical Instruments, from Asia and Thrace. And, according to Athenæus, *lib.* xiii. p. 607, Music was thought a necessary female accomplishment in the time of Darius: for this author tells us, that, Parmenio wrote Alexander word, he had taken at Damascus three hundred and twenty-nine of the Persian monarch's concubines, who were all skilled in Music, and performers on the Flute, and other instruments.

(*u*) *In primo Alcibiad.* (*x*) *In Pericl.*

* He is said to have added two strings to the heptachord.

possessed every quality that could be wished in a man to whom the care of youth was to be confided (*y*).

Damon had chiefly cultivated that part of Music, which concerns *Time* or *Cadence;* for which he is highly commended by Plato (*z*), who seems to have regarded *Rhythm* as the most essential part of Music, and that upon which the morals of a people depended, more than upon Melody, or, as the ancients called it, *Harmony*. He is also mentioned by Aristides Quintilianus, as having excelled in characterizing his Melodies, by a judicious choice of such sounds and intervals as were best adapted to the effects he intended to produce (*a*).

Pericles [d. 429 B.C.], the most accomplished character in antiquity, was not only a consummate judge, but a great encourager of all the arts. And in his life, written by Plutarch, we are told that the Muses bore a principal share in all the public spectacles with which he entertained the people. He not only regulated and augmented the Poetical and Musical contests at the Panathenæan festivals, but built the *Odeum* (*b*), or Music-Room, in which Poets and Musicians daily exercised themselves in their art, and rehearsed new compositions, before they were exhibited in the theatre.

It was Pericles, likewise, who invited to Athens ANTIGENIDES, one of the most renowned Musicians of antiquity; of whose life and talents such honourable mention is made in ancient authors, that it seems necessary to give the reader some account of them. According to Suidas, he was a native of Thebes, in Bœotia, and the son of Satyrus, a celebrated Flute-player, who, as Ælian tells us, was so charmed with the lectures of the philosopher Ariston, that upon quitting them, he said, " If I do not break my Flute, I hope I shall have my head cut off." Antigenides was not the only one of his country whose abilities upon that instrument had rendered famous. The Thebans in general piqued themselves much upon being great performers on the Flute. This is manifest from a passage in Dion Chrysostom. "The pre-eminence," says he, "which all Greece unanimously allows to the Thebans, in this particular, has been constantly regarded by them as a point of importance, of which I shall give an instance. After the total ruin of their city, which has never yet been rebuilt, no part of it being now inhabited but the small quarter, called *Cadmea,* they gave themselves but little trouble in restoring any of the public monuments that had been thrown down or destroyed, one statue only of Mercury excepted, which they took great pains to dig out from

(*y*) *Lach.* It was thought disgraceful for a gentleman not to be able to play upon the Flute. Cornelius Nepos ranks it among the accomplishments of Epaminondas, that he could dance well, and play on the Flute. But he was a *Theban.* It seems that *Theban Flute-players*, and *Lesbian Lyrists* were always the most celebrated throughout Greece.

(*z*) *De Repub.* lib. iii.

(*a*) Damon, according to Plutarch, was a profound politician, and, under the mask of a Musician, he tried to conceal from the multitude this talent. He was, however, involved with his patron Pericles, in the political disputes of his time, and banished as a favourer of tyranny. The period when he flourished, may be gathered from his connections.

(*b*) Plut. *in Pericl.*

among the rubbish, and to erect again, on account of the following inscription: *῾Ελλας μεν Θηβας νιϰαν πϱουϰϱινεν ἀυλοις.—Greece has declared that Thebes wins the prize upon the Flute.* So that this statue is still standing in the old public square, among the ruins (*c*)."

*Pronomus,** mentioned already (*d*), as the inventor of a Flute, upon which he could play in three different Modes, was a Theban. Before his time, there was a particular Flute for every Mode or Key: and so *out of tune* are the generality of modern Flutes, it were almost to be wished that the custom had still continued. The words and Music of a Hymn, composed by Pronomus for the inhabitants of Chalcis, when they went to Delos, were subsisting in the time of Pausanias, as was likewise the statue of this Musician, erected by the citizens of Thebes, near that of Epaminondas (*e*).

Antigenides being, therefore, originally an inhabitant of a city in which the Flute was held in such honour, and the son of a person who had distinguished himself upon it, was the more likely to become eminent in the same art; and he is said to have brought it to greater perfection than any one of his time, by the lessons he received from PHILOXENUS [435-380 B.C.]. This celebrated Poet-Musician, was a native of Cythera, and author of a great number of Lyric poems, which are entirely lost. His innovations in Music are stigmatized by Plutarch, and the comic Poets of his own time. He was so great an epicure, that he is said to have wished for a throat as long as that of a crane, and *all palate*, in order to prolong the relish of the delicious morsels he swallowed. He was, however, as much celebrated for his jests as his gluttony. Being served with a small fish, at the table of Dionysius of Syracuse, and seeing an enormous turbot placed before the tyrant, he put the head of the little fish close to his mouth, and pretended to whisper it : then placed it close to his ear, as if to receive the answer more distinctly. Upon being asked by Dionysius for an explanation of this mummery, he said, "I am writing a poem, Sir, upon Galatea, one of the Nereids; and as I want information concerning several particulars relative to her father Nereus, and the watry element, that are quite out of my ken, I was in hopes of obtaining some satisfaction from this fish; but he tells me, that he is too young and ignorant to be able to satisfy by curiosity, and refers me to that grown-gentleman before your majesty, who is much better acquainted with aquatic affairs." The tyrant understood him, and had the complaisance to send him the turbot (*f*). But though, from this instance, he appears to have been high in

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(*c*) *Orat. 7.* p. 123. *Edit. Paris.* (*d*) P. 66. (*e*) *Pausan. in Bœotic. cap.* xii.

(*f*) It was of this glutton, that Machon, the comic Poet, cited by Athenæus, told the story which has furnished la Fontaine with a subject for one of his tales, and Pope with a *point*, at the end of one of his characters.

A salmon's belly, Helluo, was thy fate ;
The doctor call'd, declares all help too late ;
" Mercy ! cries Helluo, mercy on my soul !
Is there no hope ?—Alas—then bring the jowl."

* Gave lessons in flute playing to Alcibiades.

favour with Dionysius, he afterwards proved so aukward a courtier, that he preferred the labour of carrying stones from a quarry, to the disgust of praising the bad verses of his patron.

Antigenides was, in his youth, according to Suidas, Flute-player in ordinary (*g*) to Philoxenus, and accompanied him in the musical airs which he had set to his own verses. Instructed by such a master, it was no wonder that he should have, in his turn, disciples of the first class himself, and be caressed by the greatest princes. Pericles, who had undertaken the education of his nephew Alcibiades, appointed Antigenides for his Flute-master. But Aulus Gellius relates, from the History of Music, in thirty Books, by Pamphila,* that his scholar Alcibiades setting up for a fine gentleman, and taking the utmost care of his person, was soon disgusted with his instrument, as Minerva herself had been before; for happening to see himself in a mirror, while he was playing, he was so shocked at the distortion of his sweet countenance, that he broke his Flute, in a transport of passion, and threw it away, which brought this instrument into great disgrace among the young people of rank at Athens. However, this disgust did not extend to the sound of the Flute itself, since we find by Plutarch, that the great performers upon it continued long after to be much followed and admired (*h*).

It was Antigenides, according to Athenæus (*i*), who played upon the Flute at the nuptials of Iphicrates, when that Athenian general espoused the daughter of Cotys, king of Thrace: and Plutarch attributes to him the transporting Alexander to such a degree, by his performance of the *Harmatian* Air, at a banquet, that he seized his arms, and was on the point of attacking his guests. The same story has been told of Timotheus. The Lacedæmonians had a song which said, that *"a good performer on the Flute would make a man brave every danger, and face even* iron *itself."*

Notwithstanding this Musician was so high in reputation, he seemed to regard public favour as a precarious possession, and was never elated by the applause of the multitude. He endeavoured to inspire his disciples with the same sentiments; and in order to console one of them, who, though possessed of great abilities, had received but little applause from his audience, " the next time you play," said he "shall be *to me and the Muses* (*k*)." Antigenides was so fully persuaded of the coarse taste of the common people, that one day, hearing at a distance a violent burst of applause to a

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(*g*) Αυλῳδος.

(*h*) Aristotle, after speaking of the introduction and progress of the Flute in Greece, and of its universal use, gives a different reason for its being less in repute during his own time, than formerly. " The Flute is now," says he, " regarded as unfit for young gentlemen, because not a *moral instrument*, but adapted to enthusiastic and passionate Music, such as is improper for the sober purposes of education." Perhaps by *moral*, he meant such an instrument as the Lyre, to which Poetry and Morality could be united by the person who performed upon it. But if we reflect upon the influence of fashion, and the vanity of imitating the great, the cause assigned by A. Gellius for the disgrace of the Flute, is more likely to have been the true one, than that given by Aristotle.

(*i*) *Lib.* iv.

(*k*) *Cic. Brut.—Val. Max.*

* Flourished during the reign of Nero. His *History of Music* in 33 volumes has been lost.

player on the Flute, he said, " there must be something very bad in that man's performance, or those people would not be so lavish of their approbation."

Antigenides was author of many novelties upon the Flute. He encreased the number of holes, which extended the compass of the instrument, and, probably, rendered its Tones more flexible, and capable of greater variety. Theophrastus, in his History of Plants, has recorded how and at what season Antigenides cut the reeds for his Flute, differently from former players on that instrument, in order to have such as would express all the delicacy and refinements of his new Music; and Pliny has translated the passage (*l*).

This Musician had great occasion for flutes, upon which he could easily express minute intervals and inflexions of sound, since according to Apuleius, he played upon them in all the modes: upon the Æolian and Ionian, remarkable the one for simplicity, the other for variety; upon the plaintive Lydian; upon the Phrygian, consecrated to religious ceremonies; and upon the Dorian, suitable to warriors (*m*).

The innovations of Antigenides were not confined to the flute only: they extended to the robe of the performer; and he was the first who appeared in public with delicate Milesian slippers, and a robe of saffron-colour, called *Crocoton* (*n*). Plutarch has preserved a *bon mot* of Epaminondas, relative to Antigenides. This general, upon being informed, in order to alarm him, that the Athenians had sent troops into the Peloponnesus, equipped with entire new arms; asked " whether Antigenides was disturbed when he saw new flutes in the hands of Tellis?" who was a bad performer.

DORION is mentioned by Plutarch as a Flute-player who had made several changes in the Music of his time, and who was head of a sect of performers, opponents to another sect of practical musicians, of which Antigenides was the chief; a proof that these two masters were cotemporaries and rivals (*o*). Dorion, though much celebrated as a great Musician, and Poet, by Athenæus, is better known to posterity as a voluptuary. Both his Music and Poetry are lost; however, many of his pleasantries are preserved. Being at Milo, a city of Egypt, and not able to procure a lodging, he enquired of a priest who was sacrificing in a chapel, to what divinity it was dedicated, who answered to *Jupiter and to Neptune*. How should I be able, says Dorion, to get a lodging in a place where the Gods are forced to lie double? Supping one

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(*l*) *Lib.* xvi.

(*m*) *Tibicen quidam fuit Antigenides, omnis voculæ melleus, et idem omnis modi peritus modificator; seu tu velles Æolium simplex, seu Asium varium, seu Lydium querulum, seu Phrygium religiosum, seu Dorium bellicosum.* Florida, § 4.

(*n*) Suidas *Antigenid.*

(*o*) It appears, from a passage in Xenophon, *Memor* iv. p. 4. that it was no uncommon thing for the Athenians to be divided into, what we should call, *Fiddling Factions*. Socrates discoursing upon the advantages of concord in a state, says, " by concord, I mean that the city should agree, not in chusing the same Poet, or *praising the same Flute-player*, but in obeying the same laws.

night with Nicocreon, in the island of Cyprus, and admiring a rich gold cup that was placed on the side-board, the goldsmith will make you just such another, says the prince, whenever you please; " he'll obey your orders much better than mine, sir," says Dorion; " so let me have that, and do you bespeak another." The remark of Athenæus (*p*) upon this reply is, that Dorion acted against the proverb, which says, that

> To Flute-players, nature gave brains there's no doubt,
> But alas! 'tis in vain, for they soon blow them out (*q*).

Upon hearing the description of a tempest, in the *Nauplius* of Timotheus, Dorian said, he had seen a better in a boiling cauldron.

Having lost a large shoe at a banquet (*r*), which he wore on account of his foot being violently swelled by the gout, " the only harm I wish the thief," said he, " is, that my shoe may fit him."

His wit and talents made amends for his gluttony, and he was a welcome guest wherever he went. Philip of Macedon, in order to enliven his parties of pleasure, used frequently to invite him with Aristonicus the *citharœdist*.

How great a demand there was at this time for Flutes, at Athens, may be conceived from a circumstance mentioned by Plutarch, in his Life of Isocrates. This orator, says he, was the son of Theodorus, a Flute-maker, who acquired wealth sufficient by his employment not only to educate his children in a liberal manner, but also to bear one of the heaviest public burdens to which an Athenian citizen was liable; that of furnishing a *Choir* or *Chorus* for his tribe, or ward, at festivals and religious ceremonies (*s*).

The wealth of Theodorus will not, however, appear very extraordinary, if we judge of the price of Flutes by that of ISMENIAS, the celebrated Musician of Thebes, who, according to Lucian (*t*), gave three talents, or 581*l*. 5*s*. for a Flute, at Corinth. But this celebrated Musician was as eminent for his extravagance, as for his genius. He is recorded by Pliny (*u*), as a prodigal purchaser of jewels, which he displayed with great vanity; and was once very angry that an emerald had been bought, in Cyprus, for less than he thought the value of it, though purchased for himself; and said to the person to whom he had given the commission, " You have

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(*p*) *Lib.* viii. p. 338.

(*q*) *Ανδρι μεν αὐλητηρε Θειο νοον εισενεφυσαν: Αλλ᾽ ἀμα τω φυσαν χ᾽ ὠ νοος εκπεταται.*

Most of the eminent Flute-players were Bæotians: *Crasso in aere nati*; which seems to have given rise to this epigram.

(*r*) This would be a strange accident, indeed, at a modern feast; but was not extraordinary when it was the custom to eat in a reclining posture, and when all the guests pulled off their shoes, that the couches might not be dirtied.

(*s*) Each tribe furnished their distinct *Chorus*; which consisted of a band of vocal and instrumental performers, and dancers, who were to be hired, maintained, and dressed, during the whole time of the festival; an expence considerable in itself, but much encreased by emulation among the richer citizens, and the disgrace consequent to an inferior exhibition. The fluctuations of trade and public favour have rendered the business of boring Flutes far less profitable at present, than it was in the time of Theodorus; but then we have, in our own country, a Harpsichord-maker, as able to *maintain a Choir*, as any dean and chapter of a cathedral.

(*t*) *Ad Indoctum.* (*u*) *Lib.* xxxvii. 1.

done your business like a fool, and disgraced the gem." Plutarch (*x*) relates the following story of him: being sent for to accompany a sacrifice, and having played some time without the appearance of any good omen in the victim, his employer became impatient, and snatching the Flute out of his hand, began playing in a very ridiculous manner himself, for which he was reprimanded by the company; but the happy omen soon appearing, there! said he, to play acceptably to the Gods, is their own gift! Ismenias answered with a smile, "While I played, the Gods were so delighted, that they deferred the omen, in order to hear me the longer; but they were glad to get rid of your noise upon any terms." Thus we see that neither vanity nor impiety are peculiar to modern Musicians.

Indeed, according to Xenophon, the Flute-players of these times must have lived in a very splendid and magnificent manner. "If," says he (*y*), "a bad performer on the Flute wishes to pass for a good one, how must he set about it? Why he must imitate the great Flute-players in all those circumstances that are extraneous to the art itself. And, principally, as they are remarkable for expending great sums in rich furniture, and for appearing in public with a great retinue of servants, he must do the same."

With respect to the salaries of great public performers, a circumstance mentioned by Dr. Arbuthnot (*z*), from Athenæus, shews that the profusion and extravagance of the present age in gratifying the ministers of our pleasures, is not equal to that of the Athenians during the times of which I write. For it is asserted that Amœbeus the Harper, whenever he sung on the stage, was paid an Attic talent, or 193 *l.* 15*s.* a day for his performance, though he lived, it is added, close by the theatre (*a*).

The importance of the Flute is manifested by innumerable passages in ancient authors; among which there is one in Pliny that is diverting and curious. In speaking of Comets, he says that there were some *in the shape of Flutes,* which were imagined to forebode some ill to Music and Musicians (*b*). And Montfaucon proves by several inscriptions from ancient marbles, that the sacrificial Tibicen, at Athens, was always chosen, and his name recorded, with the officers of state (*c*). This Musician was called *Auletes,* and sometimes *Spondaula.* His office was to play on the Flute, close to the ear of the priest, during sacrifice, some pious air, suitable to the service, in order to keep off distraction and inattention during the exercise of his function (*d*). Indeed, there

(*x*) *Sympos. lib.* ii. *q.* 1. (*y*) *Memor. Socrat.*

(*z*) Tables of ancient coins, weights, and measures, p. 199.

(*a*) Roscius could gain only five hundred *sestertia*, or 4036*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* a year; and when he acted by the day, but four thousand *nummi*, or 32*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*

(*b*) *Tibiarum specie, Musicæ arti portendere.* Lib. ii. cap. 25.

(*c*) *Suppl.* tom. ii. p. 186.

(*d*) A similar custom is still preserved in the Greek church. "For, while the priest stands with his face towards the east, and repeats the prayers, the choir is almost constantly singing hymns, and he reads in so low a voice, for the most part, that the congregation is not supposed to pray themselves, or to hear the prayers he offers up on their behalf." *Rites and Cerem. of the Greek Church*, by Dr. King, p. 46. Perhaps too, the musical performance in the churches of Italy, during the *Mussitandi*, or *Messa-bassa,* had the same origin.

is no representation of a sacrifice, procession, banquet, or festive assembly, either in ancient Painting, or Sculpture, without a Musician. And the attendance of *Flute-players* at sacrifices was so common in Greece, that it gave rise to a proverb, which was usually applied to such as lived at the tables of others: *You live the life of a Flute-player* (*e*). Because, as Suidas says, these performers being constantly employed at sacrifices, where the victims furnished them with a dinner, were at little or no expence in housekeeping.

The list of illustrious Flute-players in antiquity is too numerous to allow a separate article to each. However, a few, besides those already mentioned, still hold their heads above the crowd, and seem to demand attention. And among these, as a particular respect seems due to *Inventors,* who, by genius or study, have extended the limits of theoretical or practical Music, *Clonas* must not be passed by unnoticed.

Plutarch (*f*), the only author by whom he is mentioned, tells us, that Clonas lived soon after the time of Terpander [*c.* 620 B.C.], and was the first who composed *Nomes for the Flute,* of which he specifies three that were much celebrated in antiquity, under the names of *Apothetos, Schœnion,* and *Trimeres.* This last air, which was sung by a chorus, must have been much celebrated; as Plutarch says that though the Sicyon Register gave it to Clonas, yet others, among whom was Plutarch himself, had ascribed it to Sacadas (*g*).

Polymnestus, of Colophon in Ionia [*fl. c.* 675-644 B.C.], was a composer for the Flute, as well as an improver of the Lyre; and it appears to have been no uncommon accomplishment for these ancient Musicians to perform equally well upon both these instruments. Polymnestus is said to have invented the *Hypolydian Mode.* This Mode being half a Tone *below* the Dorian, which was the lowest of the five original Modes (*h*), was, perhaps, the first extension of the scales *downwards,* as the Mixolydian was, *upwards.* Plutarch, who assigns to him this invention, accuses him of having taken greater liberties with the scale than any one had done before, though it is not now easy to discover in what those liberties consisted (*i*).

(*e*) *Αυλητου βιον ζην. Suid. voce Αυλητου.* (*f*) *De Musica.*

(*g*) The custom of giving names to tunes in antiquity, has long been adopted in France; all the harpsichord lessons of Rameau, and several other composers in that country, having particular denominations affixed to them; such as *La Timide, La Pantomime, l'Indiscrette, la Complaisante,* &c.

(*h*) See p. 53.

(*i*) What Plutarch says of him is, that he made the ἐκλυσις and the ἐκβολη much greater than they had been before his time. M. Burette, *Mem. de Litt.* tom. xv. has expended much learning upon the words ἐκλυσις and ἐκβολη to very little purpose. He has likewise, in his long note upon this passage, changed the place of all the Modes, without giving a reason for it, by making the Dorian Mode correspond with E natural, instead of D; so that the Lydian, which this author has himself frequently told his readers was F♯, is now mounted up to G♯. Eκλυσις and ἐκβολη, it must be owned, are most perplexing words, as many Greek technical terms are now become. At the time they were used, they could only have been familiar to artists; few else, at present, know the modern terms of art. From the definitions of Bacchius, and Arist. Quint. it appears that these terms were peculiar to the *Enharmonic*; that ἐκλυσις was a particular kind of tuning in the *Enharmonic Genus*, in which, from a certain sound, the singer or player *fell* by an interval of three quarter-tones; and ἐκβολη, when he rose by five quarter-tones. The words, at least, express something very violent and unusual: ἐκλυσις, *dissolution*; ἐκβολη, *throwing out, disjointing*; it was the technical term in ancient surgery for *dislocation.*

Telephanes was a celebrated performer on the Flute in the time of Philip of Macedon. According to Pausanias, he was a native of Samos, and had a tomb erected to him by Cleopatra, the sister of Philip, in the road between Megara and Corinth, which was subsisting in his time (*k*). Telephanes was closely united in friendship with Demosthenes, who has made honourable mention of him in his harangue against Midias, from whom he received a blow, in public, during the celebration of the feast of Bacchus. As this was a kind of musical quarrel, I shall relate the cause of it.

Demosthenes had been appointed by his tribe to furnish a Chorus (*l*), to dispute the prize at this festival; and as this Chorus was to be instructed by a master (*m*), Midias, in order to disgrace Demosthenes, bribed the music master to neglect his function, that the Chorus might be unable to perform their several parts properly before the public, for want of the necessary teaching and rehearsals. But Telephanes, who had discovered the design of Midias, not only chastised and dismissed the music-master, but undertook to instruct the Chorus himself.

After speaking of so many Flute-players of the male sex, it is but justice to say that they did not monopolize the whole glory arising from the cultivation of that instrument; as the performing upon it was ranked, in high antiquity, among female accomplishments. Its invention was ascribed by the Poets to a Goddess; it was the Symbol of one of the Muses; and it was never omitted in the representation of the Sirens. However, the same reason which provoked Minerva to throw it aside, has luckily inclined modern ladies to cultivate instruments, in performing upon which, their natural charms, instead of being diminished, are but rendered still more irresistible.

The most celebrated female Flute-player in antiquity, was LAMIA; her beauty, wit, and abilities in her profession, made her regarded as a prodigy. The honours she received, which are recorded by several authors, particularly by Plutarch and Athenæus, are sufficient testimonies of her great power over the passions of her hearers. Her claim to admiration from her personal allurements, does not entirely depend, at present, upon the fidelity of historians; since an exquisite engraving of her head, upon an Amethyst, with the veil and bandage of her profession, is preserved in the king of France's collection, which, in some measure, authenticates the accounts of her beauty.

(*k*) The Epitaph upon this Musician, which is preserved in the *Anthologia*, equals his talents to those of the greatest names in antiquity.

> *Orpheus*, whom Gods and men admire,
> Surpass'd all mortals on the Lyre :
> *Nestor* with eloquence could charm,
> And pride, and insolence disarm :
> Great *Homer*, with his heav'nly strain,
> Could soften rocks, and quiet pain :—
> Here lies *Telephanes*, whose Flute
> Had equal pow'r o'er man and brute.

(*l*) See p. 330.

(*m*) Διδασκαλος.

As she was a great traveller, her reputation soon became very extensive.* Her first journey from Athens, the place of her birth, was into Egypt, whither she was drawn by the fame of the Flute-players of that country. Her person and performance were not long unnoticed at the court of Alexandria; however, in the conflict between Ptolemy Soter, and Demetrius, for the island of Cyprus, about 312 B.C. Ptolmey being defeated in a sea-engagement, his wives, domestics, and military stories fell into the hands of Demetrius.

Plutarch, in his life of this prince, tells us, that "the celebrated *Lamia* was among the female captives taken in this victory. She had been universally admired, at first, on account of her talents, for she was a wonderful performer on the Flute; but, afterwards, her fortune became more splendid, by the charms of her person, which procured her many admirers of great rank." The prince, whose captive she became, and who, though a successful warrior, was said to have vanquished as many hearts as cities, conceived so violent a passion for Lamia, that, from a sovereign and a conqueror, he was instantly transformed into a slave; though her beauty was now on the decline, and Demetrius, the handsomest prince of his time, was much younger than herself.

At her instigation, he conferred such extraordinary benefits upon the Athenians, that they rendered him divine honours; and as an acknowledgment of the influence, which she had exercised in their favour, they dedicated a temple to her, under the name of *Venus Lamia*.

Athenæus has recorded the names of a great number of celebrated *Tibicinæ*, whose talents and beauty had captivated the hearts of many of the most illustrious personages of antiquity; and yet the use of the Flute among females seems to have been much more general in Persia than in Greece, by the account which Parmenio gives to Alexander of the female Musicians in the service of Darius.

Horace speaks of bands of female Flute-players, which he calls *Ambubaïarum Collegia* (*n*), and of whom there were still colleges in his time (*o*). But the followers of this profession became so numerous and licentious, that we find their occupation prohibited in the Theodosian code; however, with little success: for Procopius tells us that in the time of Justinian, the sister of the empress Theodora, who was a *Tibicina*, appeared on the stage without any other dress than a slight scarf thrown loosely over her. And these performers were become so common in all private entertainments, as well as at public feasts, obtruding their company, and placing themselves at the table, frequently unasked, that, at the latter end

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(*n*) *Ambubaïa* is said, by the commentators, to be a Syrian word, which in that language implies *a Flute*, or *the sound of a Flute*.

(*o*) See p. 325, Note (*t*).

* It is probable that her reputation was based more upon her profession of courtesan than upon her ability as a flute player.

of this reign their profession was regarded as infamous, and utterly abolished.

Among the most renowned *Lyrists* and *Citharœdists* of antiquity, to whom a particular article has not been allowed, many have been omitted for want of materials, as well as for want of room. *Arion* has, however, already had a place in the Dissertation (*p*), where the invention of *Dithyrambic Poetry* is ascribed to him. *Epigonius,* a mathematician of Sicyon, and native of Ambracia, is celebrated by the ancients for the invention of an instrument of forty strings, which was called after his name, *Epigonium.* When he lived is uncertain, but as it was in times of simplicity, we may suppose that these strings did not form a scale of forty different sounds, but that they were either tuned in Unisons and Octaves to each other, or accommodated to different Modes and Genera. The twelve Semitones of our three-stopt, octave-harpsichords, include thirty-six different strings. The *Magadis* of twenty strings, mentioned by Anacreon, had, probably, a series of only ten different sounds, the name of the instrument implying a series of octaves.* *Magadizing* was a term used, when a boy, or a woman, and a man, sung the same part (*q*). The *Simicum* of thirty-five strings, mentioned by Athenæus, must have been of this kind, like the arch-lute, double-harp, or double-harpsichord.

Crexus, perhaps, should have an honourable place here, being recorded by Plutarch as the author of a considerable Invention; that of *an instrumental accompaniment, under the song* (*r*): whereas, before, says Plutarch, the accompaniment was *note for note* (*s*).

Phrynis has already been mentioned (*t*) as the first who gained the prize on the Cithara at the Panathenæan Games. According to Suidas, he was originally king Hiero's cook; but this prince, chancing to hear him play upon the Flute, placed him, for instructions, under Aristoclides, a descendant of Terpander. Phrynis may be regarded as one of the first Innovators upon the Cithara in antiquity (*u*). He is said to have played in a delicate and effeminate style, which the comic Poets, Aristophanes and Pherecrates, ridiculed upon the stage. The former in his comedy

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(*p*) P. 161.

(*q*) See p. 125. Athenæus, *lib.* xiv. p. 635, has fully discussed the use and properties of the *Magadis,* and confirmed the opinion, that *magadizing* is *singing,* or *playing in reciprocal sounds,* or in the octave, as Casaubon understands it. Ψαλμον ἀντιφθογγον. Δια πασων.

(*r*) Κρουσις ὑπο την ωδην.

(*s*) Προσχορδα. As Plutarch plainly opposes this accompaniment to that which was in use before the time of Crexus, it can only be understood as a kind of *Bourdon,* or *Drone-Base,* under the voice part. A sense which appears to be supported by the use of the same phrase, in a *Prob.* of Aristotle (the 40th) where he speaks of *this* accompaniment and the voice *ending together.* It could not therefore have been a mere *Ritornello,* or *Echo,* to the voice part, as M. Burette interprets it, taking ὑπο to mean *after,* not under the voice.

(*t*) P. 325.

(*u*) See p. 321.

* It is not definitely known whether the *magadis* was a wind or stringed instrument. It is usually understood to have been a many stringed harp so arranged that the octave passages could be performed upon it.

of *the Clouds,* and the latter in the piece already mentioned (*x*). Plutarch, who frequently applies the same story and apophthegm to different persons, tells us (*y*), that when Phrynis offered himself as a candidate at the public Games in Sparta, he had two strings cut off his Lyre by the magistrates, in order to reduce them to the ancient number. A similar disgrace to that which had happened to Terpander before, and to which Timotheus was forced to submit soon after.

Having now given an account of the principal, and most celebrated Poet-Musicians of ancient Greece, it does not seem necessary to interrupt the history of the Musical art with more biographical articles, as too much or too little is known of all that have been omitted. For such as Anacreon, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Theocritus, who all flourished before the total separation of Music and Poetry, though they must have been Musicians, are omitted by design, as their lives have been so frequently published in their works. And of such obscure names as Anthes, Polyides, Xenodemus, Xenocritus, Telesilla, Rhianus, Ibycus, and other Lyrics, no memorials remain that are sufficiently interesting to entitle them to a particular niche in the Delphic grove.

Between the time of Alexander the Great, and the conquest of Greece by the Romans, but few eminent Musicians are upon record. The Grecian states never enjoyed true liberty and independence after the victory obtained over them at Cheronea, by Philip, the father of Alexander: the chief of these states remaining after the death of these princes, under the Macedonian yoke, till they called in the Romans to their assistance; who, under Flaminius, as already related, restored to them the shadow of liberty, which was gradually diminished by the victories and devastations of Mummius, Sylla, and other commanders, till the time of Vespasian, who reduced all Greece to a Roman province.

The result of such enquiries as I have been able to make, is, that Music was progressive in Greece, as well as Painting, Poetry, and Sculpture; though it advanced towards perfection by much slower degrees than any of the other arts. Our curiosity, however, concerning Greek Music is stimulated, and our patience is enabled to pursue its improvements through a dull detail of circumstances, by its being connected with those efforts of ancient genius, taste, and refinement in other arts, of which sufficient specimens remain to authenticate the accounts of what is lost. For if no more substantial proofs were now subsisting of the excellence of the Poetry, Eloquence, Sculpture, and Architecture of ancient Greece,than of its Music, we should, probably, be as incurious and

(*x*) In this piece, *Justice* gives the following account of the education of youth, in former times. "They went together to the house of the Citharœdist.—Where they learned to sing hymns to the invincible Pallas, or some other Canticles, set to the simple Melody used by their ancestors. If any one of them pretended to sing in a ridiculous manner, or to introduce such divisions and flourishes as abound at present *in the airs of Phrynis*, he was severely punished."

These flourishes are called, in the original, *δυοκολοκαμπτοι*, and *ἰωνοκαμπτοι*.

(*y*) *In Agid.*

incredulous about them, as we are, at present, concerning the Music of the Spheres.

Before I conclude this chapter, perhaps a short recapitulation of the most remarkable events in the history of this art in Greece, of which the chain has been often unavoidably broken by biographical articles, may save the reader the trouble of recollection.

It is natural to suppose that the first attempts at Music in Greece, as well as in other countries, must have been rude and simple (*y*); and that *Rhythm,* or *Time,* was attended to before *Tone* or *Melody*. We accordingly find that instruments of percussion preceded all others, and that the *steps* in the dance, and the *feet* in Poetry, were regulated and marked with precision long before sounds were sustained or refined. When these two circumstances first engaged attention, the Flute imitated, and the Lyre accompanied the voice in its inflexions of joy and sorrow. In singing poetry, as little more was at first attempted than to prolong the accents of the language, and of passion, the Flute required but few holes, and the Lyre but few strings. As the Flute was the eldest, and long the favourite instrument of the Greeks, its compass was first extended; and the Lyre seems to have been confined, during many ages, to a Tetrachord, after the Flute had multiplied its sounds.

One of the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of this art, to modern comprehension, is, that the *Enharmonic Genus,* even with the *diesis,* or *quarter-tone,* was almost exclusively in use before the time of Aristoxenus, the cotemporary of Alexander the Great; in so much that it was customary with the old masters to give their scholars Diagrams to practise of *condensed scales,* divided into *quarter-tones,* as necessary exercises for the hand or voice (*z*). These scales are mentioned in Aristoxenus, and examples of them are still remaining in the writings of Aristides Quintilianus (*a*).

The artificial and difficult Enharmonic, however, seems to have been lost soon after the time of Alexander the Great; at least when Aristoxenus wrote, it appears to have been upon the decline, while the Chromatic was daily increasing in favour (*b*).

The most important event in the history of Music, was the establishment of *Instrumental* contests at the Pythic Games (*c*). The Abbé Arnaud, in an excellent *Dissertation on the Accents of the Greek Tongue* (*d*), is of opinion, that the irregularities we find in the versification of the later Greek Poets, particularly the Lyric, of a redundancy, or deficiency of one or two syllables in a verse,

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(*y*) *Nihil est enim simul inventum et perfectum.* Cic. in Brutum.

(*z*) Καταπυκνωσις'—and καταπυκνωσαι το διαγραμμα. Aristox. p. 7.

(*a*) My own astonishment at the use of this Genus, and the execution of these Scales, in antiquity, is considerably abated by a letter, which the zeal and kindness of Dr. Russel has lately procured me from Aleppo, in answer to some queries which he was so obliging as to send for me to that city, concerning the present state of Music in Arabia. In this letter, besides many other curious particulars, I find that the Arabian Scale of Music is divided into *Quarter tones*; and that an Octave, which upon our keyed instruments is only divided into twelve Semi-tones, in the Arabian Scale consists of twenty-four, for all which there are particular denominations.

(*b*) Aristox. p. 23.

(*c*) See p. 302.

(*d*) *Mem. de Litterature, tom.* xxxii. p. 432.

were admitted in order to indulge the instrumental performer, who would naturally discover new measures, as his hand and instrument advanced towards perfection.

While instruments were confined to the measure of the verse, these liberties produced some variety in the Rhythm, without destroying the accent of the language; but as soon as Musicians were freed from the laws of Prosody and metre, they multiplied the strings of the Lyre, and the holes of the Flute, introducing new movements more complicated and varied, with new intervals and uncommon modulations. Lasus, Melanippides, Timotheus, Phrynis, and some others, are mentioned by Plutarch among the first who dared to apply these licences to song. However, they could only have been suggested to them by great practice in instrumental Music, infinitely more free than vocal, in every country, be the language what it will, but especially in Greece, where the Measures and accents of the language were governed by such rigid laws.

" I disapprove," says Aristotle, " of all kinds of difficulties in the practice of instruments, and indeed in Music in general. I call artificial and difficult, such tricks as are practised at the public Games, where the Musician, instead of recollecting what is the true object of his talent, endeavours only to flatter the corrupt taste of the multitude (*e*)."

These were the sentiments of the learned, long after the separation of Music and Poetry, and these are the objections that still recur, and ever will recur, to those who regard Music as a slave to syllables, forgetting that it has a language of its own, with which it is able to speak to the passions, and that there are certain occasions when it may with propriety be allowed to be a free agent.

From this time Music became a distinct art; the Choruses, which till now had governed the melody of the Lyrist and Tibicen, became subordinate to both (*f*). Philosophers in vain exclaimed against these innovations, which they thought would ruin the morals of the people, who, as they are never disposed to sacrifice the pleasures of the senses to those of the understanding, heard these novelties with rapture, and encouraged the authors of them. This species of Music, therefore, soon passed from the Games to the Stage, seizing there upon the principal parts of the drama, and from being the humble companion of Poetry, becoming her sovereign.

With respect to the period of greatest perfection in the Music of Greece, it is a subject which merits some discussion.

Plato, Aristotle, Aristoxenus, and Plutarch, were for ever complaining of the corruption and degeneracy of Music. The pious Plato, indeed, regarded it as fit only for the Gods, and their celebration in religious ceremonies, or as a vehicle for religious and

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(*e*) *Repub. lib.* viii. *cap.* 6.

(*f*) Athenæus has preserved a little poem by Pratinas, of the *Hyporchema* kind, where he gives vent to his indignation, on account of some theatrical performance, in which, instead of the *Tibicines* accompanying the Chorus, the Chorus had accompanied the Tibicines; τους αυλητας μη συνάδειν τοις χοροις---αλλα τους χορους συναδειν· τοις αυλεταις: literally, " The Flute-players did not *play* to the Chorus, but the Chorus *sung* to the Flute-players."

moral lectures in the education of youth; and with a methodistical spirit censured all such as was used in theatres, social festivity, or domestic amusement: but modern divines might, with equal propriety, declaim against the profane use of bread as an aliment, because it is administered in the most solemn rite of our religion. A line should certainly be drawn between the Music of the church and of the theatre; but totally to silence all musical sound, except upon solemn occasions, seems to border upon downright fanaticism.

With respect to perfection and depravity, there is nothing so common among musical disputants, as for the favourers of one sect to call that *Degeneracy,* which those of another call *Refinement.* But Plato seems to have been always too fond of ideal excellence in everything, to be satisfied with any other (*g*).

It has been said by many writers, both ancient and modern, that Plato was deeply skilled in the Music of his time; but it does not appear that his claims to skill in this art extend further than to mere *Theory,* or a very little more. Plutarch, indeed, in his Dialogue, *proves* his profound musical science; but how? By a long passage from his Timæus, in which he applies musical ratios to the soul (*h*)!

However this may have been, it is difficult to refrain from numbering this philosopher, together with Aristotle, Aristoxenus, and Plutarch, though such illustrious characters, and, in other particulars, such excellent writers, among the musical Grumblers and *Croakers* of antiquity. They all equally lament the loss of good Music, without considering that every age had, probably, done the same, whether right or wrong, from the beginning of the world; always throwing musical perfection into times remote from their own, as a thing never to be known but by tradition. The golden age had not its name from those who lived in it.

Aristotle, indeed, complains of degeneracy in a more liberal way: " Every kind of Music," says he, " is good for some purpose or other; that of the theatres is necessary for the amusement of the mob; the theatrical transitions, and the *tawdry and glaring melodies* (*i*) in use there, are suited to the perversion of their minds and manners, and let them enjoy them."

(*g*) His complaints of the degeneracy of Music, may be seen in his third Book of Laws. The Poets, indeed, never fail to charge the corruption of Music upon its professors, yet Plato throws the blame upon the Poets themselves. " The Music of our forefathers," says he, " was divided into certain species and figures. Prayers to the Gods were one species of song, to which they gave the name of Hymns; opposed to this was another species, which, in particular, might be called Threni; another, Pæones; and another, the birth of Dionysius, which I hold to be the Dithyrambus; there were also Citharœdic Nomi, so called, as being still another song. These, and some others, being prescribed, it was not allowable to use one species of Melos for another. But, in process of time, the Poets first introduced an unlearned licence, being poetic by nature, but unskilled in the rules of the science, trampling upon its laws, over attentive to please, mixing the Threni with the Hymns, and the Pæones with the Dithyrambi, imitating the Music of the Flute upon the Cithara, and confounding all things with all." Plat. *de Legibus,* as translated by Sir F. H. E. Stiles. Though it was Plato's opinion that the government of a state, and the morals of a people, would be affected by a change in the national music, yet this was not the opinion of Cicero, who in many other particulars is a rigid Platonist: " Change," says this orator, "the government or customs of a city, and it will certainly change the music." *De Legib. lib.* iii.

(*h*) What connection is there between Dr. Smith's *Harmonics,* and his taste and knowledge in *Practical Music?*

(*i*) *Μελη παρακεχρωσμενα. Polit.* 8.

The complaints of Aristoxenus are more natural than those of Plato and Aristotle; for he was not only less a Philosopher, but more a Musician; and, as a professor, and an author on the subject of Music, he must have had rivals to write down. Hesiod says that bards hate bards, and beggars beggars (*k*). And it has been the practice for writers on Music, in all ages, to treat their cotemporaries with severity and scorn. Gaspar Printz (*l*) inserts in his book a canzonet in four parts, in which every rule of composition is violated, and calls it *modern*; as if error was always *new*. But besides a natural tendency in human nature, or at least in the nature of authors, towards envy and malignity, Aristoxenus had a *system* to support, which is usually done at the expence of moderation, truth, and everything that stands in its way (*m*); for, like the tyrant Procrustes, the builder of a system, or the defender of an hypothesis, cuts shorter what is too long, and stretches to his purpose whatever is too short.

The music of the Greeks, in the time of Aristoxenus, was too remote from perfection to be much injured by innovation and refinement; and yet Athenæus (*n*) gives a passage from a work of this writer, now lost, in which he makes the following complaints: "I, and a few others, recollecting what Music once was, and considering what it now is, as corrupted by the theatre, imitate the people of Possidonium, who annually celebrate a festival after the Greek manner, in order to keep up the memory of what they once were; and before they depart, with tears deplore the barbarous state into which they are brought by the Tuscans and Romans (*o*)."

Plutarch frequently speaks of Music having been corrupted by the Theatre, particularly in his *Dialogue*, where he says, "If we look back into remote antiquity, we shall find that the Greeks were unacquainted with theatrical music. The only use they made of this art, was in praising the Gods, and educating youth. The idea of a theatre had not then entered their thoughts, and all their Music was dedicated to sacrifices, and to other religious ceremonies, in which they sung Hymns in honour of the Gods, and Canticles in praise of great and good men."

It should be remembered here, that Plutarch was a priest of Apollo: and, moreover, that what he, Plato, and Aristoxenus say, concerning the injuries which Music had received from the theatre, favours very much of cant and prejudice. Anthenæus, on the contrary, tells us, that notwithstanding the complaints of

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(*k*) Life and Writings of Plato.

(*l*) Phrynidis, *dritter Theil, p.* 26.

(*m*) "Neither Gods nor men can stand before a system." *Div. Leg.* vol. iii.

(*n*) *Lib.* xiv. p. 632.

(*o*) Though Aristoxenus lived with Alexander the Great, with Plato, and with Aristotle, when all other arts and sciences had arrived at their greatest degree of force and refinement; yet Music, from whatever cause, does not seem, at that, or at any time, to have kept pace with other arts in its improvements; at least, it did not in Italy; nor, indeed, in England or France, if we compare the Poetry of Milton with the Music of Henry Lawes, or the writings of Racine and Boileau, with the compositions of Lully.

Aristoxenus against theatrical corruption, others were of opinion, that Music derived its principal improvements in Greece from the theatre: and it seems natural, that the hope of applause, and the fear of censure should operate more powerfully on the industry and faculties of a composer or performer, than the idea of private praise, or blame. And, if we may judge of ancient times by the present, the theatre seems the place to develope all the powers of Music, and to expand the talents of its professors. For it is at the Musical Theatre, the modern *Temple of Apollo and the Muses,* that perfection of various kinds is more frequently found, than any where else. But *old things* do get violently praised, particularly Music, after it ceases to give pleasure; or even to be heard; and old people exclusively praise what pleased them in their youth, without making allowance for their own want of judgment and experience at that time, which, perhaps, joined to the disposition of youth to be easily pleased, occasioned their former delight.

It is natural to suppose as Greek Music, like other arts, and other things, must have had its infancy, maturity, and decrepitude; that in second childhood, as its effects were more feeble, its pursuits would be more trivial, than before its decline. Few great actions were achieved by the Greeks after their total subjection. However, they cultivated Music under the Roman emperors, under their own, and are still delighted with it under the Turkish government; but their Music is now so far from being the standard of excellence to the rest of the world, that none but themselves are pleased with it.

Chapter V

Of Ancient Musical Sects, and Theories of Sound

IN the *Dissertation* (*a*), the reader is promised a short history of *Temperament,* and of the *Philosophy of Sound,* commonly called *Harmonics,* as far as they appear to have been known to the Greeks; and this seems to be the place to treat of these matters.

No part of *Natural Philosophy* has, I believe, been more fruitful of different Theories, or presented a more perplexing variety of opinions to our choice, both in ancient and modern times, than that which has *Musical Sound* for its object. The Greeks were divided into numerous sects of Musical speculators before, and after, the time of Aristoxenus: the *Epigonians, Damonians, Eratoclians, Agenorians,* and many others enumerated by Porphyry, in his Commentary upon the Harmonics of Ptolemy. Of these, however, all we know is, that they *differed*; it is perhaps little to be lamented that we no longer know about *what*. The two great and principal sects were the Pythagoreans, and Aristoxenians: the founders of these, with Lasus, Euclid, and Ptolemy, were the most illustrious Musical Theorists of antiquity. Of these, therefore, and their doctrines, I shall speak separately.

Pythagoras

Posterity has been very liberal to this Philosopher in bestowing upon him such inventions as others had neglected to claim, particularly in Music; for there is scarce any part of it, as a science, with which he has not been invested by his generous followers and biographers. *Musical Ratios* have been assigned to him, with the method of determining the gravity or acuteness of sounds by the greater or less degree of velocity in the *vibrations of strings*; the *addition of an eighth string* to the Lyre (*b*); the *Harmony of the Spheres* (*c*); and the *Greek Musical Notation* (*d*). His right indeed to some of these discoveries has been disputed by several authors, who have given them to others with as little reason, perhaps, as they had been before bestowed upon him.

But there is one discovery, relative to Music, that has, at all times, been unanimously assigned to him, which, however, appears to me extremely doubtful, not only whether it was made by him, but whether in the manner it is related, it was ever made by any one.

We are told by Nicomachus, Gaudentius, Jamblicus, Macrobius, and all their commentators, " that Pythagoras, one day meditating on the want of some rule to guide the ear, analogous

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(*a*) Page 121.

(*b*) Pliny. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 22. Censorinus, *cap.* xiii. *p.* 82.

(*c*) See p. 243.

(*d*) Diss. sect. 1 and p. 292.

to what had been used to help the other senses, chanced to pass by a blacksmith's shop, and observing that the hammers, which were four in number, sounded very harmoniously, he had them weighed, and found them to be in the proportion of 6, 8, 9, and 12. Upon this he suspended four strings of equal length and thickness, &c., fastened weights, in the above-mentioned proportions, to each of them respectively, and found that they gave the same sounds that the hammers had done; viz. the fourth, fifth, and octave to the gravest tone; which last interval did not make part of the musical system before; for the Greeks had gone no farther than the Heptachord, or seven strings, till that time (*e*)."

This is the substance of the account, as it has been lately abridged by Mr. Stillingfleet, who points out many incredible circumstances with respect to the story in general, and denies that the weights 6, 8, 9, 12, would give the intervals pretended; but seems not to have seen the least difficulty in the fact, relative to *different hammers producing different sounds upon the same anvil* (*f*).

But, though both hammers and anvil have been swallowed by ancients and moderns, and have passed through them from one to another, with an ostrich-like digestion, upon examination and experiment it appears, that hammers of different size and weight will no more produce *different tones* upon the *same anvil,* than bows, or clappers, of different sizes, will from the *same string* or *bell* (*g*).

The long belief of this story proves that philosophers themselves have sometimes taken facts upon trust, without verifying them by experiment. And as the tone of the hammers was asserted without proof, so was the effect of their different weights fastened to strings; this Galileo discovered (*h*). And Bontempi, in trying the power of weights upon strings in the Pythagoric proportions of 6, 8, 9, 12, found, that instead of giving the 4th,

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(*e*) *Principles and Power of Harmony*, p. 8.

(*f*) The frontispiece to M. Marpurg's Hist. of Music, represents the Samian sage in the act of *weighing* the *hammers.*

(*g*) Indeed, both the hammers and anvils of antiquity must have been of a construction very different from those of *our degenerate days*, if they produced any tones that were strictly *Musical*. Of the millions of well-organized mortals, who have passed by blacksmith's shops, since the time of Pythagoras, I believe no one was ever detained by a *single note*, much less by an harmonious *concord*, from those Vulcanian instruments. A different kind of noise, indeed, will be produced by hammers of different weights and sizes; but it seems not to be in the power of the most subtle ear to discover the least imaginable difference, with respect to gravity or acuteness. But though *different noises* may be produced from different bodies, in proportion to their size and solidity, and every room, chair, and table, in a house, has a particular tone, yet these *noises* can never be ascertained like Musical Tones, which depend upon reiterated and regular vibrations of the aliquot parts of a string, or other elastic body; and in wind-instruments, upon the undulations of the air conveyed into a tube. *Noise* may, indeed, be *forced* from a musical string, or instrument, by violence; but *noise* proceeding from bodies non-elastic, or immusical, can never be *softened* into sound. M. Rousseau† has ingeniously imagined that *noise* is of the same nature as sound, with this difference, that to produce sound, the *one* tone, with its consonant harmonics only, should be heard; such as the 8th, 12th, 15th, and 17th; whereas noise is produced by a jarring multitude of different tones, or even by one tone, when its vibrations are so violent as to render audible a considerable number of dissonant tones of which the vibrations seldom or never coincide; such as the 7th, 9th, 11th, &c.

† *Dict. de Mus. Art.* BRUIT.

(*h*) The numbers 6, 8, 9, 12, applied to different lengths of strings, would, indeed, give the intervals mentioned. But it is proved that to produce those intervals by the *tension* of different weights, the weights must be the squares of those numbers; that is, 36, 64, 81, 144. It is astonishing how the blunder had been echoed from author to author, without experiment, till the time of Galileo.

5th, and 8th of the gravest tone, they produced only the minor 3d, major 3d, and tritonus; so that the whole account falls to the ground. But though modern incredulity and experiment have robbed Pythagoras of the glory of discovering musical ratios by *accident*, he has been allowed the superior merit of arriving at them by meditation and design. At least the invention of the *Harmonical Canon*, or *Monochord*, has been ascribed to him both by ancient and modern writers (*i*).

I shall enter no deeper into this subject here, than is absolutely necessary to explain the nature of the discovery attributed to Pythagoras, to which Music is indebted for the honourable appellation of *Science*; reserving for the second Book what use has been made of it by modern theorists.

Pythagoras supposed the air to be the *vehicle* of sound, and the agitation of that element occasioned by a similar agitation in the parts of the sounding body, to be the *cause* of it. The vibrations of a string, or any other sonorous body, being communicated to the air, affected the auditory nerves with the sensation of sound; and this sound, according to him, was acute or grave, in proportion as the vibrations were quick or slow. It was also known, by experiment, that of two strings equal in every thing but length, the shorter made the quickest vibrations, and gave the acuter sound; in other words, that the number of vibrations made in the same time by two strings of different lengths, were inversely as those lengths; that is, the greater the length, the smaller the number of vibrations in any given time. By these discoveries it was that sound, considered in the vibrations that cause it, and the dimensions of the vibrating or sonorous body, was reduced to quantity, and as such, became subject to calculation, and expressible by numbers. Thus, for instance, the two sounds that form an octave, are expressed by the numbers 1 and 2; which represent either the number of vibrations in a given time, or the length of the strings; and mean nothing more mysterious than that the acuter sound vibrates twice, while the graver vibrates once; or, that the string producing the lower sound, is twice the length of that which gives the upper. If we consider the vibrations, the higher sound is as 2, the lower as 1: the reverse, if we consider only the lengths. In the same manner, and in the same sense, the 5th is expressed by the ratio of 2 to 3, and the 4th by that of 3 to 4.

Such was the ancient philosophy of sounds, of which Pythagoras is recorded as the first teacher. But how much of this theory was founded on experiment and demonstration, and how much of it upon hypothesis; how much of it was known, and how much

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(*i*) *Vide* Aristid. Quint. p. 116. *Prin. and Power of Harm* *Hist. des Mathem. par* Montucla. Euler, *Tentamen novæ Theor. Mus.* and all the writers upon *Harmonics* and *Temperament.*

The *Monochord* was an instrument of a single string, furnished with moveable bridges, and contrived for the measuring and adjusting the ratios of musical intervals by accurate divisions. Arist. Quint. says, that this instrument was recommended by Pythagoras on his death-bed, as the musical investigator, the criterion of truth. It appears to have been in constant use among the ancients, as the only means of forming the ear to the accurate perception, and the voice to the true intonation of those minute and difficult intervals which were then practised in melody.

taken for granted, cannot certainly be determined. The story just now discussed is too much embarrassed with absurdities and impossibilities to guide us to any probable conjecture, as to the method by which Pythagoras *actually* arrived at his conclusions (*k*).

Indeed it was so late as the beginning of the present century (*l*) before this ancient theory of sound was fully confirmed, and the laws of vibrations, and the whole doctrine of musical strings, established upon the solid basis of mathematical demonstration.

The second musical improvement attributed to Pythagoras, was the addition of an eighth string to the Lyre, which, before his time, had only seven, and was thence called a *Heptachord.* It is supposed by several ancient writers, that the scale of this instrument, which was that of Terpander, consisted of two conjoint Tetrachords, E F G A B♭ C D; and that Pythagoras, by adding an eighth sound, at the top, and altering the tuning of the fifth, formed this scale: E F G A, B C D e, or a similar scale, consisting of two *disjunct Tetrachords* (*m*).

(*k*) The discovery, as far as it relates to the length of strings, was easily made, because it depended upon an obvious experiment. It was, likewise, easily perceived, that a short string vibrated with more velocity than a long one; but between the certainty of this general fact, and the certainty that the vibrations were in a ratio exactly the inverse of the lengths, there is a considerable gulph. (See Smith's Harmonics, sect. 1, art. 7 and note f.) We have no account of the bridge upon which Pythagoras got safely over. Experiment, here, is out of the question; for the slowest vibrations that produce musical sound, are far too quick to be counted or distinguished. The inference, however was natural, though it does not appear that the ancients were able to support it by strict and scientific proof.

(*l*) 1714. See Phil. Trans. and *Methodus incrementorum directa et inversa*, by Dr. Brook Taylor.

(*m*) How this scale was generated by the *Triple progression*, or series of perfect 5ths, the Abbé Roussier has lately very well discussed in his *Memoire sur la Musique des Anciens.* I shall endeavour to explain what is meant by the *triple progression* in Music, which is the basis of this ingenious hypothesis; referring the reader to the *Memoire* itself for his proofs, as inserting them here would require too much time and space for a work of this kind, not purely didactic.

Let any sound be represented by unity, or the number 1; and as the 3d part of a string has been found to produce the 12th, or octave of the 5th above the whole string, a series of 5ths may be represented by a *triple geometric* progression of numbers, continually multiplied by 3; as 1, 3, 9, 27, 81, 243, 729; and these terms may be equally supposed to represent 12ths, or 5ths, either ascending or descending. For whether we divide by 3, or multiply by 3, the terms will be in the proportion of a 12th, or octave to the 5th, either way. The Abbé Roussier, imagining that the ancients sung their scale backwards, as we should call it, by *descending*, annexes to his numbers the sounds following:

Term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	1	3	9	27	81	243	729
	B	E	A	D	G	C	F

out of which series of 5ths, by arranging the sounds in Diatonic order, may be formed the Heptachord, or 7th, BCDEFGA; and to these, adding the duple of the highest sound, in the proportion of 2 to 1, the Abbé supposes Pythagoras acquired the octave, or *Proslambanomenos.* This is throwing a mite into the charity box of poor Pythagoras, without, however, telling us in what reign the *Obolum* was coined; for I have met with no ancient author who bestows the invention of Proslambanomenos upon this philosopher. The Abbé does not let him or his followers stop here, but supposes an 8th term, 2187, added to the progression given above, by which a B♭ was obtained, which furnished the minor semitone below B♮. The system of Pythagoras, according to the Abbé, was bounded by this 8th term, and the principle upon which it was built being lost, the Greeks penetrated no farther into the regions of modulation, where they might have enriched their Music, but contented themselves, in aftertimes, with transpositions of this series of sound.

The Abbé Roussier imagines, however, that though Pythagoras went no farther than the eighth term in the triple progression, yet the Egyptians, in very high antiquity, extended the series to twelve terms, which would give every possible Mode and Genus perfect. A curious circumstance is observed by the same author, p. 28, § 47, with respect to the musical system of the Chinese, which well deserves mention here. "In collecting," says he, "what has already been advanced concerning the original formation of the Chinese system, it appears to begin precisely where the Greek left off, that is, at the VIIIth term of the triple progression, which is pursued as far as the XIIth term, by which series, arranged diatonically, the Chinese acquire their scale, e♭, D♭, B♭, A♭, G♭, E♭, in descending; or, as Rameau expresses the same intervals, in sharps, ascending, G♯, A♯, C♯, D♯, E♯, g♯." It is observable that both these scales, which are wholly without semitones, are Scottish, and correspond with the natural scale of the old simple Enharmonic, given p. 45. M. Jamard, a late French writer on Music, pushing calculation still further than either the Egyptians or Chinese, has obtained, by pursuing the harmonic series, 1, 2, 3, 4, &c., &c., not only the enharmonic diesis, but even the minute intervals in the warbling of birds; it is wonderful he did not apply his ratios to human speech.

After musical ratios were discovered and reduced to numbers, they were made by Pythagoras and his followers, the type of order and just proportion in all things: hence virtue, friendship, good government, celestial motion, the human soul, and God himself, were *Harmony*.

This discovery gave birth to various species of Music, far more strange and inconceivable than Chromatic and Enharmonic: such as *Divine Music, Mundane Music, Elementary Music,* and many other divisions and subdivisions, upon which Zarlino, Kircher, and almost all the old writers, never fail to expatiate with wonderful complacence. It is, perhaps, equally to the credit and advantage of Music and Philosophy, that they have long descended from these heights, and taken their proper and separate stations upon *earth*: that we no longer admit of Music that cannot be *heard,* or of Philosophy that cannot be *understood.*

Aristides Quintilianus assures us, that Music comprehends Arithmetic, Geometry, Physics, and Metaphysics, and teaches every thing, from *solfaing* the scale, to the nature and construction of the soul of man, and the soul of the universe. To confirm this, he quotes as a *divine saying,* a most curious account of the *end* and *business* of Music, from one master Panacmus, which informs us that the province of Music is not only to arrange musical sounds, and to regulate the voice, but to unite and harmonize every thing in nature (*n*). This writer, p. 102, in solving the question, whence it is that the soul is so easily affected by *Instrumental* Music, acquaints us, in the Pythagorean way, how the soul frisking about, and playing all kinds of tricks in the purer regions of space, approaches by degrees to our gross atmosphere; gets a taste for matter and solidity, and at length acquires a warm and comfortable body to cover her nakedness. Here she picks up nerves and arteries; there membranes; here spirit or breath; and all in a most extraordinary manner; especially the arteries and nerves: for what should they be made of, but the *circles* and *lines* of the spheres, in which the soul gets entangled in her passage, like a fly in a spider's web. Thus, continues he, the body becomes similar in its texture to instruments of the wind and stringed kind. The nerves and arteries are strings, and at the same time they are pipes filled with wind. " What wonder, then," says Arist. Quint. " if the soul, being thus intimately connected with a body simliar in construction to those instruments, should sympathize with their motions."

Pythagoras is said, by the writers of his life, to have regarded Music as something celestial and divine, and to have had such an opinion of its power over the human affections that, according to the Egyptian system, he ordered his disciples to be waked every

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(*n*) Master Thomas Mace, author of a most delectable book called *Musick's Monument,* would have been an excellent *Pythagorean* ; for he maintains that the mystery of the Trinity is perspicuously made plain by the connection of the three Harmonical Concords, 1, 3, 5 ; that Music and divinity are nearly allied ; and that the contemplation of concord and discord, of the nature of the octave and unison, will so strengthen a man's faith, " that he shall never after degenerate into that *gross sub-beastical sin* of atheism," p. 268.

morning, and lulled to sleep every night, by sweet sounds. He likewise considered it as greatly conducive to health, and made use of it in disorders of the body, as well as in those of the mind. His biographers and secretaries even pretend to tell us what kind of Music he applied upon these occasions. Grave and solemn, we may be certain; and *Vocal*, say they, was preferred to *Instrumental*, and the Lyre to the Flute, not only for its decency and gravity, but because instruction could be conveyed to the mind, by means of articulation in singing, at the same time as the ear was delighted by sweet sounds. This was said to have been the opinion of Minerva. In very high antiquity mankind gave human wisdom to their Gods, and afterwards took it from them, to bestow it on mortals (*o*).

Lasus

According to Suidas (*p*), was a native of Hermione, a city of Peloponnesus in the kingdom of Argos. He flourished in the 58th Olympiad, 548 B.C., and was the most ancient author known who had written upon the theory of Music. But he did not confine himself to theory; he became excellent in the practice of the art, which then included Poetry, and all its dependencies; he was likewise a great Dithyrambic Poet, according to Clemens Alexandrinus (*q*), and the first who introduced that species of composition in the public Games, where a premium was adjudged to him for the performance of it. He first established public conferences or disputations (*r*) upon scientific subjects, such as Philosophy, Poetry, Mathematics, and particularly Music, both speculative and practical. If he was not the inventor of the circular Choruses or Dances (*s*), which some have attributed to Arion, he improved them at least, as the scholiast on Aristophanes (*t*), who gives his vouchers, affirms (*u*).

As to the events of his life, which was rather a long one, but little is known: we read, however, in Herodotus, that by the advice of Lasus, the poet Onomacritus, to whom, by many, the poems that go under the name of Orpheus are attributed, was banished from Athens by Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus. This poet, who was a fanatic, and a mythological quack, pretended to find predictions or oracles in the verses of Musæus, for those who were curious in futurity. Lasus having discovered that this pretended diviner had surreptitiously inserted into the text of Musæus a

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(*o*) In perusing the list of illustrious men, who have sprung from the school of Pythagoras, it appears that the love and cultivation of Music was so much a part of their discipline, that almost every one of them left a treatise behind him upon the subject. The life of this philosopher has been so frequently written, and the events of it are so generally known, that it seems only necessary here to remind the reader of his having been in Egypt at the time when Cambyses conquered that country; and that most chronologers place his death 497 B.C. at the age of seventy-one.

(*p*) Suid. voc. Λασος.

(*q*) Stromat. *lib.* i.

(*r*) Εριστικοις λογοις.

(*s*) Called εγκυκλιων χορων.

(*t*) *In avib. vers.* 1403.

(*u*) The composers of the Music and Poetry, for these kinds of dances, were called κυκλιοδιδασκαλοι, which the same scholiast explains by the word Διθυραμβοποιοι, *Dithyrambic Poets*; for both the Poetry and Music of these dances, performed round the altar, were Dithyrambic.

prediction that all the islands in the neighbourhood of Lemnos would be swallowed up, gave information of the forgery to Hipparchus, who sent the impostor into exile, though he had before honoured him with his confidence.

The productions of Lasus seem to have been numerous, both in Poetry and Music. But nothing of his writing is come down to us, except a few fragments that have been preserved in Athenæus, whose book, like the moon in Ariosto, has been the receptacle of *lost things*. This author speaks of a Hymn written by Lasus without the use of the *sigma,* or letter S. He likewise mentions one of his Odes, called the *Centaurs,* remarkable for the omission of the same consonant. These instances of his being a *Lipogrammatist,* or *letter-dropper,* and of his particular enmity to the hissing letter S, are greater proofs of his patience and delicacy of ear, than of his genius or good taste. The late Dr. Pepusch (*x*) gave rules for composing in all keys without the intervention of flats or sharps; but such is the obstinacy of the great poets and composers of this age, that all the letters of the alphabet are indiscriminately used, and flats and sharps are become more numerous than ever!

With respect to the musical discoveries of Lasus, both in theory and practice, all that we know of them may be reduced to three heads:

1st. Aristoxenus (*y*), in speaking of the nature of sound, attributes to him, in common with certain Epigonians, a heterodox opinion, that *sound had a latitude* (*z*). Meibomius is perplexed by the passage, but is inclined to think it means only, that in sustaining a note, the voice varied a little up and down, and did not *strictly* keep to one *mathematical line* of tone. This explication, however, is not satisfactory; for the expression naturally leads to the *idea* of a *Temperament*; and seems to say that the intonation of the scale admitted of some variety; in other words, that the exact ratio of intervals might be departed from without offending the ear (*a*). And what is said of Lasus by Plutarch, in his Dialogue on Music, renders this idea still more probable. He is there mentioned as a great innovator, who imitated the *compass* and *variety* of wind-instruments; as well as Epigonius, who was the inventor of the instrument of forty strings (*b*). Among the corruptions complained of in the *new* Music, the frequent and licentious transitions from one mode and genus to another, was not the least. If therefore the object of this multiplication of strings may be supposed to have been the convenience of having an instrument ready tuned for all the modes, like our Harpsichords, it seems probable that both Lasus and Epigonius might have been

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(*x*) *Treatise on Harmony*, 1731. (*y*) *Lib.* i. *p.* 3. (*z*) Πλατος ἐχειν.

(*a*) This idea is greatly confirmed by the same expression, πλατος ἐχει, occurring in a passage of Galen, quoted by Dr. Smith, p. 47, of his *Harmonics*, 1st Edit. " It is probable," says Galen, " that in the Lyre, the *accurate* tuning is one, and individual; but the practical tuning, πλατος ἐχει, *admits of latitude*." This passage, which is curious throughout, is quoted by Salinas, to prove that the ancients had in practice a temperament, though it did not come in the way of theorists to speak of it in their scientifical books.

(*b*) See p. 335.

Temperers, and have accommodated their *doctrine* to their *practice.*

2dly. Theon of Smyrna testifies that Lasus, as well as the Pythagorean Hippasus of Metapontus, made use of two vases of the same size and tone, in order to calculate the exact ratio or proportion of concords. For by leaving one of the vases empty, and filling the other half full of water, they became Octaves to each other: and filling one a 4th part full, and the other a 3d, the percussion of the two vessels produced the concords of 4th and 5th: from which process resulted the proportions of these three concords contained in the numbers 1, 2 3, 4 (*c*).

3dly. Lasus, according to Plutarch, introduced a dithyrambic licence, or irregularity into Musical Measure, or Rhythm; and upon his Lyre imitated the compass and variety of the Flute.

Aristoxenus [fl. c. 318 B.C.]

This is the most ancient writer on the subject of Music, of whose works any tracts are come down to us. He was born at Tarentum, a city in that part of Italy called *Magna Græcia,* now Calabria. He was the son of a Musician, whom some call Mnesias, others Spintharus. He had his first education at Mantinæa, a city of Arcadia, under his father, and Lamprus of Erythræ; he next studied under Xenophilus, the Pythagorean; and lastly under Aristotle, in company with Theophrastus. Suidas, from whom these particulars are transcribed, adds, that Aristoxenus enraged at Aristotle having bequeathed his school to Theophrastus, traduced him ever after. But Aristocles the Peripatetic, in Eusebius (*d*), exculpates Aristoxenus in this particular, and assures us that he always spoke with great respect of his master Aristotle.

From the preceding account it appears that Aristoxenus lived under Alexander the Great, and his first successors.

His *Harmonics** in three books, all that are come down to us, together with Ptolemy's Harmonics, were first published by Gogavinus, but not very correctly, at Venice, 1562, in 4to. with a Latin version. John Meursius next translated the three books of Aristoxenus into Latin, from the MS. of Jos. Scaliger, but, according to Meibomius, very negligently. With these he printed at Leyden, 1616, 4to. Nicomachus, and Alypius, two other Greek writers on Music. After this Meibomius collected these musical writers together, to which he added Euclid, Bacchius senior, Aristides Quintilianus; and published the whole, with a Latin version and notes, from the elegant press of Elzevir, Amst. 1652.

(*c*) This assertion, which has been taken upon trust, like the Anvil story of Pythagoras, is equally false; to tune glasses by water has been lately practised and thought a new discovery; but that their tones are altered in the proportions given above, is by no means true. Most glasses are lowered about a whole tone, by being half filled with water, and not more than a major 6th if quite filled.

(*d*) *Præpar. lib.* xv.

* An edition of the "Harmonics" edited by H. S. Macran was published by the Oxford Press in 1902.

The learned editor dedicates these ancient musical treatises to Christina, Queen of Sweden.

Aristoxenus is said by Suidas to have written 452 different works, among which those on Music were the most esteemed; yet his writings upon other subjects are very frequently quoted by ancient authors, notwithstanding Cicero, and some others, say that he was a bad philosopher, and had nothing in his head but Music. The titles of several of the lost works of Aristoxenus, quoted by Athenæus, and others, have been collected by Meursius in his notes upon this author; by Tonsius and Menage; all which Fabricius has digested in alphabetical order (*e*). I shall here only mention such as concern Music, which are upon subjects so interesting to enquirers into the merits of ancient music, that their loss is much to be lamented.

1. *Of Performers on the Flute, and concerning Flutes and other Musical Instruments* (*f*).

2. *Of the Manner of boring, or piercing Flutes* (*g*).

3. *Of Music in General.* In this work, which was different from his *Harmonics,* he treated not only of the Rhythmical. Metrical, *Organical, Poetical,* and *Hypocritical parts of Music,* but of the *History of Music,* and *Musicians* (*h*).

4. *Of the Tragic Dance* (*i*).

With respect to the tracts of Aristoxenus that are come down to us, they are cited by Euclid, Cicero, Vitruvius, Plutarch. Diogenes Laertius, Athenæus, Arist. Quintilianus, Ptolemy, and Boethius. And as a musical writer he is so much celebrated by the ancients, and so frequently mentioned by the moderns, that his Treatises which are extant, seem to deserve a particular attention. They are given by all his editors as divisions of one and the same work; but the two first books are evidently independent fragments. The second book is not a *second,* but *another first part.* It is surprising that Meibomius, should regard it as a *continuation,* and wonder in his notes, that Porphyry should quote the *second book* as the *first.* The second book is plainly the opening of another work, as appears by its beginning with an explanation of the subject, and a sketch of the order in which the author proposed to treat it, all which is done in the *first* book. It is likewise full of repetitions. There appears, however, through the cloud of bad readings, and all kinds of corruptions in the text, to be an accuracy, and an Aristotelian precision in these old books, which are not to be found in later writers, who seem to have all the negligence and inaccuracy of compilers.

As Pythagoras and Aristoxenus were heads of the two most numerous and celebrated musical sects in antiquity, I shall

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(*e*) Bib. Græca, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 10.

(*f*) *Περι αυλητων η περι αυλων και οργανων.*

(*g*) *Περε αυλων τρτσεως.*

(*h*) *Περι Μουσικης.*

(*i*) *Περι τραγικης ορχησεως.*

endeavour to make such of my readers as are curious in these matters, acquainted with their different tenets.

The *Pythagoreans,* by their rigid adherence to *calculation,* and the accurate divisions of the Monochord, may be said to have trusted more to the judgment of the *Eye,* concerning the perfection of consonance, than to that of the *Ear* (*k*). Intervals, according to them, were *consonant* or *dissonant,* in proportion as the ratios of the vibrations were simple or complex. Thus the octave was more perfect than the 5th, because the ratio of 1 to 2 is more simple, and more easily perceived, than that of 2 to 3: and the 5th, for the same reason, was more perfect than the 4th, $\frac{3}{4}$. It was upon this principle that they allowed of no deviation from the strict ratios of sounds. They left nothing to the uncertain judgment of the ear, which they thought no more able to determine a *perfect* consonance without a Monochord, than the *eye* to form a perfect circle without compasses.

Aristoxenus, on the contrary, referred every thing to the *Ear.* He thought the senses sufficiently accurate for *Musical,* though not for *Mathematical* purposes (*l*); and that it was absurd to aim at an artificial accuracy in gratifying the ear, beyond its own power of distinction. The philosophy of the Pythagoreans, their velocities, vibrations, and proportions, he rejected with contempt (*m*), as being *foreign to the subject;* substituting *abstract* causes in the room of *experience,* and making Music less the object of *sense* than of *intellect.*

According to these principles, his doctrine maintained, that concords were to be taken by the judgment of the ear only, and other intervals of which the ear was less able to determine the perfection, by the *difference,* or sum of concords (*n*). Thus the *Tone* was the difference between the 4th and 5th: the *Ditone* was taken by alternate 4ths and 5ths, as Ea, aD, DG, GC (*o*). Had he stopped here, nothing could reasonably have been alledged against him. But taking the Tone as a well known interval, of which the ear, from the comparison of 4th and 5th, could judge with sufficient exactness, he made it the measure of all other intervals; of the greater by addition, and of the less by division. Thus the 4th contained, according to him, two Tones and a half; the 5th, 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$; the Octave, consequently, 5 Tones and 2 semitones, or 6 Tones. And, further, the Tone he divided into 2, 3, and 4 *equal* parts. By this process, as it is justly objected to him by Ptolemy, he acted inconsistently with his own principles; pretending to trust solely to the *ear,* and to exclude *reason* and *calculation,* at the

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(*k*) The Pythagoreans were distinguished in antiquity, by the appellation of *Canonici,* as being governed by the *Monochord,* or *Harmonic-Canon*; and the Aristoxenians by that of *Musici,* on account of their taking only the ear and practice for their guides. *Porphyr ex vers. Wallis, Oper. Mathem. tom.* iii. *p.* 207.

(*l*) Aristox. p. 33. (*m*) *Ibid.* p. 32. (*n*) *Ibid.* 55.

(*o*) This was not our consonant major 3d, but a dissonant interval, composed of two major tones $\frac{8}{9} \times \frac{8}{9}$.

same time that he was making a parade of both, in a way either totally useless and nugatory, or more complicated and difficult than that which he had rejected. If the ear is unable to determine the exact ratio of a concord, still less is it able accurately to bisect a tone; and that a tone cannot be numerically divided into two, or more *equal* parts, has long been demonstrated (*p*). It can only be done by geometrical and lineal methods, more operose than the calculations of Pythagoras, and which, if accomplished, would give only false, incommensurable, and tempered intervals (*q*). Aristoxenus seems to have been led into this inconsistence by his desire of distinguishing himself from the mere practical Musicians of his time, of whose inaccuracy and want of science he frequently speaks with great contempt.

The Pythagoreans, on the other side, were not without their errors. Their principles were right, but they carried them too far, and forgot that they could no otherwise be *known* to be right, than as they were confirmed by the pleasure of the ear. How, for instance, did they know that the ratio from 2 to 3 was that of a perfect fifth but by the ear, which, upon repeated trial, found that interval most harmonious when produced by strings in *that* proportion? But it was the peculiar character of the Pythagorean philosophy, to erect abstract numbers and proportions into physical causes. Not content with pursuing their principle of the simplicity of ratios, as far as experience warranted, and the ear approved, they set it up as an *à priori* principle, and rejected intervals which the ear pronounces to be concords, merely because they did not fall within the proportions which they chose to admit. The compound interval, for instance, of the 8th and 4th, though undoubtedly concord, they would not admit as such, because its ratio 3: 8, is neither *multiple,* nor *superparticular,* the only proportions they admitted as consonant, on account of their simplicity (*r*).

They are, besides, charged both by Ptolemy and Aristoxenus, with sometimes assigning such ratios to intervals as the ear did not approve; but no instance is given. It would be injustice, however, to quit these famous musical theorists without acknowledging that their physical doctrines concerning the production of sound, and the causes of gravity and acuteness, have been confirmed, by modern philosophy, and their metaphysical speculations concerning the causes of consonance, adopted by modern writers of no inconsiderable reputation (*s*).

(*p*) This was demonstrated by Euclid, in his *Sectio Canonis*, though a close follower of Aristoxenus, in his *Introductio Harmonica*. To divide the tone $\frac{9}{8}$ into two equal parts, is to find a mean proportional between 8 and 9; which mean, being the square root of 72, is an *irrational*, or surd quantity. See Dr. Smith's *Harm.* p. 100, note (*y*). And *Elem. de Mus. par* M. D'Alembert, *Part* I. *chap.* vii.

(*q*) See Dissert. p. 121.

(*r*) *Multiple* is, where the greater term contains the less, a number of times, as 1 : 2, 1 : 3, 1 : 4; *superparticular*, where the difference is only 1; as 2 : 3, 3 : 4, &c.

(*s*) Descartes, Euler, *Tent. præf.* p. 11, 12. Buffon, tom. vi. p. 54, 55, 8vo.

Euclid

As Pythagoras was allowed by the Greeks to have been the first who found out musical ratios, by the division of a Monochord, or single string, a discovery which tradition only had preserved (*t*), *Euclid* was the first who wrote upon the subject, and reduced these divisions to mathematical demonstration.

This great geometrician flourished in the time of Ptolemy Lagus, that is, about 277 B.C. His *Elements* were first published at Basil, in Swisserland, 1533, by Simon Grynæus, from two MSS. the one found at Venice, and the other at Paris. His *Introduction to Harmonics* (*u*), which in some MSS. was attributed to Cleonidas, is in the Vatican copy given to Pappus; Meibomius, however, accounts for this, by supposing those copies to have been only two different *MS. editions* of Euclid's work, which had been revised, corrected, and restored from the corruptions incident to frequent transcription by Cleonidas and Pappus, whose names were, on that account, prefixed. It first appeared in print with a Latin version, in 1498, at Venice, under the title of *Cleonidæ Harmonicum Introductorium*: who Cleonidas was, neither the editor, George Valla, nor any one else pretends to know. It was John Pena, a mathematician in the service of the king of France, who first published this work at Paris, under the name of Euclid, in 1557. After this, it went through several editions with his other works.*

His *Section of the Canon* (*x*) follows his *Introduction*; it went through the same hands, and the same editions, and is mentioned by Porphyry, in his Commentary on Ptolemy, as the work of Euclid. This tract chiefly contains short and clear definitions of the several parts of Greek Music, in which it is easy to see that mere *Melody* was concerned; as he begins by telling us, that the science of *Harmonics* considers the nature and use of Melody, and consists of seven parts: Sounds, Intervals, Genera, Systems, Keys, Mutations, and Melopœia; all which have been severally considered in the Dissertation.

Of all the writings upon ancient Music, that are come down to us, this seems to be the most correct and compressed: the rest are generally loose and diffused; the authors either twisting and distorting every thing to a favourite system, or filling their books with metaphysical jargon, with Pythagoric dreams, and Platonic

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(*t*) Indeed it is more than probable that Pythagoras acquired all his musical philosophy in Egypt, where he resided twenty-two years; and the numbers 6, 8, 9, 12, which are exactly right, applied to *lengths* and *vibrations*, being known to the Chaldeans, as Plutarch informs us, *de Proc. Anim.* is a strong proof that the Pythagoreans did not *first* discover those proportions.

(*u*) Εισαγωγη ἁρμονικη.

(*x*) Κατατομη κανονος.

* The 1533 edition mentioned here was the first with Greek text. The first edition of a translation from the Greek was by Zambert in 1505 but a translation from the Arabic was published at Venice in 1482. This last was based upon a translation made by Adelard of Bath (?) in the twelfth century.

Two books on music are generally attributed to Euclid, but there seems good reason to doubt his authorship. They appear not to have been known before the time of Ptolemy, as they are not mentioned by him or any other writer and in no ancient manuscript is Euclid mentioned as the author.

fancies, wholly foreign to Music. But Euclid, in this little treatise, is like himself, close, and clear ; yet so mathematically short and dry, that he bestows not a syllable more upon the subject than is absolutely necessary (*a*).

According to Dr. Wallis (*b*), Euclid was the first who demonstrated that an octave is somewhat less than *six whole* tones ; and this he does in the 14th Theorem of his *Section of the Canon*. In the 15th Theorem he demonstrates that a fourth is less than two tones and a half, and a fifth less than three and a half ; but though this proves the necessity of a temperament upon fixed instruments where one sound answers several purposes, yet he gives no rules for one, which seems to furnish a proof that such instruments were at least, not *generally* known or used by the ancients.

What Aristoxenus called a *half-tone,* Euclid demonstrated to be a smaller interval, in the proportion of 256 to 243. This he denominated a *limma,* or *remnant* ; because giving to the *fourth,* the extremes of which were called *Soni Stabiles,* and were regarded as fixed and unalterable, the exact proportion of 4 to 3, and, taking from it two major tones $\frac{8}{9} \times \frac{8}{9}$, the *Limma* was all that remained to complete the *Diatessaron.* This division of the *Diatonic Genus* (*c*) being thus, for the first time, established upon mathematical demonstration, continued in favour, says Dr. Wallis, for many ages. But this will be further explained under the subsequent articles.

Didymus [*c.* 63 B.C.–A.D. 10]

Was an eminent Musician of Alexandria, and, according to Suidas, cotemporary with the emperor Nero, by whom he was much honoured and esteemed.* This proves him to have been younger than Aristoxenus, and more ancient than Ptolemy, though some have imagined him to have preceded Aristoxenus. He wrote upon Grammar and Medicine, as well as Music ; but his works are all lost, and every thing we know at present of his harmonical doctrines is from Ptolemy, who, by disputing, preserved them. However, this author confesses him to have been well versed in the canon and harmonic divisions, and if we may judge from the testimony even of his antagonist, he must have been not only an able theorist in Music, but a man of considerable learning. As this Musician preceded Ptolemy, and was the *first*

(*a*) His object seems to have been the compressing into a scientific and elementary abridgment the more diffused and speculative treatises of Aristoxenus. He was the D'Alembert of that author ; explaining his principles and, at the same time, seeing and demonstrating his errors. The musical writings of Rameau were diffused, obscure, and indigested ; but M. D'Alembert extracting the essence of his confused ideas, methodized his system of a *Fundamental Base*, and compressed, into the compass of a pamphlet, the substance of many volumes. See *Elemens de Musique, suivans les Principes de Rameau.*

(*b*) *Phil. Trans.* No. 242, and Lowthorp's *Abridg.* vol. i.

(*c*) See *Dissert.* sect. II.

* He was surnamed the " brazen-bowelled."

who introduced the *minor tone* into the scale, and, consequently, the practical major 3d. $\frac{4}{5}$, which harmonized the whole system, and pointed out the road to counterpoint, an honour that most critics have bestowed on Ptolemy, he seems to have a better title to the *Invention* of modern *harmony*, or *music in parts*, than Guido, who appears to have adhered, both in theory and practice, to the old division of the scale into *Major Tones* and *Limmas* (*d*).

"The best species of Diapason," says Doni, "and that which is the most replete with fine harmony, and chiefly in use at present, was invented by Didymus. . . . His method was this: after the major semitone E F. $\frac{16}{15}$, he placed the minor tone in the ratio of $\frac{10}{9}$, between F G, and afterwards the major tone $\frac{8}{9}$, between G A (*e*); but Ptolemy, for the sake of *innovation*, placed the major tone where Didymus placed the minor (*f*)." Ptolemy, however, in speaking of Didymus and his arrangement, objects to it as contrary to the judgment of the ear, which requires the major tone below the minor. The ear certainly determines so with us: is it not therefore probable, that in Ptolemy's time the major key was gaining ground? Upon the whole, however, it appears, that these authors only differ in the *order*, not the *quality* of intervals.

Ptolemy

This great Astronomer and Musician, whose peculiar use of the species of octave, and reformation of the *Modes*, have been discussed in the Dissertation (*g*), seems the most learned, close, and philosophical writer upon the subject of Music among the younger Greeks (*h*). He appears to have been less shackled by authorities, and a more bold and original thinker on the subject, than most of his predecessors ; indeed he was not insensible of his own force and superiority, for he treats all former musical writers and their systems with little ceremony. Some parts of his disputes and doctrines are now become unintelligible, notwithstanding all the pains that our learned countryman Dr. Wallis bestowed on him near 100 years ago, particularly his third book, which forms a very striking contrast with the scientific solidity and precision of the two first. The instant he sets his foot within his beloved *circle*, the magic of it transforms him at once from a philosopher to a dotard. He passes suddenly from accurate reasoning and demonstration, to dreams, analogies, and all the fanciful resemblances of the Pythagorean and Platonic schools: discovers Music in the human soul, and the celestial motions: compares the rational, irascible, and concupiscent parts of the soul, to the 8th,

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(*d*) See his *Micrologus*, of which an account will be given in the second book of this History.

(*e*) It seems from this assertion as if there was a fashion, not only in *Melody*, but *Harmony*; modern ears are best pleased with Ptolemy's arrangement, though Doni tell us, that in the last century the Diapason of Didymus was most in vogue.

(*f*) Doni, *Oper. Omnia*, tom. i. p. 349.

(*g*) P. 56.

(*h*) He flourished about A.D. 130.

5th, and 4th ; makes the sciences, and the virtues, some Diatonic, some Chromatic, and some Enharmonic: turns the Zodiac into a Lyre, making the equinoctial the key-note of the Dorian mode: sends the Mixolydian to Greenland, and the Hypodorian to the Hottentots!

He seems to have been possessed with an unbounded rage for constructing new scales, and correcting those of former times. He gives us no less than eight different forms of the diatonic scale, three of which were his own ; the other five went under the names of more ancient Musicians of great renown ; such as Archytas of Tarentum, Aristoxenus, Eratosthenes, and Didymus. Most of these scales seem but to differ in deformity, according to our present ideas of harmony and temperament. Indeed there is only one of them which modern ears could suffer, and concerning that it is necessary to be somewhat explicit.

Euclid, who first discovered that six major tones in the ratio of $\frac{8}{9}$ were more than sufficient to fill up the octave, gave two major tones and a *Limma* to his Tetrachord ; which made the major thirds intolerable. Didymus was the first who discovered that whole tones were of two kinds, major and minor ; and, giving to his minor tone the ratio of $\frac{10}{9}$, divided his Tetrachord into *major semitone* $\frac{16}{15}$, *minor tone* $\frac{10}{9}$, and *major tone* $\frac{9}{8}$, including the whole series in the usual bounds of a true fourth $\frac{4}{3}$ (*i*).

Ptolemy, near two centuries after Didymus had suggested the *major semitone,* and *minor tone,* adopted them in one of his divisions of the Diatonic 4th, but, changed the place of the *minor tone,* arranging his intervals, suppose them to be these, B C D E, in the following order and proportions: major semitone $\frac{16}{15}$, major tone $\frac{9}{8}$, minor tone $\frac{10}{9}$, which, together, completed the fourth in the usual, perfect, constant, and true ratio of $\frac{4}{3}$; and these are the famous proportions of the intervals proposed in that system of Ptolemy which is known to theorists by the name of *Diatonum Intensum,* or *Sharp Diatonic* ; and which, long after his time, was received in our counterpoint, and is pronounced by Dr. Wallis, Dr. Smith, and the most eminent writers on Harmonics, to be *the best division of the musical scale* (*k*).

This arrangement of Ptolemy has been considered by some

(*i*) This arrangement has been censured by Padre Martini, and with reason, if a *Major Key* and *Counterpoint* had been in question ; but, as the Abbé Roussier justly observes, a *Minor Key,* and *Simple Melody,* were alone considered at that time. The minor tone, from C to D, therefore, had this convenience, that it rendered D a true 5th below *Mese,* the central string of the Lyre, which regulated the whole system, and to which all the other strings were tuned, as well as the octave above Proslambanomenos, the fundamental note of every Mode. (See *Dissert.* p. 29.) When the *Major Tone* is from C to D, and the minor from D to E, as in Ptolemy's arrangement, this cannot be the case ; for then the 5th from D to a, will contain only two minor tones, one major, and a major semitone, instead of two major tones, one minor, and a major semitone, of which every perfect 5th, in the ratio $\frac{3}{2}$, is composed.

(*k*) The intervals in our key of C natural, when made perfect, are in the following proportions, ascending : 1, $\frac{8}{9}$, $\frac{9}{10}$, $\frac{15}{16}$, $\frac{8}{9}$, $\frac{9}{10}$, $\frac{8}{9}$, $\frac{15}{16}$, ; that is, giving to the octave three major tones, two minor tones, and two major semitones, arranged in this order : from the key note to the 2d of the key, a major tone ; from the 2nd to the 3d of the key, a minor tone ; from the 3d to the 4th a major semitone ; from the 4th to the 5th, a major tone ; from the 5th to the 6th, a minor tone ; from the 6th to the 7th, a major tone ; and from the 7th to the octave, or 8th, a major semitone. And no sharp key can be perfect, but by being tuned in the same manner ; and yet, where to place the *Minor Tone* has occasioned endless disputes among writers on Temperament. De Moivre, in his Doctrine of Chances, gives 210 permutations to these intervals T, T, T, t, t, H, H.

writers as a *Temperament* (*l*), on account of his departing from the just proportion of some of the 5ths, in order to give perfection to 3ds and 6ths. This temperament, however, if it may be so called, is become to us the standard of perfection, and every deviation from it, in the modern sense of the word, is now called temperament (*m*). If *temperament* implies *imperfection,* and the alteration of intervals from those proportions which best satisfy the ear; and if those scales are the *most,* though not the *best* tempered, which most offend the ear, the word is in that sense chiefly applicable to the old Pythagorean Diatonic, adopted by Euclid, and to the other numerous divisions above mentioned.

The scale of the Pythagoreans was indeed founded upon some *principle;* being, as the abbé Roussier has shewn, produced by a series of perfect 5ths; but the other divisions seem to have been the produce of random experiment, and *unmusical* calculation, and were as various and unfit for use, as want of principle could make them. Scarce any rule seems to have been observed, but that of keeping the *Soni Stantes,* the boundaries of the Tetrachords, unmoved from their just ratio of $\frac{4}{3}$. The ancient theorists revenged themselves, however, for this confinement by every kind of licence in the disposition of the two remaining sounds: the various tunings of which constituted what they called the *χροαι,* the *colours* or *shades* of the three genera. In these, all kinds of intervals seem to have been admitted, provided they were but *rational,* that is, *expressible by numbers* (*n*).

Aristoxenus did not confine himself even to this rule; for his equal divisions were neither reducible to rational numbers, nor were the vibrations of his intervals, if they could have been put in practice, commensurable. Music, however, was more obliged to him for the invention of a method which it must be allowed left every thing to the guidance of the ear, uncertain as it may be, than to those mathematical speculators who furnished it with so many accurate and demonstrable rules for being *infallibly* out of tune (*o*).

Ptolemy having a facility, and perhaps a pleasure, in calculating, seems to have sported with the scale, and wantonly to have *tried confusions,* by dissecting and torturing it in all possible ways; and though one of his many systems suits our present practice, it is not to be imagined that it was designedly calculated for the use

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(*l*) Padre Martini, *Storia Musica,* quoted by the Abbé Roussier, *Mem. sur la Mus. des Anc.* p. 162.

(*m*) In what manner this deviation became necessary, will be related in the second book of this work, where the subject of Temperament will be more particularly explained.

(*n*) To justify this account, and to give the reader some idea of the licentiousness of these ancient *Tunings,* or *Temperaments,* I shall only mention, that, instead of the two tones, and two semitones, to which modern theory is confined, the ancients admitted four kinds of tones, and eleven semitones; and, of these fifteen different ratios, eleven are impracticable in Harmony, and rejected by theory, and by the ear; but, says M. Rousseau, *c'est perdre son tems, & abuser de celui du lecteur, que de le promener par toutes ces divisions.* Art. Syntonique.

(*o*) Indeed, it is probable, that among the ancients, as well as the moderns, many such untuneable divisions, served more to amuse Theorists, than to guide practical Musicians.

of counterpoint, which was far from his thoughts (*p*). It seems, however, as if *Music in parts* was first suggested by this arrangement of the intervals; for the 3ds and 6ths, which were before so harsh and crude as to be deservedly ranked among the discords, were now softened and sweetened into that grateful coincidence with which modern ears are so much delighted. It was impossible, after hearing them, for lovers of music not to feel the charms arising from the combination and succession of these consonances; and it was from this time that the seeds of that harmony which may be said, in a less mysterious sense than that of Pythagoras, to be implanted in our nature, began to spring up. They were certainly of slow growth, as no good fruit was produced from them for more than 1,000 years after: but arts, like animals to whom great longevity is allowed, have a long infancy and childhood, before adolescence and maturity come on.

(*p*) That he was not the only one, however, who broke the scale on the wheel, appears from a note of M. Burette, upon a passage in Plutarch's *Dialogue on Music*; for the divisions of the Tetrachord upon the Flute, without the Enharmonic, in very high antiquity, were five:

1. The *flat Diatonic*, consisting of a semitone, three quarters of a tone, and five fourths of a tone.
2. The *sharp Diatonic*, of which the three intervals were a limma, and two major tones.
3. The *flat Chromatic*, of one third of a tone; another ditto; a tone and a half and a third of a tone.
4. The *sesquialterate Chromatic*, of a Diesis, or quarter tone and half; ditto; and seven Dieses, or quarter tones.
5. The *sharp Chromatic*, of a semitone; a semitone, and a tone and half.

It has been already remarked, p. 121, that the numbers and proportions of the ancients are inadmissible in our counterpoint; and I beg leave to ask the learned in Harmonics, as well as practical Musicians, what pleasing effects could possibly be produced, even in *Melody*, from such strange intervals as these?

Chapter VI

Of the Scolia, or Songs, of the ancient Greeks

VOCAL Music is of such high antiquity, that its origin seems to have been coeval with mankind; at least, the lengthened tones of pleasure and pain, of joy and affliction, must long have preceded every other language, and Music. The voice of passion wants but few articulations, and must have been nearly the same in all human creatures; differing only in gravity or acuteness, according to age, sex, and organization, till the invention of words, by particular conventions, in different societies, weakened, and, by degrees, rendered it unintelligible. This primitive and instinctive language, or cry of nature, is still retained by animals, and universally understood, while our artificial tongues are known only to the small part of the globe, where, after being learned with great pains, they are spoken. " We talk of love and of hatred," says M. de Voltaire, " in general terms, without being able to express the different degrees of those passions. It is the same with respect to pain and pleasure, of which there are such innumerable species. The shades and gradations of volition, repugnance, or compulsion, are equally indistinct for want of colours." This censure should, however, be confined to written language; for though a word can be accurately expressed in writing, and pronounced but one way, yet the different tones of voice that can be given to it, in the utterance, are infinite. A mere negative or affirmative may even be uttered in such a manner, as to convey ideas diametrically opposite to the original import of the word.

Music, considered then as the language of the passions, is most expressive when its movements are least impeded by difficult articulations; and this accounts for the preference of one language to another, for musical purposes; for the pleasure we receive from instrumental Music, of the most exquisite kind; and from divisions in airs that are well executed by the voice.

It has already been observed, that *Songs* preceded the use of letters, and served not only for amusement, but supplied the place of history in after-ages. Laws were originally *sung,* to be the better retained in memory; and prayers offered up to the Gods were chanted, in order to add to their solemnity and energy. The first *public* use, therefore, of Music was the service of religion, and the first *private* use, to alleviate labour and care, or to express hilarity during social happiness.

Theurgic *Hymns*, or *Songs of Incantation*, such as those ascribed to Orpheus, which were performed in the mysteries upon the most solemn occasions were the *first* and most ancient of which we have any account in Greece; and these are supposed to have originated in Egypt.

The *second species* consisted of poetical and *popular Hymns*, that were sung at the head of an army, or in praise of some divinity, during the public worship of the Gods in temples ; and these were distinguished by particular appellations, according to the Deities to whom they were addressed ; as Pæans to Apollo and Mars, and Dithyrambics to Bacchus. Hymns, however, of this kind, in process of time, were lavished upon heroes, kings, and generals.

There was still a *third class*, distinct from these, which may be denominated *philosophic*, or *allegorical Hymns*, in which the attributes of the supreme Being, as the apologists for Paganism pretended, were celebrated under some fable or virtue personified.

Of all the different kinds of *Scolia*, or *festive Songs* that were in use among the inhabitants of Greece, and that were distinct from religious Hymns, those of which we have any remains, are chiefly such as were sung *at table*, during the time of banquets, or repasts. We are told, however, by Plutarch, Athenæus, Lucian, and other Greek writers, that in the *first use* of these, they were real *Pæans*, sacred Canticles, or Hymns, sung by the whole company to some divinity (*a*). It afterwards was the custom for each of the guests to sing one of these songs alone, holding a branch of myrtle in his hand, which he passed about to his next neighbour, as we do the bottle ; and this may be called the *second manner* of performing these songs (*b*). The *third* was to the accompaniment of the Lyre, and required professed Musicians, Singers, and Citharœdists ; for Music was now arrived at a greater degree of perfection among artists, who made it their chief employment, than gentlemen who applied themselves to it, among other exercises in the general course of education, only as an amusement (*c*).

As there were three several ways of performing these *Scolia*, the subjects upon which they were composed may be likewise arranged under *three Classes*. The *first class* consisted of moral Songs, of which several are preserved by Athenæus.

(*a*) The Gods were not then, says M. Rousseau, regarded as kill-joys, and shut out of convivial meetings ; the Greeks were not afraid to let them be of the party.

(*b*) In process of time, to *Sing to the Myrtle*, became a proverbial expression for ignorance ; as those who had a hand employed in holding the branch, were unable to accompany themselves on the Lyre, which required application and talents.

(*c*) Aristotle, *Prob.* xv. mentions *Enharmonic Melodies* being formerly preferred to all others, for their *ease* and *simplicity*, when it was customary for *gentlemen* to perform in Dithyrambic Choruses ; which Problem not only shews that there was a time when Music in Greece, from its simplicity, and being made part of a liberal education, did not require professors who should make it their sole employment, and distinguish themselves by their execution of difficulties ; but likewise fortifies the opinion advanced in the Dissertation relative to *easy Enharmonic*.

In the following Scolium, Timocreon gives his opinion of riches.

Vile riches should no favour find,
By land or sea, among mankind;
But should be sent with fiends to dwell,
Down in the deepest, blackest hell:
For 'tis from them, ere since the world began,
The greatest ills have sprung, which torture man.

And Plato, Athenæus, and Lucian, have all quoted a Song upon the pre-eminence of worldly blessings, that is ascribed to Simonides:

The first of human gifts is *health,*
The next on *beauty's pow'r* attends;
The third, possessing well-earn'd *wealth*;
The fourth is *youth,* enjoy'd with friends.

Phocylides has given the same sentiment, in different words. And Aristotle, having brought it from Delphos, has done it the honour to place it at the head of his Moral Writings. Anaxandrides, however, according to Athenæus, was not so partial to it ; but, on the contrary, disputed the sentiments it contained.

That health is the *first* of all blessings below,
Is a truth which no logic can fairly confute;
But the *second* on personal charms to bestow,
And on riches the *third,* I beg leave to dispute:
Next to *health,* give me *riches*; for *beauty,* though bright,
In hunger and rags is a villainous sight.

The *second Class* of Scolia, comprehends mythological hymns, and historical songs. Of these I shall give the following, from Athenæus, as specimens merely of the sentiments which these kinds of compositions contained ; for as to the Measure and Music, they are now equally irrecoverable.

To the Divinities that preside over Riches and Abundance.

At the genial board I sing
Pleasures which from plenty spring:
While the wreath adorns our brows,
Ceres well deserves our vows.
Plutus too, thy name I'll join,
And thy sister Proserpine.
Ye our social joys augment,
From your bounty flows content.
Bless our city with increase,
And our song shall never cease.

On LATONA and her Offspring.

Latona once, on Delos' isle,
  Gave to the world a matchless pair;
Apollo, who makes nature smile,
  Whose shoulders glow with golden hair:
And Dian', goddess of the chace,
  Whose shafts unerring ever fly,
Sole sov'reign of the female race,
  Nocturnal empress of the sky.

On PAN.

O Pan, delight of nymphs and swains,
Protector of Arcadian plains,
  Who lead'st the frolic dance ;
The laughing fair, who play the prude,
But fly from thee to be pursu'd,
  Their favours to enhance.

They love thy rustic oaten reed;
They know thy vigour, force, and speed,
  And feign a modest fear.
And jocund strains shall swell for thee,
And render, by their mirth and glee,
  Thy name for ever dear.

Among the historic, or patriotic Songs, there are none more frequently mentioned by ancient authors, than those upon Harmodius and Aristogiton, who signalized their courage against Hipparchus and Hippias, the sons and successors of Pisistratus, king of Athens. Hipparchus having publicly insulted the sister of Harmodius, he, in conjunction with his friend Aristogiton, slew him at the Panathenæan Games, which event was the signal to the natives of Athens for recovering their liberty. The following are fragments of popular songs, in honour of Harmodius.

1st Fragment.

Cover'd with myrtle-wreaths I'll wear my sword,
  Like brave *Harmodius,* and his patriot friend
Aristogiton, who the laws restor'd,
  The tyrant slew, and bade oppression end.

2d Fragment.

Harmodius dear! thou art not dead,
Thy soul is to Elysium fled;
Thy virtue there a place has won,
With Diomede, great Tydeus' son;
With swift Achilles, too, thou art join'd,
And ev'ry friend of human kind.

Aristotle honoured his friend and kinsman, Hermias, prince of Atarnea, with a Hymn, or Canticle, which is preserved in Athenæus (*d*), and in Diogenes Laertius (*e*), for which he is said to have been arraigned at a court of justice, where he was accused of impiously lavishing upon a mortal such honour and praise, as were due only to the Gods.

ARISTOTLE'S Hymn to HERMIAS.

Virtue! thou source of pure delight,
Whose rugged mien can ne'er affright
The man with courage fir'd;
For thee the sons of Greece have run
To certain ills, which others shun,
And gloriously expir'd.

When'er thy sacred seeds take root,
Immortal are the flow'rs and fruit,
Unfading are the leaves;
Dearer than smiles of parent kind,
Than balmy sleep, or gold refin'd,
The joys thy triumph gives.

For thee the Twins of mighty Jove,
For thee divine Alcides strove
From vice the world to free;
For thee Achilles quits the light,
And Ajax plunges into night,
Eternal night, for thee.

Hermias, the darling of mankind,
Shall leave a deathless name behind
For thee untimely slain;
As long as Jove's bright altars blaze,
His worth shall furnish grateful praise,
To all the Muse's train.

The offence given by Aristotle in this Poem, which his enemies denominated a Pæan, seems to have been the saying that the actions of his friend would be sung by the Muses, as long as the worship of Jupiter Hospitalis continued. Athenæus, however, did not regard it as a true Pæan, because the characteristic exclamation *Io Pæan* did not occur in any part of it.

The *third* and last *Class* of *Scolia,* concerning which I shall speak, was upon common and miscellaneous subjects, peculiar to no age or country. The greatest number, and the best of these, were upon love and wine. *Love inspires Music and Poetry*; this

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(*d*) *Lib.* xv.

(*e*) *In Aristot.*

was a memorable maxim among the Greeks, and the subject of one of Plutarch's Symposiacs (*f*).

Scolia written by the greatest Poets of antiquity, are mentioned by ancient authors; and Athenæus has preserved specimens and fragments of a great number. It must, however, be owned, that most of them appear now to be unmeaning and insipid. And Athenæus either has not selected them with taste and judgment, or it would encourage a belief that the genius of the Greeks could not stoop to elegance in trifles. Indeed, with respect to Songs upon the subjects of love and drinking, those of *Anacreon* have been long regarded as standards of excellence. They are distinguished, by their native elegance and grace, from every other kind of poetical composition; and the voluptuous gaiety of all his songs is so characteristic, that his style and manner have had more imitators than Pindar. Anacreontics are expected to be as joyous and sportive, as Pindarics daring and sublime. "His smiling and flowery images," says M. de la Nauze (*g*), "are the more certain to please, as they are all selected with taste and discernment, and faithfully copied from nature." Much less can be said, however, in behalf of the moral purity of his sentiments; for it must be owned, that their licentiousness is the more dangerous in proportion to the art and insinuating delicacy with which they are cloathed.

Unfortunately, the miscellaneous and moral Scolia have the least merit of all those that are preserved in Athenæus. Indeed, the simplicity of many of them will not bear an English dress, unless it be very much laced and embroidered by the translator; for so little of the ancient genius of Greece appears in them, that nothing but a mixture of modern poetical images is likely to procure them a perusal. The following Scolium, for instance, when literally and fairly translated, can afford no pleasure to a modern reader. "Son of Telamon, warlike Ajax! They say you are the bravest of the Grecians who came to Troy, next to Achilles (*h*)."—And this is called a *Song*!

(*f*) The reasons which he alleges in proof of this passion giving birth to Verse and Melody, suit still better with *Song*, in which both are united, than with mere Music or Poetry.

"Love," says he, "like wine, inspires vivacity, chearfulness and passion; and in these dispositions it is natural to *sing*, and to give energy and emphasis to our expressions. Besides," adds he, "when any one is in love, he naturally uses a figurative and measured language, in order to enforce his sentiments, as gold is used in embellishing statues. Whenever a beloved object is mentioned, her perfections and beauties are published in *Songs*, which impress them in the memory in a more lively and durable manner. If we send our mistress either letters or presents, we try to augment their value, by a copy of *verses* or a *Song*. In short, continues Plutarch, from Theophrastus, there are three incitements to *Song*; sorrow, joy, and enthusiasm. During sorrow, our complaints are expressed in lengthened tones which resemble those of Music; the voice too, of an orator, humbly bespeaking, in his peroration, the favour of an audience, is modulated into a kind of *Song*; as are the grief and lamentation of actors in tragedy. Joy causes violent agitations, and stimulates the vulgar to skip and dance; while persons more decorous, and better educated, are inclined to *sing*. Enthusiasm agitates and transports to a degree of madness and fury, witness the cries of the Bacchanals, and the agonies of the Pythia, both of which are uttered in measure and cadence. Now there can be no doubt but that the passion of love occasions exquisite pain, as well as pleasure. This passion, therefore, concludes the philosopher, uniting all the three propensities of *Song*, must at all times have been regarded as the most proper to excite a desire of *singing*."

(*g*) *Dissert. sur les Chansons de l'Ancienne Grece.* Mem. de Litt. tom. x.

(*h*) Παῖ Τελαμῶνος Αιαν ἀιχμητα, λεγουσι σ' ες Τροιαν αρισον ελθεῖν Δαναῶτ μετ' Αχιλλεα. τον Τελαμῶνα πρωτον, Αιαντα δε δευτερον ες Τροιαν λεγουσιν ελθεῖν Δαναῶν μετ' Αχιλλεα.

Nor is either the poetry or morality very exalted of this: " He who does not betray his friend, has great honour both with Gods and men—in my opinion (*i*)."

To pursue this subject through all the different classes of Poetry, that might be comprehended under the word *Scolia,* belongs more immediately to a history of Poetry, than of Music; especially as the Melodies to which they used to be sung have been so long intirely and irritrievably lost, that nothing seems left to say concerning them, that can afford musical enquirers the least satisfaction.

(*i*) *Οσις ανδρα φιλον μη προδιδωσιν, μεγαλην εχει τιμαν ε τε Βροτοις; εντε θεοισιν, κατ᾽ εμον νοον.*

THE
HISTORY OF THE MUSIC OF THE ROMANS

IN describing the Music and musical instruments of the Greeks, those of the Romans have been included; yet, in order to preserve a kind of historical chain, and to connect distant times together, it is as necessary to give a chapter to Roman Music, as, in visiting distant regions, it is, sometimes, to pass through large tracts of desert country, in order to arrive at places better worth examining. But though the Romans were obliged to the Greeks for most of their arts, sciences, and refinements; yet, as there is no country so savage, where men associate together, as to be wholly without Music, it appears that the Romans had in very high antiquity a rude and coarse Music of their own, and had imitated the Etruscan Musical Establishments, both in their army and temples.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis (*a*), speaking of the antiquity of the Pelasgians, the inhabitants of Falerii and Fescennia, two ancient cities of Etruria, built in the Greek form, says, " the manner of their religious ceremonies was the same as those of Argos. Holy women served in the Temple, and a girl unmarried, called *Canephoros,* or basket-bearer, began the sacrifice, besides *Choruses* of virgins, who hymned the Goddess in songs of their country." Now as the Romans had an earlier communication with the Etruscans than with the Greeks, this passage renders it very probable that they were obliged to the people of Etruria for their religious ceremonies, and for *vocal Music* (*b*). And the same author informs us, that " the Arcadians were the first who brought into Italy the use of Greek letters (*c*), and *instrumental Music,* performed on the

(*a*) *Lib.* i.

(*b*) Strabo, *de bello Punico*, says in express terms, that the public music, especially such as was used in sacrifices, came from Etruria to the Romans. See also Livy, *lib.* xxxix.

(*c*) The late Mr. Spelman, whose translation is used here, was of opinion, as many others have been, among whom is Quintilian, that the Roman language was originally Greek. And as the Arcadians were one of the first Greek colonies that settled in Italy, the Æolic dialect must have been brought thither by them. Mr. Spelman in proof of this opinion compares the following words of the Latin language with its mother Greek : *Fama*, φαμα ; *plaga*, πλαγα ; *machina*, μαχινα ; *malum*, μαλον ; *mater*, ματερ ; *tu*, τυ. And yet, though many more instances are to be found of Greek words incorporated in the Latin language, they no more prove it to have been originally Greek than those to be found, in perhaps greater number, in the English language, will give to our tongue so honourable an origin. The Romans had an intercourse with Greece, and an acquaintance with the literature of the Greeks, long before the time of Dionysius, and in adopting their arts they could not help adopting the language in which they received them from the original inventors.

Lyre, and those instruments called the Trigon and the Lydian (*d*); for the shepherd's pipe was the only instrument in use before that time. They are said, also, to have instituted laws; to have brought mankind over from the savageness which then generally prevailed, to a sense of humanity; and likewise, to have introduced arts and sciences, and many other things conducive to the public good.—This was the second Greek nation, that came into Italy after the Pelasgi; and living in common with the Aborigines, fixed their habitation in the best parts of Italy (*e*)."

Dionysius likewise says (*f*), many old authors asserted that Romulus and Remus, after they were weaned, were sent by those who had the charge of their education to Gabii, a town not far from Palatium, to be instructed in Greek learning; and that there they were brought up by some persons with whom Faustulus the shepherd had a private intercourse of hospitality, where they employed their time, till they arrived at manhood, in literature, *Music*, and the use of Greek arms.

Plutarch (*g*) mentions it as a prevailing opinion, that the Greek language which was spoken by the Romans in the time of Romulus, was not corrupted by Italian words. From these accounts it appears that the Romans had not only vocal and instrumental music as well as other arts and sciences from Greece, but even their alphabet, language, religion, and all the learning of which they were possessed during the time of their kings, and the first ages of their republic, these having been originally Greek, though the Romans had them through Etruscan strainers.

The first Roman triumph, according to Dionysius (*h*), was that of Romulus over the Cæninenses; in which, clad in a purple robe, he was drawn in a chariot by four horses. The rest of the army both horse and foot followed, ranged in three several divisions, *Hymning* their gods in songs of their country, and celebrating their general with *extemporary Verses*: this account affords a very venerable origin to the *Improvvisatori* of Italy; as the event happened in the fourth year of Rome, 749 years before Christ, and fourth year of the seventh Olympiad.

The same author says that the Roman prætors, in worshipping the Idæan goddess, performed annual sacrifices and celebrated annual games in her honour, according to the *Roman, not Grecian,* customs: though the priest and priestess of the goddess were Phrygians. These carried her image in procession about the city, asking alms in her name, according to their custom, and wearing figures upon their breast, and striking their *Cymbals,* while their followers *played Tunes* upon their Flutes, in honour of the mother of the gods.

(*d*) This was probably an instrument for which the Greeks were indebted to their Asiatic neighbours, the Lydians.

(*e*) *Dionysius Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib.* i.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) *Vita Romuli.*

(*h*) *Lib.* ii.

These are the chief instances to be found in ancient history of original *Roman Music;* or at least of music that was not immediately derived from Greece. M. Rousseau, speaking of the *Scolia,* or Grecian Songs, says, "These kind of songs passed from the Greeks to the Romans, and many of the odes of Horace are Bacchanalian and love songs. But this nation, more military than sensual, for a long while made but a very coarse use of Music and songs, and never approached in these particulars the voluptuous grace and elegance of the Greeks (*i*). It seems as if Melody always remained in a coarse and rude state among the Romans. Their Hymenæal odes were rather noise and clamour than songs, and it is hardly to be presumed that the satirical songs of the soldiers, in the triumphs of their generals, consisted of a very agreeable melody (*k*)." I shall, however, endeavour to trace the progress of Music among the Romans, by collecting the chief passages to be found in their best historians relative to the subject.

Numa* began his reign in the middle of the sixteenth Olympiad, 715 B.C., about the time when Pythagoras was in Italy. And, according to Dionysius, the sixth branch of his religious institutions was the establishment of the *Salii,* whom Numa himself appointed out of the patricians, chusing twelve young men of the most graceful appearance. These Saiii were a kind of dancers and singers of hymns in praise of the god of war. The festivals were celebrated about the time of the Panathenæa at Athens, in the month of March, and at the public expence ; they continued several days, during which they proceeded dancing through the city to the Forum, and the Capitol, and to many other public and private places, beating time upon the *Ancilia,* or sacred shields (*l*). The Romans called them *Salii* from their violent motions. And for the same reason, they called all other dancers *Saltatores,* because their dancing, also, was attended with frequent springing and leaping, in imitation of the *Salii* (*m*): ** " In the evolutions which they perform in arms, keeping time to a Flute," says Dionysius, " sometimes they move altogether, sometimes by turns ; and in dancing, sing certain Hymns, after the manner of their country (*n*). They seem to be the same as the Greek Curetes."

Servius Tullius, who began his reign 578 B.C. in forming the people into classes and centuries, is related by the Roman historians

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(*i*) It has been shewn, however, in the preceding chapter, that though the Greeks had many elegant Lyric Poets, and numbered Sappho and Anaceron among the writers of songs upon the subjects of love and wine, yet some of their vulgar and popular *Scolia* seem to have been furnished with as little Poetry, grace, and refinement, as the Roman *military* Pæans.

(*k*) *Dict. de Mus.* art. CHANSON.

(*l*) This performance must very much have resembled that of modern morice or morisque dancers.

(*m*) The modern Italians are still fond of *Saltatori,* and employ them in their Operas.

(*n*) This account affords no very splendid idea of the Roman dancing, any more than it does of their Music. Singing and dancing together during such violent exertions of activity and agility, must have infeebled both.

* The legendary second King of Rome. According to Livy he reigned 43 years, but Polybius and Cicero only allow 39 years.

** Hence the later Italian dance, the " Saltarello."

to have ordained that two whole centuries should consist of *Trumpeters, blowers of the horn,* &c. and of such as, *without any other instruments, sounded the charge* (*o*). This shews the number, and the importance of military Musicians in the Roman state near 600 years before Christ.

And in the laws of the Twelve Tables, instituted about the time that the power of the Decemvirs was abolished, 450 B.C. among those concerning religious rites, we find the two following:

I. Let the cryer proclaim the funeral. Let the master of the funeral, in the games, make use of a public officer, and lictors. Let it be lawful for him to make use of three square mantles in the funeral, a purple fillet for the head, and *ten players on the Flute.* Let him do no more than this (*p*).

XII. Let the praises of honoured men be displayed in an assembly of the people ; and let mournful Songs, accompanied with a Flute, attend those praises (*q*).

According to Servius, Macrobius, and Horace, Nuptial Songs, which were afterwards refined and polished into Epithalamiums, were first used by the people of Fescennia, a city of Etruria, and therefore called *Versus Fescennini.* This kind of Poetry, in its original, was gross and obscene, though long authorized by custom. Young people, instead of throwing the stocking, in the manner of our villages, sung the *Fescennina* before the apartment of the new married pair.

Livy (*r*) gives a kind of history of the Roman Drama, which, as well as the Grecian, was inseparable from Music. The passage is so full and curious, that I shall insert it entire.

" The plague continued to rage this year (*s*), and the following, during the consulate of C. Sulpicius Peticus, and C. Licinnius Stolo. The most remarkable occurrence during this period was, that, in order to obtain mercy of the Gods, a public feast called *Lectisternium* was celebrated for them, which was the third entertainment of this kind that had been made since the building of the city (*t*). But the magistrates finding that the violence of the

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(*o*) Dionys. Halic. from Fabius, and Livy, *Lib.*i., *cap.* 43.

(*p*) I. PRAECO· FONUS· ENDEICITO· DOMINOS· FONERIS· EN· LVDEIS· ACENSO· LICTOREBOSQVE· OETITOR· EN· DO· FONERE TRIBOS· RICINEIS· RICA· PORPOREA· DECEMQVE· TIBICINIBOS· OETIER· LICETO· HOC· PLVVS· NEI: FACITO· Transcribed from Fulvius Ursinus, as they were originally written.

I. *Præco funus indicito. Dominus funeris in ludis accenso lictoribusque utitor. In funere tribus, riciniis, ricâ purpureâ, decemque Tibicinibus uti licito. Hoc plus ne facito.*

(*q*) XII HONORATOROM· VIROROM· LAVDES· EN· DO· CONTIONE. MEMORANTOR· EASQUE· NAENIAE· AD· TIBICINEM· PROSEQVVNTOR.

XII. *Honoratorum virorum laudes in concione memorantor ; easque næniæ ad Tibicinem prosequuntor.*

(*r*) *Lib.* vii. *cap.* 2.

(*s*) 364 B.C.

(*t*) The word *Lectisternium* is derived from *sternere, to spread* or *make*, and *lectus, a bed.* The statues of the Gods were taken down from their niches, and laid on beds, placed about a table, and covered with magnificent carpets, purple cushions, and hangings of tapestry. *Duumviri, Triumviri,* and in process of time, *Septemviri,* named *Epulones,* presided at these feasts, and eat the meat that was served up before the statues. Yet not by stealth, in the sneaking manner that was practised at Babylon, by the priests of Bel (see History of *Bel and the Dragon*), but openly, and in the face of day. In the first of the three beds lay Apollo, Diana, and Latona ; in the second, Hercules and Mercury, and in the third, Neptune.

pestilence was neither abated by human prudence, nor Divine assistance, and having their minds filled with superstition, among other means which were tried in order to appease the incensed Deities, are said to have instituted the games called *Scenici* (*u*), which were amusements entirely new to a warlike people, who, before this time, had none but that of the Circus. These theatrical representations, like the beginnings of most other things, were at first inconsiderable, and borrowed from foreigners: for actors were sent for from Etruria, who, without verses, or any action expressive of verses, danced, not ungracefully, after the Tuscan manner, to the Flute. In process of time the Roman youth began to imitate these dancers, intermixing raillery in unpolished verses, their gestures corresponding with the sense of the words. Thus were these plays received at Rome, and being improved and refined by frequent performances, the Roman actors acquired the name of *Histriones,* from the Tuscan word *Hister,* which signifies a stage player. But their dialogue did not consist of unpremeditated, and coarse jests, in such rude verses as were used by the *Fescennini,* but of satires, accompanied with Music, set to the Flute, and recited with suitable gestures (*x*). And some years after, Livius Andronicus first ventured to abandon satires, and write plays with a regular and connected plot (*y*). After satires, which had afforded the people subject of coarse mirth and laughter, were, by this regulation, reduced to form, and acting, by degrees, became an art, the Roman youth left it to players by profession, and began, as formerly, to act farces at the end of their regular pieces. These dramas were soon after called *Exodia,* and were generally interwoven with the *Atellane* comedies (*z*). These were borrowed from the Osci (*a*), and always acted by the Roman youth, who would not allow them to be disgraced by professed actors. Hence it has been a rule for those who performed in such pieces not to be degraded from their tribe, and they were allowed to serve in the army as if they never had appeared on the stage."

The circumstance of these plays having been first represented on account of the plague, proves theatrical exhibitions to have been originally *religious institutions,* among the Romans, as well as the ancient Greeks ; and the importance of Music in religious ceremonies is put out of all doubt by another curious passage in

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(*u*) These scenic shews took their name from the Greek word *σκηνη*, which signifies a shady place, or arbor, made with branches, or boughs of trees, with which the ancients covered their stages. Afterwards, the scene of the theatre of the ancients implied all those buildings which were represented to the spectators on the stage, when it was adorned with such decorations as Vitruvius calls *scenes.*

(*x*) These *Saturæ* or *Satiræ* were a kind of wild, miscellaneous drama, without regular plot, or subject. The reader may see the word well explained in an elegant note of Mr. Harris's *Philosophical Arrangements*, p. 460.

(*y*) See *Dissert.* p. 144.

(*z*) *Atella*, according to Cluver, was situated near Aversa, in Campania, between Capua and Naples.

(*a*) The original inhabitants of Campania. They were antiently called *Opisci*, and, by contraction, *Obsci* ; whence, say the Etymologists, the word *Obscænus* came, as these people had the character of being as licentious in their discourses, as they were loose in their manners. Tacitus tells us that some pieces called *Atellanæ*, written in the spirit and language of the old *Osci*, were acted in his time.

Livy (*b*), where he has recorded the effects of resentment in the Roman Musicians, who used to perform at sacrifices, and who, upon an imaginary affront, left the city in body. The relation of the historian seems to merit a place here without abridgment.

" I should omit a circumstance, hardly worth mentioning, if it did not seem connected with religion. The *Tibicines,* or Flute-players, taking offence at the preceding censors refusing them the privilege of eating in the Temple of Jupiter, according to traditional custom, withdrew in a body to Tibur (*c*), so that there were no performers left to play before the sacrifices. This created religious scruples in the minds of the senators, and ambassadors were sent to Tibur to endeavour to persuade the fugitives to return to Rome. The Tiburtines readily promised to use their utmost endeavours to this end, and first summoning them before their senate, exhorted them to return to Rome; but finding them deaf to reason or intreaty, they had recourse to *an artifice well suited to the dispositions of these men.* For upon a certain festival, they were all invited by different persons, under pretence of their assisting in the celebration of a feast. As men of this profession are generally much addicted to wine, they were supplied with it, till being quite intoxicated, they fell fast asleep, and in this condition were flung into carts, and carried to Rome; where they passed the remaining part of the night in the Forum, without perceiving what had happened (*d*). The next day, while they were full of the fumes of their late debauch, upon opening their eyes they were accosted by the Roman people, who flocked about them, and having been prevailed upon to stay in their native city, they were allowed the privilege of strolling through all the streets in their robes (*e*), three days in every year, playing upon their instruments, and indulging themselves in those licentious excesses which are practised upon the same occasion to this day (*f*). The privilege of eating in the temple was also restored to such of them as should be employed in playing before the sacrifices." This adventure

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(*b*) *Lib.* ix. *cap.* 30.

(*c*) *Tivoli.*

(*d*) The Tibicines were frequently celebrated by ancient writers, not only for their love of good cheer, but for their corpulency. Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 193. says :

Inflavit cum Pinguis *ebur* Tyrrhenus *ad Aras.*
When the *fat Tuscan's* horn has call'd the God.

This, according to the commentators, and old scholiasts, was owing to the good dinners they obtained at sacrifices. And as the Greeks had a proverb, see p. 338, relative to persons of this profession living at the cost of others, so, *to run about like a Flute-player*, was a proverbial expression, among the Romans : *Transire Tibicinis Latini modo*—says Cic. *pro Muræna* : from their attendance at different sacrifices on Festivals.

(*e*) These Musicians had a long gown peculiar to their profession ; Horace speaks of their trailing it along the stage (*Art. Poet.*) and this is what Ovid means by the *stola longa.*

(*f*) Livy was cotemporary with Augustus. Ovid, *Fasti, lib.* vi. relates the same story, and tells us further, that the Tibicines celebrated the anniversary of their return to Rome on the 13th of June ; at which time they disguised themselves in women's apparel, and marched through the streets in procession to the Temple of Minerva, inventress of the Flute, and protectress of such as played upon it, singing jovial Songs. *Et canere ad veteres verba jocosa modos.* See, likewise, Plutarch's *Roman Problems.*

happened 309 years B.C. while the Romans were preparing for two very dangerous wars (*g*).

But notwithstanding the importance of these Flute-players to the celebration of religious rites, Music seems to have arrived at no very great degree of refinement or perfection, or to have been much in use on other occasions, till after the conquest of Antiochus the Great, King of Syria; and it is mentioned by Livy (*h*), as a memorable æra of luxury, that the custom was then first introduced at Rome of having *Psaltriæ,* or female Musicians to attend and perform at feasts and banquets in the Asiatic manner (*i*).

Indeed the Romans were later in cultivating Arts and Sciences, than any other great and powerful people; and none of them seem to have been the natural growth of the soil, except the art of war; all the rest were brought in by conquest. For it has been shewn already, that before their acquaintance with the Greeks they had all their refinements from the Etruscans, a people very early civilized and polished. Cicero, in his second Book of Laws, tells us, that before Greece and her arts were well known to the Romans, it was a custom for them to send their sons for instruction into Etruria. And thence they had the first ideas, not only of Religion, but of Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, and Music, according to the confession even of their own historians.

With respect to Etruscan Music, whoever regards the great number of Instruments represented in the fine collection of antiquities published under the patronage of Sir William Hamilton, as well as in that published at Rome since, by Passerio, must be convinced that the ancient inhabitants of Etruria were extremely attached to Music; for every species of Musical instrument that is to be found in the remains of ancient Greek sculpture is delineated on the vases of these collections; though the antiquity of some of them is imagined to be much higher than the general use of the instruments represented upon them was, even in Greece.

Yet, with all the advantages of vicinity to Etruria, and intercourse with its inhabitants, it is well known how ignorant the Romans were of Painting, Sculpture, and all the fine arts, long after they were arrived at the highest perfection in Greece. For when Mummius had put Rome in possession of some of the finest productions of art which had rendered Greece so famous, after laying waste a great part of that country, and, like a true barbarian,

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(*g*) The Roman Flute-players were incorporated and formed into a *College*, or Company, and had, it may be imagined, their *Common-halls*, or meetings, their bye-laws and privileges. Val. Max. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 5. and Plut. *in Numa*, both speak of the College of Pipers. Ovid likewise has expressed their importance, and different provinces in the *Temple*, the *Theatre*, and at *Funerals*, in the following lines:

Temporibus veterum Tibicinis usus *avorum*
   Magnus, et in magno semper honore *fuit.*
Cantabat fanis, *cantabat tibia* ludis,
   Cantabat mœstis tibia funeribus.
Fast. *Lib.* vi.

(*h*) *Lib.* xxxix. *cap.* 6.

(*i*) *Psaltria* was a general appellation for a girl that sung and played upon some stringed-instrument: a Minstrel. And the luxury of which Livy complains, was the *addition* of this entertainment to feasts. *Addita epulis.* See p. 340.

wantonly burning Corinth, the capital of Achaia, though he entered it without resistance, this rude conqueror, according to Pliny, being offered by King Attalus 600,000 sesterces, a sum equal to 4843 *l.* 15*s.* for a picture of Bacchus painted by Aristides, had so little of the connoisseur about him, that imagining the picture must contain some secret virtue, by the price that was set on it, he would not part with it, but sent it to Rome among other spoils: exposing, however, his own ignorance in these matters by telling the commander of the ship, that he had best take care of this piece, for if it was either lost or spoiled, he would oblige him to furnish such another.

Besides the obligations which the Romans had to the Etruscans and Greeks for their taste and knowledge in the fine arts, the conquest of Sicily 200 years B.C., contributed greatly to their acquaintance with them. Indeed there was no state of Greece which produced men of more eminence in all the Arts and Sciences than Sicily, which was a part of *Magna Græcia,* and which having been peopled 719 years B.C. by a colony of Greeks from Corinth, their descendents long after cherished and cultivated Science of all kinds, in which they greatly distinguished themselves, even under all the tyranny of government with which they were oppressed. Fabricius (*k*) gives a list of seventy Sicilians who have been celebrated in antiquity for learning and genius, among whom we find the well known names of Æschylus, Diodorus Siculus, Empedocles, Gorgias, Euclid, Archimedes, Epicharmus, and Theocritus. To the Sicilians is given not only the invention of Pastoral Poetry, but of the Wind Instruments with which the shepherds and cowherds used to accompany their rural Songs.

After the conquest of Greece, the Romans had the taste to admire and adopt the Grecian arts. And the president Montesquieu remarks, with respect to the military art, that one of the chief causes of the Roman grandeur, was their method of abandoning their ancient customs, and adopting those of the people whom they had vanquished, whenever they found them superior to their own (*l*).

In the time of Cicero, though the chief part of Greece was subdued by the Romans, and rendered tributary to them, yet the Greeks preserved a kind of sovereignty over the minds of their masters; and the first personage among the Romans, even men of consular dignity, whose power was so unbounded in the several provinces under their command, chearfully submitted to go to school at Athens, and to become disciples of Greek tutors, in philosophy, mathematics, and the polite arts.

During the reign of Augustus, except Vitruvius, it does not appear that the Romans had one Architect, Sculptor, Painter, or

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(*k*) *Bib. Græc.* Vol. xiv. p. 27.

(*l*) *On doit remarquer que ce qui a le plus contribué à rendre les Romains les maitres du monde, c'est. qu'ayant combattu successivement contre tous les peuples, ils ont toujours renoncé à leurs usages sitôt qu'ils en ont trouvé de meilleurs.* Grand. et Decad. des Romains, *chap.* i.

Musician: those who have been celebrated in the arts at Rome, having been Asiatics, or European Greeks, who came to exercise such arts among the Latins, as the Latins had not among themselves: this custom was continued under the successors of Augustus, and those Romans who were prevented by more important concerns from going into Greece, contrived in a manner to bring Greece to Rome, by receiving into their service the most able professors of Greece and Asia, in all the arts. We find too, not only that each of the best Roman writers was an imitator of some great Grecian model, but are certain that the finest remains in painting, sculpture, and architecture, which still subsist in Italy, were either brought thither from Greece, or were the works of Greek artists, who had left their own ruined and oppressed country, to bask in the warm sunshine of power and affluence, at Rome.

It cannot be dissembled, or passed over in silence here, that arts and sciences have been frequently charged with contributing to precipitate both the Roman and Grecian states into ruin, by rendering the minds of the people effeminate, involving the Great in idle and useless expence and luxury, and by calling off their attention from military and political concerns, which alone can acquire and preserve dominion. In the infancy of a state, or in times of danger and calamity, this may be true: but that man was designed for no other purposes than to enslave or destroy his fellow-creatures, or to live a gloomy life of inanity and penance, never composed a part of my creed. A nation become affluent by conquest and commerce, must have amusements in time of peace. The question is, whether these amusements shall be merely corporeal and sensual, or whether elegance, refinement, and mental pleasure, shall bear a part in them (*m*)? Another question may still be asked: whether any efforts of Greek and Roman genius are still so much admired and imitated, as those which are seen in the remains of their works in literature and the polite arts?

It is difficult to acquire wealth by fair means, but it is much more difficult to use it rationally. And, in our own country, and times, there are at least ten men who have talents of accumulation sufficient to amass great riches, to one who distributes them among his fellow-citizens, with benevolence, taste, and judgment.

Permanence is not allowed to human institutions: and the longevity of a state has its bounds, as well as the life of man. It is more consonant with our duty to endeavour, than with experience to expect, to keep all corruption and depravity from our own. The Spartan virtue, and self-denial, could not preclude them.

(*m*) *L'Amusement est un des besoins de l'homme*, says M. de Voltaire. The first consideration with a legislator is, that this amusement should be innocent; the next, that it be not below the dignity of a rational creature. The more rigid moralist Plato, *de Legib.* says, that the Gods allowed festivals to be instituted to their honour, at which the Muses, with Apollo their leader, and Bacchus were to preside; these were intended as relaxations to mankind, who otherwise would sink under the pressure of toil and sorrow, to which they are subjected by nature. Θεοι δε ὀικτειραντες το των ἀνθρωπων ἐπιπονον πεφυκος γενος, ἀναπαυλας τε ἀυτοις των πονων εταξαντο τας των εορτων ἀμοιβας τοις θεοις· Και Μουσας, Απολλωνα τε Μουσηγετην, και Διονυσον, ξυνεορτασας ἐδοσαν. Plato de Legib. lib. ii. vol. ii. p. 653, Ed. Serrani.

The cultivation of Arts and Sciences in a great and flourishing kingdom is expected by its neighbours, and a debt to posterity. It was long the fate of our own country, like that of the ancient Romans, to admire the polite arts more than to cultivate them. We imported the productions of foreign painters, sculptors, and musicians, at an enormous expence, without conceiving it possible to raise a school for the advancement of those arts at home. With respect to the two first, all Europe now allows that genius, diligence, and travel, under the auspices of royal protection and public patronage, have made wonderful strides within the last twenty years towards perfection, and forming a school in our own country; but, as for Music, we have little that we can call our own; and though more money is expended upon this favourite art in England, than in any other kingdom upon the globe; yet, having no school either for the cultivation of Counterpoint or Singing, we acquire by those arts neither honour from our neighbours, nor profit to our natives. Both take wing together! and without a scarcity of genius for contributing to the pleasures of the ear, we purchase them with as little necessity as we should corn at a dear and foreign market, while our own lands lay fallow.

With respect to the musical instruments used by the Romans, as they invented none themselves, all that are mentioned by their writers, can be traced from the Etruscans and Greeks. Indeed the Romans had few authors who wrote professedly upon the subject of Music, except St. Augustine, Martianus Capella, Boethius, and Cassiodorus; who, though they lived in the decline of the empire, yet made use of Greek principles, and explained those principles by Greek musical terms (*n*).

Vitruvius, in his Treatise upon Architecture, has inserted a chapter upon Music, in which he has given the Harmonical system of Aristoxenus; but he introduces it with a complaint of the unavoidable obscurity of musical literature, on account of the deficiency of

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(*n*) *St. Augustine* was born in Africa, A.C. 354, and died 430. Besides the six books written by him upon Music, which are printed in the fol. edition of his works at Lyons, 1586, there is a MS. tract of his writing in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, entitled *De Musica*; but it is nothing more than a sermon in praise of Church Music, nor do his six books contain any other rules than those of Metre and Rhythm.

Martianus Capella, who flourished in 470, was likewise an African. He, as well as St. Austin, wrote upon the Seven liberal Arts. His ninth Book, the only one which concerns Music, has been commented by Meibomius, at the end of the third Book of Aristides Quintilianus, from whom it is almost wholly taken, blunders and corruptions excepted. Yet, however deficient Martianus Capella may appear in the eyes of musical enquirers, Hugo Grotius, at the age of sixteen, chose the book of this author as an exercise for his critical talents, and published it with a dedication to the prince of Conde, at Leyden, 1599.

Boethius was born at Rome, in 470, and put to death by order of Theodoric, the Goth, in 525. He wrote five books on Music, which were first printed in black letter, with his Treatises on Arithmetic and Geometry, at Venice, 1499. I am greatly obliged to the unsolicited kindness and liberal communication of Dr. Jos. Warton, for a long possession of this rare edition, as well as for a very scarce Treatise by Franchinus Gaforius, of equal antiquity. It is remarkable, that in this copy, the Greek of the famous *Senatus-Consultum*, against Timotheus, at Lacedæmon is omitted; though I found it in a beautiful MS. of Boethius, *De Musica*, 15 B. ix. of the 11th century, in the British Museum, where the word ἐναρμονιω occurs, in the same manner as it is printed in the Oxford edition of Aratus. See *Dissert.* p. 57 and 325.

Cassiodorus flourished in the time of Theodoric, in the 6th century, and died in 562, at the age of 93. He wrote of the Seven liberal Arts, *De septem Disciplinis*. The whole of his musical work, which is hardly the skeleton of a treatise, is a repetition of what his predecessors have said on the subject, and all these Latin Musical Tracts are but bullets of the same calibre. They teach no part of Music but the alphabet, nor can any thing be acquired by the most intense study of them, except despair and the head-ach.

terms in the Latin tongue, to explain his ideas. "The science of Music, in itself obscure," says he, "is particularly so to such as understand not the Greek language (*o*)." This writer, therefore, who seems to have been the first that had treated of music in the Roman language, confesses the necessity he was under of using Greek appellatives, not only for the notes, but for other parts of the art: which shews, if not the low state of Music at Rome when he wrote, which was in the Augustan age, at least whence their Music came; and *borrowing* implies *inferiority*. Indeed, the writings of Cicero shew that philosophy, and all the arts and sciences, were wholly furnished to the Romans from Greece, even in the most enlightened times.

Music was, however, in great favour at Rome, during the latter end of the republic, and the voluptuous times of the emperors; the stage then flourished; the temples were crowded; festivals frequent; and banquets splendid; so that we may suppose it to have been very much used both upon public and private occasions, in so rich, populous, and flourishing a city as Rome, the mistress of the world. But this Music must have differed as little from that of the Greeks, as the descriptions of it in Horace and Virgil differ from those to be found in Homer, and the Greek Lyric Poets.

Livy mentions (*p*) a hymn composed by P. Licinius Tegula, in the 552d year from the building of the city, on occasion of some prodigies which, from a supposition that the Gods were angry, had greatly alarmed the citizens: such as the birth of an Hermaphrodite; a lamb with the head of a Hog; and a colt with five legs. This hymn was sung by twenty-seven Virgins in procession through the streets of Rome. The *Carmen Seculare* of Horace, more especially his *Dianam teneræ,* are very curious Relics of *Vocal* poetry; of verses written *for Music;* and as the form and measures of his Odes are Greek, the Music may fairly be supposed to have been in the Greek style (*q*). Catullus's hymn to Diana is another remain of the same kind (*r*).

As all shows and public spectacles in Rome were calculated to amuse and flatter the vulgar, who were extremely delighted with these exhibitions, refinement and good taste in the arts that were exercised in them, must have been kept in great subjection. Horace frequently complains of the noise and indecorum of the clowns and mechanics who were admitted into the theatre, and whose chief delight was in the glare and splendor of the decorations ; the magnificence of the dresses ; and such Music as was suited to their

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(*o*) *Lib.* v. *cap.* 4.

(*p*) *Lib.* xxxi. *cap.* 12.

(*q*) *The Carmen Seculare* was performed *a due Cori*, by twenty-seven noble youths, and as many Virgins. Τρις εννεα παιδες ἐπιφανεις, μετα παρθενων τοσουτων,———ὑμνους αδουσι τῃ τε Ελληνων και Ῥωμαιων φωνῃ, και παιανας.———Zosimus, Hist. ii. p. 74, Ed. Oxon. 1679. The Sibylline verses, which this Author quotes, in p. 77, order the two Choruses to be separated.

———χωρις δε κοραι χορον ἀυται εχοιεν,
Και χωρις παιδων αροην σταχυς.———

(*r*) *Dianæ sumus in fide*
Puellæ, et pueri integri.—Carm. xxxiv.

rude ears and ignorance (*s*). The common people, says Ovid, sung the airs of the theatre when they were at work in the fields (*t*).

A passage in Cicero (*u*) would incline us to imagine that the laws of contrast, of light and shade, of loud and soft, of swelling and diminishing sounds, were understood by the Musicians of his time, as well as by those of the present. For, after speaking of the use of *contrast* in oratory, poetry, and theatrical declamation, he adds: " even Musicians, who have composed Melody, have known its power; as is manifest from the care they take to lessen the sound of instruments, in order to augment it afterwards: to diminish, to swell, to vary, and to diversify (*x*)."

This orator frequently mentions, in his familiar Letters, Philosophical works, and even Orations, the keeping a band of Musicians as a general practice among persons of rank: these were called *Servi Symphoniaci,* and *Pueri Symphoniaci.* In his Oration *In Q. Cæcilium,* Quæstor to Verres, speaking of the extortions and abuses of Verres and his Quæstor, he mentions Cæcilius protecting the admiral of Anthony, who had by violence taken from a Sicilian Lady, named Agonis, her *servos symphoniacos,* in order to make use of them on board his fleet (*y*).

The shepherds oaten pipe, among the Romans, seems to have been sometimes made use of in their public assemblies to express disapprobation ; it was certainly louder and more powerful than hissing could be, and gave a harsh, jarring, ungrateful noise.

Stridenti miserum stipulâ dispendere Carmen.

Cicero calls it *Fistula Pastoricia,* which might be englished, *A Roman Catcall.*

The passage is in one of his Letters to Atticus, where acquainting him, with the satisfaction it gave the citizens, to observe the close connexion and friendship between himself and Pompey, which they considered as a powerful defence against the desperate designs of the Clodian Faction, he tells them, " whenever they appeared together in public, they were received with universal acclamations, *sine ullâ pastoricia Fistulâ* ; which so amazed the young, rash associates of Clodius's conspiracy, that over their cups they used, in contempt, to call Pompey *Cnæus Cicero* (*z*)."

(*s*) *Indoctus quid enim saperet, liberque laborum,*
Rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto.

(*t*) *Illic et cantant quidquid didicere Theatris.* Fast. lib. iii.

(*u*) *De Oratore,* lib. iii. c. 102.

(*x*) *Qudm denique illi etiam qui fecerunt modos, à quibus utrisque summititur aliquid, deinde angetur extenuatur, inflatur, variatur, distinguitur.*

(*y*) *Agonis est quædam Lilybætana veneris Erycinæ : quæ Mulier ante hunc quæstorem, copiosa plane, et locuples fuit. Ab hac præfectus Antonii quidam symphoniacos servos abducebat per injuriam, quibus se in classe uti velle dicebat.* V. i. p. 530. Ed. Græv.

(*z*) Accedit illud, quod *illa concionalis hirudo Ærarii, misera ae jejuna plebecula,* (i.e. Clodius's hungry venal mob) me ab hoc *Magno* (i.e. Pompey) unicè diligi putat. Et hercule multâ et jucundâ consuetudine conjuncti inter nos sumus, usque eò, ut nostri isti comissatores conjurationis, barbatuli juvenes, illum in sermonibus *Cnæum Ciceronem* appellent. Itaquc et Ludis, & gladiatoribus mirandas *επισπμασίας* sine ulla *pastoriciâ Fistulâ* auferebamus.
Letters to Atticus, Book 1. Epist. 16.

It is certain too, from several passages in Greek Writers, (*a*) that ancient vocal Music had its *Ritornels, or Symphonies,* which were expressed by the term *Μεσαυλια, Mesaulici,* a figurative word, implying in the singular number an entry or passage, leading to something else (*b*).

And according to Apuleius, who discovers himself in many parts of his writings to have been an excellent judge of Music, it must have been much cultivated, and well understood, in his time, which was the second century. He describes the several parts of a musical entertainment in the following manner: " She ordered the Cithara to be played, and it was done: she asked for a concert of flutes, and their melifluous sounds were immediately heard: she, lastly, signified her pleasure that Voices should be joined to the instruments, and the souls of the audience were instantly soothed with sweet sounds (*c*)."

The same author (*d*), likewise, describes a musical performance at the celebration of a great festival in honour of Ceres, or Isis, at the time of his own initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries, in such a manner as would suit many modern performances.

" A band of Musicians now filled the air with a melodious concert of Flutes and Voices. They were followed by a chorus of youths, dressed in white robes, suitable to the solemnity, who alternately sung an ingenious Poem, which an excellent Poet, inspired by the Muses, had composed, in order to explain the subject of this extraordinary festival. Among these marched several players on the Flute, consecrated to the great Serapis, who performed many airs dedicated to the worship of the God in his Temple. After this, the venerable ministers of the true religion, shook with all their force the Sistrums of brass, silver, and gold, which produced tones so clear and sonorous, that they might have been heard at a great distance from the place of performance (*e*).

(*a*) Arist. Quint. p. 26. Eustath. Ἰλιάδ. λ. Hesych. *voc.* *Διαύλιον*.

(*b*) Vitruv. *lib.* vi. *cap.* 10. Meibomius, in his first preface, speaking of the Term *μεσαύλιον* calls it *Interpiping*. He was of opinion that the Ancients had Instrumental Music between the acts or scenes of their plays, " to recreate both spectators and actors, and to give the latter time to prepare themselves."

(*c*) *Metam. lib.* xi. (*d*) *Ibid. lib.* v.

(*e*) That Music was both cultivated and heard in sone ages of antiquity, with a greater degree of enthusiasm than others, is certain ; and it is equally difficult to resist the torrent of eloquence and panegyric with which its effects are described by respectable historians or philosophers, and to refrain from a seeming credulity concerning its powers ; but though I am not convinced that the ancient Music, with respect either to Harmony or Melody, in their present acceptation, was equal to the modern, yet I can easily believe that, with the assistance of Poetry, religious veneration, the pomp of public exhibition, joined to native sensibility and passion in the hearers, great effects may have been produced by this Music, whatever it was, and however it may essentially have differed from our own.

In speaking, therefore, of a Musician of past times, as it has been my constant rule to compare him with his cotemporaries ; so in describing the Music in general of remote ages of the world, it has been my wish that the reader should mount up to each particular period of which I write, and consider the Music of antiquity as relative to the knowledge and ideas of those who heard it. Nothing is more certain than that the best Music of the time, in all ages, has greatly delighted its hearers. But notwithstanding the great difference between that of one age and another, the same terms have been constantly used in describing it. However, from a *similitude* of description, we must not infer a similitude of the thing described. Words are vague and fallacious ; and the exclamations, *admirable ! fine ! exquisite !* represent nothing fixed or certain. The utmost weight we ought to give them, is to suppose that the Music or Musician, upon which they were bestowed, was the *best within the knowledge of the writer*. This kind of merit is all comparative. No terms can be devised to express the last refinements, and even excesses of opera singing, more strong than those which Strada uses to describe the musical refinements of the sixteenth century. Yet, if examples of these refinements could now be *heard*, their dissimilitude would sufficiently prove the fallacy of verbal description.

As Apuleius, after Lucian, whom he imitates, lays the scene of his Metamorphosis in Greece, we may imagine that his ideas of Music and musical performances were Greek. One great impediment to the progress of Music among the Romans, was that they wholly abandoned to their slaves the practice of the liberal arts; and the greater their talents, the more severely were they in general treated. Whereas the Greeks, on the contrary, confined the exercise of those arts, as the epithet *liberal* implies, to *free men*, and persons of birth and rank, forbidding their slaves the study and use of them. Whence is it easy to imagine which of these two nations would bring them to the greatest degree of perfection.

What nature was to the Greeks," says the Abbé Gedoyn (*f*), " the Greeks were to the Romans, as the natives of Greece had no other example than nature herself to follow, for no nation, with which they had any intercourse, was learned and polished before them. The Romans, on the contrary, had the Greeks for models." This representation is not to be admitted without reserve. For the first learned Greeks, as has been already shewn, had travelled into Egypt; and the first Romans had received information, upon several subjects, from Etruria, and even from Sicily, before the conquest of Greece. It is true, that from the period of their conquest of that country, may be dated the rapid progress they made in luxury, and their admiration of the fine arts. About the year 601 of the city, and 153 B.C. the Romans saw their first Poets flourish such as Nævius, Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius, and Lucilius.

They were long more renowned as a military, than an elegant and learned people. At length, however, they imitated the Greeks in the institution of musical and poetical contests, at their public Games; but it was not till the time of Augustus, that the glory of their writers, in prose and verse, bore any proportion to that of their military commanders. In the times of the emperors, who reigned before the establishment of the Christian religion, the Greeks and Asiatics were servilely imitated by the Romans, not only in the liberal arts, but in all those of luxury and refinement, particularly in public shews and games, with which the people were amused by their tyrants, who endeavoured to make them forget, during these expensive moments of idleness and dissipation, the slavish and degenerate state to which they were reduced.

Nero, in the year 60 after Christ, instituted exercises of Music, Poetry, and Eloquence, to be performed at Rome every 5th year. In the 63d year A.C. he mounted the stage himself at Naples as a public singer. This was his first appearance as a strolling Minstrel. His second was in Greece, in 66, where he pretended, in imitation of Flamininus, to restore to the Grecian States their ancient liberties. After entering the lists with common musicians at the Olympic Games, and acquiring the prize of Music by corrupting the judges or his competitors, he travelled through Greece, not prompted by

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(*f*) *Mem. de Litt.*

the laudable curiosity of visiting the antiquities of that once celebrated country, but by the low ambition of displaying his skill in singing and playing upon the Cithara. He every where challenged the best performers, and, as may be imagined, was always declared victor. And that there might remain no memorials of other victors, he commanded all their statues to be pulled down, dragged through the streets, and to be either broken in pieces, or thrown into the common sewers (*g*).

At his return from Greece he entered Naples, Antium, Albanum, and Rome, through a breach in the wall of each city, as an Olympic victor, carrying with him in triumph, like spoils of an enemy, 1800 prizes which he had extorted from the judges in musical contests: in the same Car in which kings used to be brought in triumph, who had been vanquished by Roman generals, and with the same splendor, pomp, and solemnity, was Diodorus, a celebrated Greek performer on the Cithara, with other eminent musicians, brought through the streets of Rome, leaving it doubtful, which was the greatest, the vanity of Nero in imagining himself superior to these professed musicians, or their adulation in confessing themselves to have been vanquished by Nero.

The solicitude with which this emperor attended to his voice, as related by historians, is curious, and will throw some light upon the practices of singers in ancient times. Suetonius informs us, that to preserve his voice, he used to lie upon his back, with a thin plate of lead upon his stomach ; took frequent emetics and cathartics ; and abstained from all kinds of fruit, and such meats as were thought to be prejudicial to singers ; and, at length, from the apprehension of hurting his voice, he ceased to harrangue the soldiery or senate, contenting himself with issuing his orders in writing, or by the mouth of some of his friends or freed men. After his return from Greece, he established about his person a *Phonascus* or officer, to take care of his voice: he would never speak but in the presence of this vocal governor, who was first to admonish him, when he spoke too loud, or strained his voice ; and afterwards, if the emperor, transported by some sudden emotion, did not listen to his remonstrances, he was to stop his mouth with a napkin. The most effectual means of acquiring his favour was to commend his voice, which, according to Suetonius, was both thin and husky; to pretend raptures while he sung, and to appear dejected and very importunate, if, like many other singers, through caprice, he desisted from doing what he himself most ardently desired.

Encouraged by the applause of the multitude, he appeared almost every day on the stage, inviting not only the senators and knights, but the whole populace and rabble of Rome, to hear him, generally in the theatre which he had built in his own palace. He frequently detained the audience not only the whole day, but the whole night: for till he was tired himself and desisted, no one was on any account suffered to depart: so that women are said to have

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(*g*) *Suet.* cap. 24.

been delivered in the theatre, and several persons were so tired and disgusted with the performance, that finding the gates of the palace shut, they either leaped over the walls at the hazard of their lives, or counterfeited death, in order to be carried out to their funeral (*h*). Some by continuing night and day in the same posture were seized with mortal distempers ; these, however, they dreaded less than the resentment of the prince, which they would have unavoidably incurred by their absence. Besides the great number of secret observers employed to watch the countenances and behaviour of the audience, there were many open spies who publicly set down the names of such as discovered the least symptoms of dissatisfaction: the vulgar were instantly punished by the soldiery for the least inattention ; and upon persons of rank, the vengeance of the emperor was vented in a still more dreadful manner. Vespasian, afterwards emperor, greatly provoked the anger of Nero, by escaping from the theatre during the time of performance: however, fearing the consequences of the offence which he had given, he returned, in order to make reparation ; but, unfortunately, falling asleep while the emperor was singing, this male siren was so enraged at his inattention, that it would have cost him his life, if his friends, men of the highest rank and merit, had not employed their prayers and mediation in his behalf (*i*).

The successors of Nero encouraged public games and dramatic representations in all the great cities of the empire. Adrian, who had been educated at Athens, was much attached to Grecian customs, and in a particular manner favourable to that city. In the year 126 A.C. he presided there in the public games: in 132 he instituted new games, and built temples in Egypt to the honour of his favourite Antinous: and in 125 he celebrated at Athens the great Festival of Bacchus. His successor, Antoninus, 142 A.C., likewise instituted new games called *Pia* and *Pialia,* in honour of his predecessor, which were appointed to be exhibited at Puteoli on the 2d year of every Olympiad.

The emperor Commodus, little less a monster than Nero, was equally fond of appearing on a public stage, not only as a dancer and an actor, who of course was a singer, but as a gladiator, a profession which seems to have been peculiar to the Roman thirst of blood. In modern times the duellists plead provocation, and the wounds which honour has received; and in the combats of our own prize-fighters for the amusement of the public, death was not a certain consequence of being vanquished ; but the Romans, not content with casting captive kings into dungeons, and deliberately putting them to death after pride and avarice had been satiated, made one of their most delightful amusements consist in seeing the blood of their fellow-creature, and often of their fellow-citizen, spilt on a stage. The public games and contentions which they had from the Greeks, either promoted manly strength and activity, or

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(*h*) *Suet.* cap. 23.

(*i*) *Idem. in Vespasiano, cap.* 4. Tacit. *Annal. Lib.* xiv. *cap.* 5.

some ingenious and ornamental art ; but the combats of gladiators could only steel the hearts of the spectators, and render them insensible to every feeling of humanity.

Notwithstanding all the assistance which the Romans received from the Greeks in the Polite Arts, and all the encouragement of these institutions, they never advanced so far in them as the modern Italians have done ; who, without any foreign help, have greatly surpassed not only their forefathers the ancient Romans, but even the Greeks themselves, in several of the arts, and in no one so much as that of Music, in which every people of Europe have, at different times, consented to become their scholars.

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I shall here terminate my enquiries concerning the Music of the ancients, and the present Book; reserving for the sequel, the History of such Music as more modern times have been delighted with, beginning with its *Introduction into the Church*: and it is hoped that the narrative will become more interesting to the reader in proportion as he advances towards Certainty, and the account of things that we are not only sure *have* existed, but of many, though of ancient origin, which *still* exist; including whatever the moderns have retained, improved, or invented, relative to the ART and SCIENCE of MUSIC.

A List and Description of the Plates to Book I

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PLATE I.

Egyptian musical instrument of two strings represented on the broken obelisk in the *Campus Martius* at Rome; p. 390, and described p. 170.

PLATE II.

The *Theban Harp*, p. 391, described on pp. 181-3.

PLATE III.

Hebrew Chants, see pp. 392-3, described p. 214.

PLATE IV.

No. 1, 2, and 3. Antique *Masks,* described p. 135, Note (*f*).

4. A Bacchanal playing on two Flutes of the same pitch, *Tibiæ Pares*. From an ancient vase in the Giustiniani palace, at Rome.

5. The figure of a Cupid playing on *two Flutes* with *Stopples,* or plugs. From an ancient painting in the *Museo* at Portici. The use of these stopples seems to have been to stop or open the holes of a Flute before a piece began, in order to accommodate the scale to some particular mode or genus. See further account of them, No. 2, Plate VI.

6. Pan playing on the Syrinx, from an ancient *Basso Relievo* of Greek sculpture, in the Giustiniani palace at Rome, representing the nursing of Jupiter by Amalthea. This figure holds in one hand the Syrinx, and in the other a Horn, resembling the *Shawm* represented upon the Arch of Titus, among the Hebrew instruments, supposed to have been copied from those which this emperor had brought from Jerusalem.

7. A *Citharistra,* or female minstrel, from an ancient picture representing a marriage, in the Aldobrandini palace at Rome. The instrument is slung over the shoulder of the performer by a ribbon, and is played without a plectrum. This celebrated painting was found during the time of Pope Clement VIII. in the gardens of Mecænas.

8. The *Tuba,* or long trumpet, called by the Hebrews the *Trumpet of the Jubilee*. It may be seen in several pieces of ancient sculpture at Rome, particularly on the Arch of Titus, and on Trajan's Pillar. The drawing, whence this was engraved, was made from a

Basso Relievo at the Capitol, representing the triumph of Marcus Aurelius.

9. A *Timbrel*, or *Tambour de Basque*.

10. A double *Lituus*. The Lituus was a crooked military instrument, in the form of the augural staff, whence it has its name. It was a species of Clarion, or octave Trumpet, made of metal, and extremely loud and shrill, used by the Romans for the Cavalry, as the strait Trumpet was for the Foot. Horace distinguishes it from the *Tuba* or Trumpet:

> *Multos castra juvant, et* Lituo Tubæ
> *Permistus sonitus,*—— Od. i. 1. 23.

as Claudian does from the Flute.

> Tibia *pro* Lituis, *& pro clangore Tubarum*
> *Molle Lyræ, faustumque canant.*

The two last instruments were taken from an ancient bas-relief in the Vitaleschi palace at Rome, representing a sacrifice.

A genuine ancient metaline *Lituus* is now in the possession of Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, see Plate IV.* It was found with many other antiquities, both Roman and Anglo-Saxon, in clearing the bed of the river Withem, near Tattershall, in Lincolnshire, 1761, and is perhaps the only instrument of the kind that is now extant. It is a long narrow tube, with a swelling curve at the end, like the double *Lituus*, Pl. IV. No. 10, and the double Flute, Pl. VI. No. 2, but resembling still more an instrument sculptured on the base of Trajan's Pillar at Rome. It is neatly made of very thin brass, in three parts, like German Flutes, and has been well gilt. Its length is upwards of four feet, though the end nearest the mouth has been evidently broken off. This instrument frequently appears on ancient medals as a symbol of war, and is terminated by the head of a Boar, and sometimes of a Snake. See Pl. IV.**, an ancient family medal of Albinus, struck during the time of the Republic, between the first Punic War and the reign of Augustus.

11, 12 and 13, are all taken from the same piece of ancient sculpture, or bas-relief, in the *Ghigi* palace at Rome, representing a group of musicians singing an epithalamium. Of these, 11 and 12 are Lyres or Harps of different construction, but both furnished with too great a number of strings to have been of very high antiquity. There is something singularly animated and pleasing in the position of the performer's right arm, No. 12; where it seems as if, after having touched a string with some force, she was carrying it round with a kind of flourish. The difficulty of expressing motion in a drawing is so great, that without suggesting this idea, the action of the figure may be misunderstood, and appear aukward as a *fixed* attitude or position, though as a *transient* attitude and moving position, it is very easy, light, and graceful. 13, is a *double Flute*, or two tubes in unison with each other, blown with one mouth-piece. It may be necessary to apprize the reader that all the figures and instruments on this plate are, as usual, *reversed* in printing, and that the business which appears to have been performed by the right hand in the original, and drawings made from it, seems now to have been done by the left.

PLATE V.

No. 1 and 2, are representations of the *Testudo,* or Lyre of Amphion, in front and profile, as it appears on the base of the celebrated *Toro Farnese* at Rome. See page 225. This admirable work, consisting of four figures bigger than the life, besides the *Toro,* or bull, was found in Caracalla's baths, where the *Farnese Hercules* was likewise discovered and, except the *Laocoon,* is the only piece of Greek sculpture mentioned by Pliny, that is now remaining. The two projections near the bottom of No. 1 seem to have been fastenings for the strings, and to have answered the purpose of tail-pieces in modern instruments.

3. The *Lyre* held by *Terpsichore,* in the picture of that Muse, dug out of Herculaneum.

4. The *Psaltery,* as it is delineated in the ancient picture of the Muse *Erato,* dug likewise out of Herculaneum. See p. 242. Don Calmet says the Psaltery was played upon by a *Bow,* or plectrum: now, besides the almost certainty of the bow being unknown to the ancients, the form of this *Psaltery* is such as makes it impossible to be played upon with a bow. The Hebrew *Psaltery,* however, must have been an instrument of a different form from this. It had originally ten strings, and is called frequently the Ten-stringed Harp, by David in the Psalms. The Hebrew name for it is *Nebel,* or *Nebel Nassor,* whence the Greek *Ναβλιον,* and Latin *Nablium. Vide* Bianchini *De Tribus Gen. Inst. Mus. Vet. Org.* p. 35. Kircher imagines it to have been a horizontal Harp, played with a plectrum, and that it furnished the first idea of a Harpsichord. But there must have been two kinds of *Psaltery* in antiquity, as Athenæus, *lib.* v. *cap.* 25 mentions the *ψαλτηϱιον ὀϱθιον,* the *upright Psaltery,* of which kind must have been that under consideration in the hands of the Muse *Erato.*

5. A *Trigonum,* or *Triangular Harp.* It is taken from an ancient painting in the Museum of the king of Naples, in which it is placed on the shoulder of a little dancing Cupid, who supports the instrument with his left hand, and plays upon it with his right. The *Trigonum* is mentioned by Athenæus, *lib.* iv. and by Julius Pollux, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. According to Athenæus, Sophocles calls it a *Phrygian* instrument, and one of his Dipnosophists tells us, that a certain musician of the name of Alexander Alexandrinus was so admirable a performer upon it, and had given such proofs of his abilities at Rome, that he made the inhabitants *μουσομανειν, musically mad.* This little instrument resembles the *Theban Harp,* Pl. II. in wanting one side to complete the triangle. The performer too, being a native of Alexandria, as his name implies, makes it probable it was an *Egyptian* instrument upon which he gained his reputation at Rome.

6. The *Abyssinian Testudo,* or Lyre, in use at present in the province of Tigré. From a drawing by Mr. Bruce. See p. 180.

7. The *Cymbalum,* or *Crotalo,* seen frequently in the Bacchanalian sacrifices in ancient sculpture. It is still in general use in eastern countries, and has lately been introduced among the troops of almost all the princes of Europe, to mark the steps of the soldiers during their march. This engraving was made from an ancient painting at Portici, in which it is placed in the hands of a *Bacchante,* who beats time upon it to her own dancing. Though Crotalo is the modern Italian name of this instrument, *κϱοταλον* in Greek, and *Crotalum* Latin, implied one that was different from the *Cymbalum;* a kind of *Castanet. Vide Cic. in Pison.* 9.

8. A *Hexachord,* or Lyre of six strings, in the hand of a Grecian Apollo, in the Capitoline Musæum, at Rome. The three openings at the bottom seem designed to answer the purpose of *sound-holes* in the belly of the instrument.

9. A *Dichord,* or instrument of *two strings,* with a neck, resembling that upon the great Egyptian obelisk in the Campus Martius at Rome. See page 170 and Plate I, page 390. This was taken from an antique painting, in a sepulchral grotto, near the ancient *Tarquinia,* and obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Byers of Rome, who intends publishing the antiquities of that city.

10. An *Etruscan Lyre,* with seven strings, in the collection of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities, published from the cabinet of the Hon. Sir William Hamilton, Vol. I. Naples 1766. Pl. CIX. Though the vase upon which it is represented is of such indisputable and remote antiquity, the tail-piece, bridge, belly, and sound-holes have a very modern appearance, and manifest a knowledge in the construction of musical instruments among the Etruscans, superior to that of the Greeks and Romans, in much later times. The lower part of the instrument has much the appearance of an old Base-Viol, and it is not difficult to discover in it more than the embryo of the whole Violin family. The strings lie round, as if intended to be played on with a *bow;* and even the cross lines on the tail-piece are such as we frequently see on the tail-pieces of old Viols.

11. The Tripodian Lyre of Pythagoras the Zacynthian, from a bas-relief in the Maffei palace at Rome, representing the whole choir of the Muses. Athenæus gives the following account of this extraordinary instrument, *lib.* xiv. *cap.* 15, p. 637.

"Many ancient instruments are recorded of which we have so little knowledge, that we can hardly be certain of their existence; such as the Tripod of Pythagoras the Zacynthian, which, on account of its difficulty, continued in use but a short time. It resembled in form the Delphic Tripod, whence it had its name. The legs were equidistant, and fixed upon a moveable base that was turned by the foot of the player; the strings were placed between the legs of the stool; the vase at the top served for the purpose of a sound-board, and the strings of the three sides of the instrument were tuned to three different modes, the *Doric, Lydian,* and *Phrygian.* The performer sate on a chair made on purpose. Striking the strings with the fingers of the left hand, and using the plectrum with the right, at the same time turning the instrument with his foot to whichever of the three modes he pleased; so that by great practice he was enabled to change the modes with such velocity, that those who did not see him, would imagine they heard three different performers playing in three different modes. After the death of this admirable musician, no other instrument of the same kind was ever constructed."

12. A Lyre in the famous ancient picture dug out of Herculaneum, upon which Chiron is teaching the young Achilles to play. See p. 258.

13. The *Sistrum*, an Egyptian instrument of sacrifice; and one that is still used in religious ceremonies by the inhabitants of Abyssinia. See p. 179. This representation was drawn from an ancient *Sistrum* preserved in the library of *St. Genevieve* at Paris. It has been disputed by the Abbé Winckelmann whether the *Sistrum* was of very high antiquity in Egypt, because it did not appear in the hands of such Egyptian statues as he had seen at Rome; but as there is one in the hand of a very ancient statue of Isis which Doctor Pococke brought into England from Egypt, it puts that point of musical history out of all dispute. The *Sistrum* appears in the *Isiac Table;* and Apuleius makes an old Greek invoke an Egyptian priest "by the *Sistrum* of Pharos." By *Pharos,* an Egyptian island, was here figuratively meant, all Egypt.

14. A *Lyre* richly ornamented: it is placed on the stump of a tree, by the side of an antique statue of Apollo, formerly in the Salviati collection at Rome, but now in the possession of General Valmoden, in Germany. The Apollo leans on the *Lyre*.

PLATE VI.

No. 1. The head of a *Tibicen,* or *Flute-player,* from a vase in Sir William Hamilton's collection of Etruscan antiquities, Vol. 1, Pl. 124, to shew the *φοϱβεια, Capistrum,* or *Bandage,* used for the purpose of augmenting the force of the wind, and for preventing the swelling of the cheeks. See p. 232. These Flutes are equal in diameter and length, and as no holes are visible in them, they must have been of the Trumpet kind.

2. A *double Flute,* of an uncommon kind, on a *Bas-relief* in the *Farnese* collection at Rome. These tubes of different lengths and keys or stopples, are blown at once by a female bacchanal. Vossius, *De Poemat. Cant.* p. 110, says from Proclus, that every hole of the ancient Flute furnished at least three different sounds, and if the *ωαϱατϱυπηματα,* or side-holes, were opened, still more than three. Arcadius Grammaticus says, that the inventors of the holes of the Flute contrived a method of stopping and opening them at pleasure, by certain horns, or pegs, which, by turning them in and out, and moving them up and down, multiplied sounds, according to Vossius, like different strings upon a Lyre. But that could not be the case in this instrument, at least *during performance,* as most of the plugs

or stopples were out of reach of the musician's hand; besides, the hands were employed in supporting the instrument; and though, in our Bassoon, and even Hautbois and German Flute, we are able, by means of keys, to open and close holes which the fingers cannot reach, yet as no such expedients appear in the representations of ancient wind-instruments, it is difficult to assign any other use to these plugs or stopples than that already mentioned, of adjusting the scale to some particular mode or genus before performance, as our Trumpets or Horns are tuned to keys of different pitch by means of *crooks,* and our Flutes by *middle pieces* of different lengths. It seems as if the longest of the two tubes in this number had a Horn joined to the end of it, which gives it the form of a *Lituus*. Bartholinus, *De Tib. Vet.* makes this curvature at the end the characteristic of the Phrygian Flute. P. 48, he gives two Flutes of this kind, with plugs; one strait and the other curved, and tells us, from Aristotle's *acoustics,* that *loudness* and *clearness* were acquired by the addition of the Horn: *Cornua resonando instrumentorum sonos reddunt clariores*. It is most likely too that it rendered the tube to which it was added an octave lower than the other.

3, and 4, are both taken from the beautiful Sarcophagus in the *Campidoglio,* or Capitoline Museum, at Rome, where each of them is placed in the hand of a Muse. The three rows of holes in No. 4, it is probable, were for the three *Genera,* or three different modes, which both Pausanias and Athnæus tell us Pronomus first contrived to express by one and the same Flute. See p. 66. This instrument has a mouth-piece with a Fipple like our common Flute, which seldom appears in representations of ancient instruments.

5. *Tibia Utricularis,* or Bag-pipe, from a bas-relief in the court of the *Santa Croce* palace at Rome. This instrument appears not to have been wholly unknown to the Greeks, who, according to Montfaulcon, called it *ἀσκαυλος*. I saw the representation of one in marble in the possession of Mr. Morrison, at Rome. It seems, however, to have been a Roman invention with a Greek name; a piece of affectation that was frequently practised about the time of Nero. Greek was the *French* of the Romans. The term does not occur, however, in H. Stephens, Scapula, Meursius, Suicer, nor in Scott. In Faber's and Martin's Latin Dictionaries, *Ascaules* is to be found, with a reference to Seneca, Vopiscus, and Martial, x. 3. The two former use *Pithaules,* the one in Epist. lxxvi. and the other in the life of Carinus, Vol. II. p. 819, *ed. Varior,* where the word is explained and illustrated by an elaborate note of Salmasius. Martial, *lib.* x. *ep.* 3 gives *Canus Ascaules*. From the silence of Lexicographers we may conclude, that the word appears in no Greek author. Isaac Vossius strenuously denies that *Utricularius* means a player on a *Bagpipe*: the instrument in question was, according to him, an Organ blown by Bellows, as distinguished from the Hydraulic, or Water-Organ; "but to suppose," says he, "that the *Utricularius* was like our wretched mendicants that stroll about—*Cubito excutientes sonum*—is most ridiculous!" p. 99. A passage, however, in Dion Chrysostom, clearly proves this enthusiastic admirer of ancient

Music to have been mistaken. For, speaking of Nero, the Greek writer says, that he played on the Flute *with a bladder,* or leathern bag of wind, *under his arm.* And for this he assigns a reason, which is curious: "that he might avoid making the ugly faces with which Minerva was so much offended." Nothing can describe a modern *Bagpipe* more decisively.

On an ancient gem, in the possession of Signor Can. Lellari, at Cortona, of which an impression has been lately sent to Jos. C. Walker, Esq., of Dublin (See *, Pl. VI.) there is engraved an Apollo, crowned, after vanquishing Marsyas, with a Lyre in his hands, and a Cornamusa, or *Bagpipe,* behind him.

It is probable that the union of the Bagpipe with the Syrinx suggested the first idea of an organ. According to Suetonius, when Nero heard of the revolt by which he lost his empire and life, he made a solemn vow, that if it should please the Gods to extricate him from his present difficulties, he would perform in public—on the *Bagpipe. Suet. in Nerone,* 54.

6. The *Concha, Tromba Marina,*** or Sea-Trumpet, sounded by a Triton on a frieze, likewise, in the court of the *Santa Croce* palace at Rome. Athenæus, *lib.* iii. p. 86, mentions a kind of shell, which was called *κηϱυξ,* the shell of the cryer or herald, perhaps, from its sonorous quality. It is translated *Buccina,* and Casaubon says it was the shell of the *Murex.*

7. A *Tambour de Basque, Tabret,* or *Timbrel,* from the picture of a *Baccante,* or female Bacchanal, dug out of *Herculaneum.* This instrument is of very high antiquity, having been in use among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans. To the rim were hung bells or pieces of metal.

8, and 9. *Tibiæ pares,* or *equal Flutes,* in the hands of the young Olympus, who in a picture likewise dug out of Herculaneum, is learning to play upon them of Marsyas. There are only two holes in each of these instruments; and in another antique picture upon the same subject, from the same place, each of the Flutes is represented with two *paxilli,* or *stopples,* instead of *foramina,* or holes.

10. An ancient instrument, as yet inedited, among the antiquities of Herculaneum; it is of a very peculiar kind, lately dug out of *Pompeia,* a city that was destroyed by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius at the same time as Herculaneum. It is a Trumpet or large tube of bronze, surrounded by seven small pipes of bone or ivory, inserted in as many of metal. These seem all to terminate in one point, and to have been blown through one mouth-piece. The small pipes are all of the same length and diameter, and were probably unisons to each other, and octaves to the great Tube. There is a ring to fasten a chain to, by which it was flung over the shoulder of the performer, which chain is likewise preserved. The instrument was found in the *Corps de Garde* of this subterraneous city, and seems to have been the true military *Clangor Tubarum.*

**** Burney is wrong in calling this instrument the "tromba marina." He was probably led into error by the name.**

PLATE I

AN EGYPTIAN
MUSICAL INSTRUMENT

one third of the size of the original, on the broken obelisk, now lying in the Campus Martius at Rome. Described on p. 170.

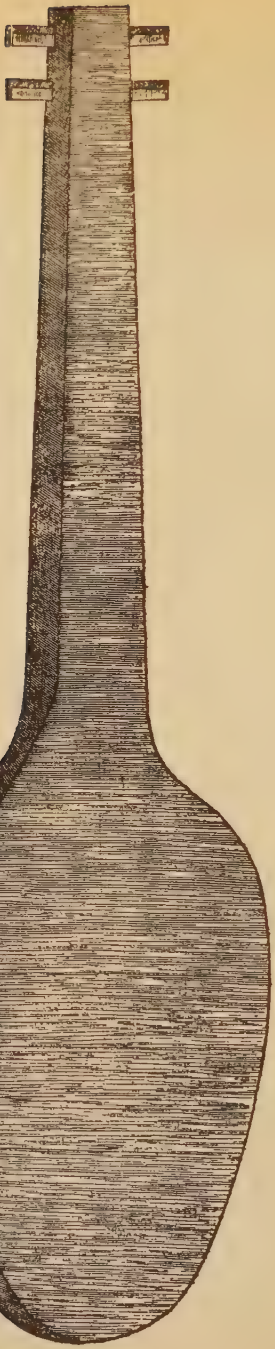
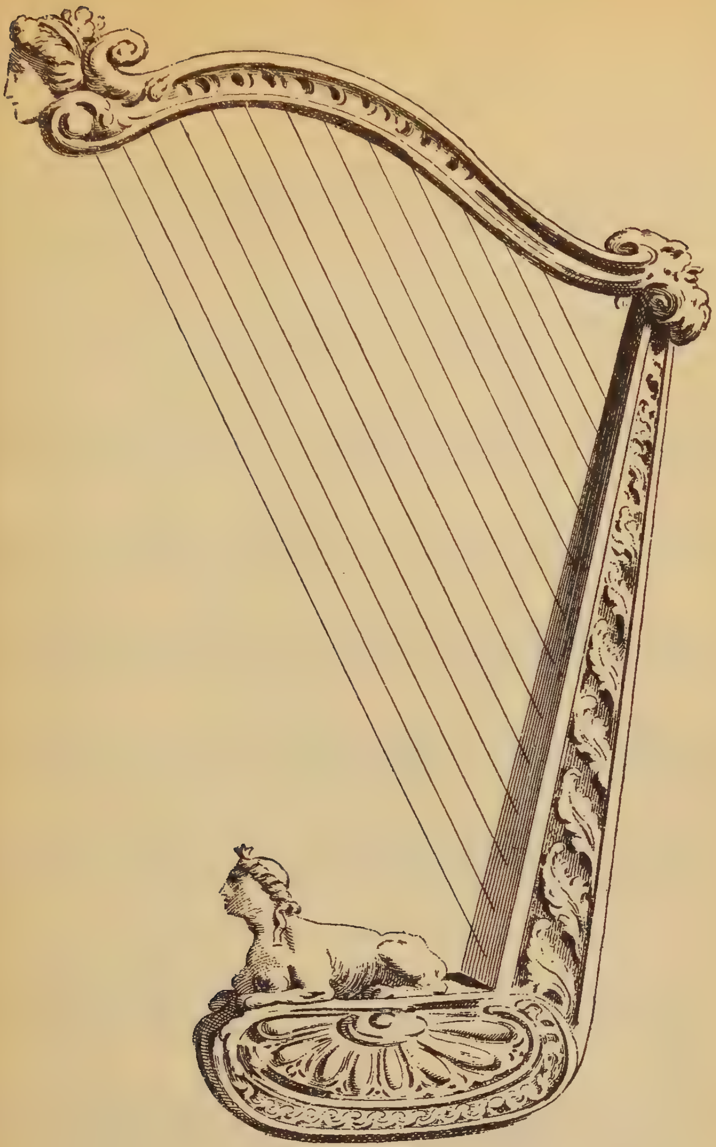


PLATE II



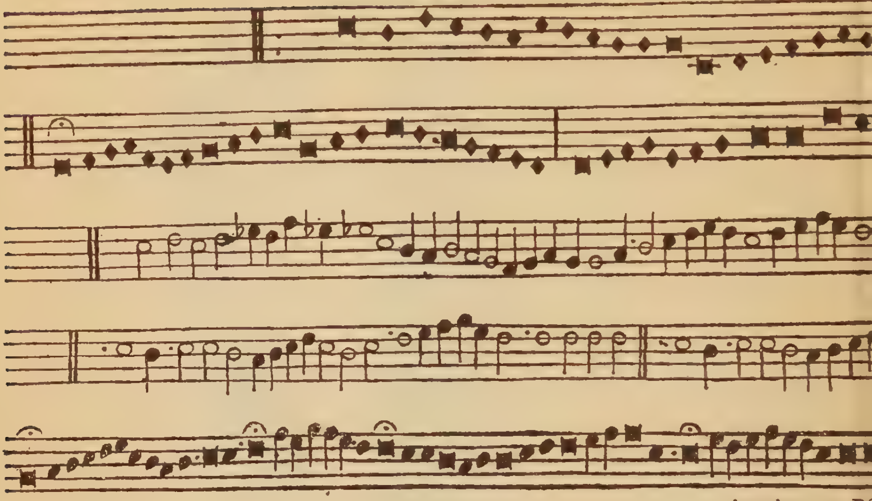
The Theban Harp,

From a Drawing made by James Bruce Esq.r near the Ruins of the Ancient City of Diospolis in Upper Egypt

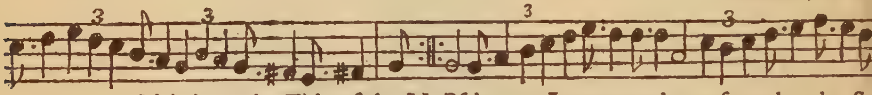
Grignion Sculp.t

Plate III

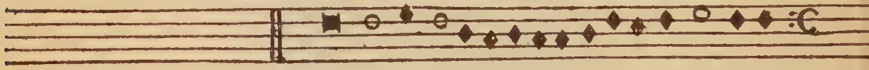
Chant of the German Jews to Pſalm XI. of the



Another, to Pſ



Melody to the Title of the LI. Pſalm, or Lamnatzeach, as ſung by the Sp



Notation of ſome of the Hebrew Musical Accents, in the manner which Kircher prete
verſe in the Pſalms, o

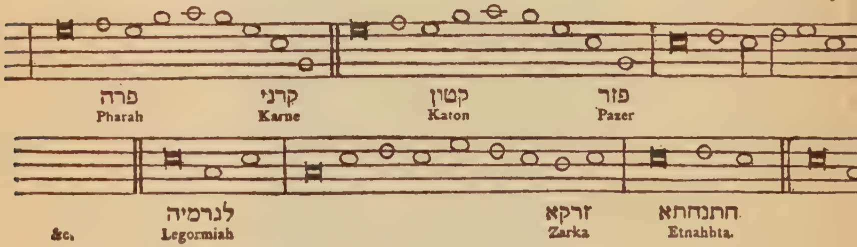
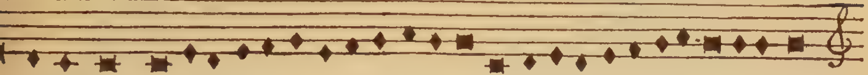
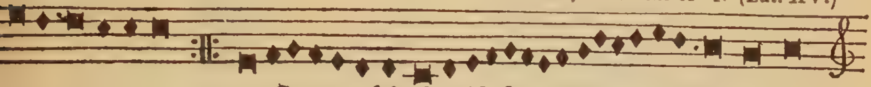

פרה
Pharah
קרני
Karne
קטון
Katon
פזר
Pazer
&c.
לגרמיה
Legormiah
זרקא
Zarka
אתנחתא
Etnahhta.

PLATE III

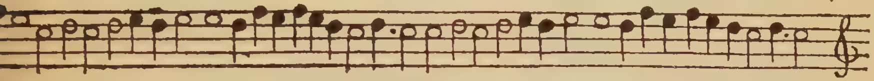
d Engliſh Pſalter, and the tenth of the Latin verſion, uſed in the Romiſh church.



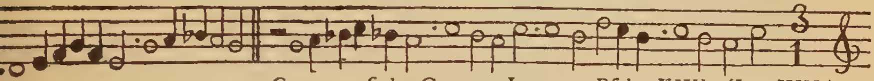
Another, to Pſalm XVI. (Lat. XV.)



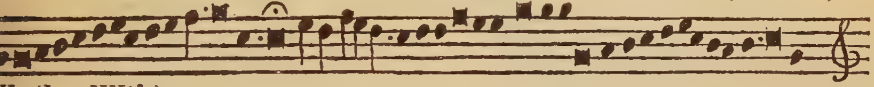
CHANT of the Spaniſh Jews, to Pſalm XVII. (Lat. XVI.)



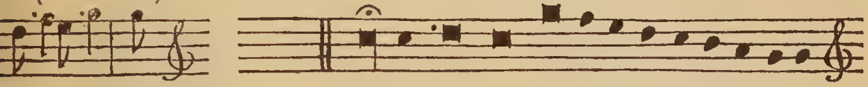
Another, to Pſalm XVIII. (Lat. XVII.)



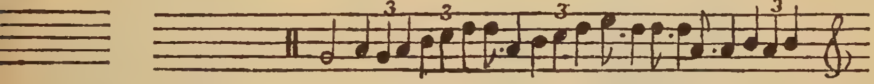
CHANT of the German Jews, to Pſalm XXII. (Lat XXI.)



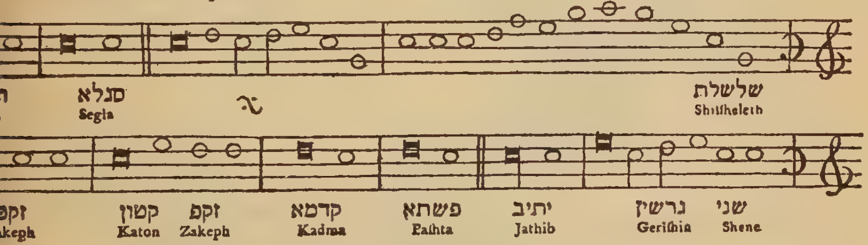
II. (Lat. XXII.)



vs.



y were ſung during his time in the Italian and German Synagogues, at the end of a
a ſentence in the Prophets.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Geriſhin
שני
Shene

PLATE IV

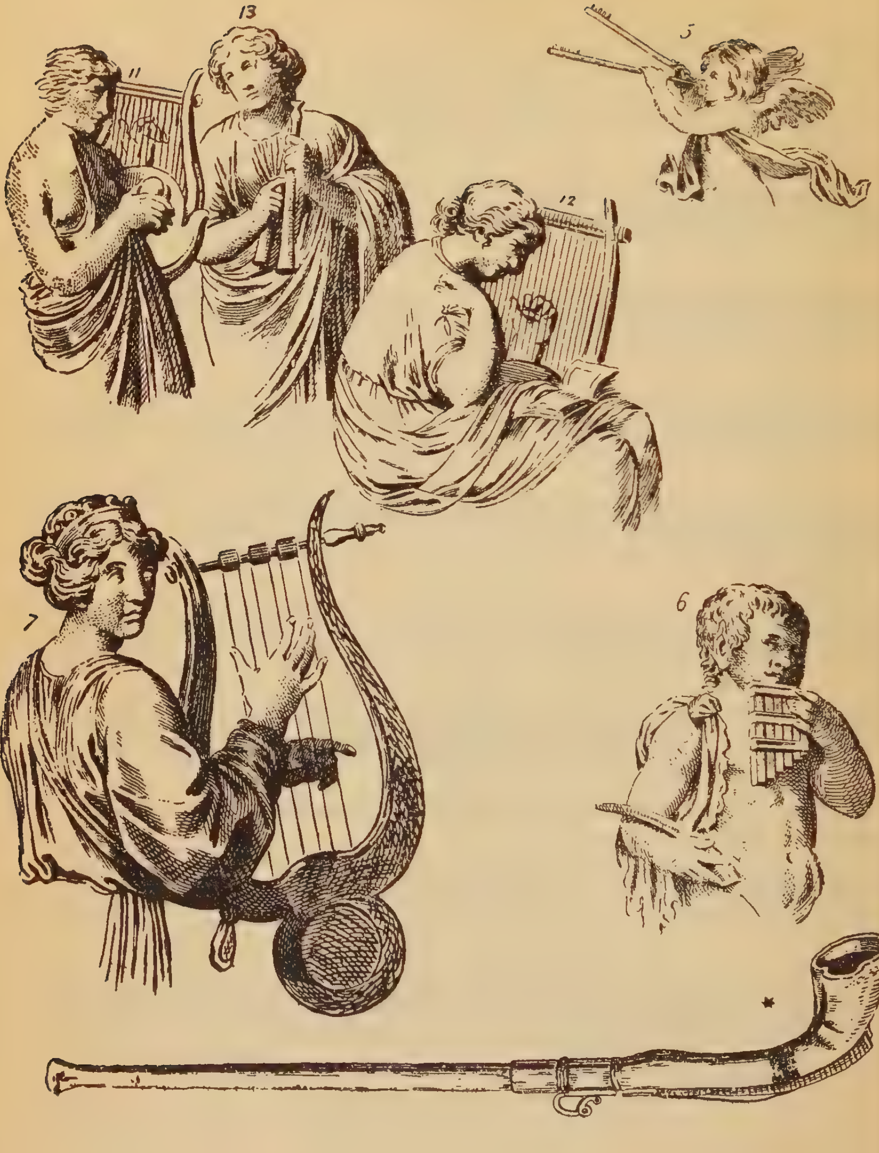


PLATE IV (*Continued*).

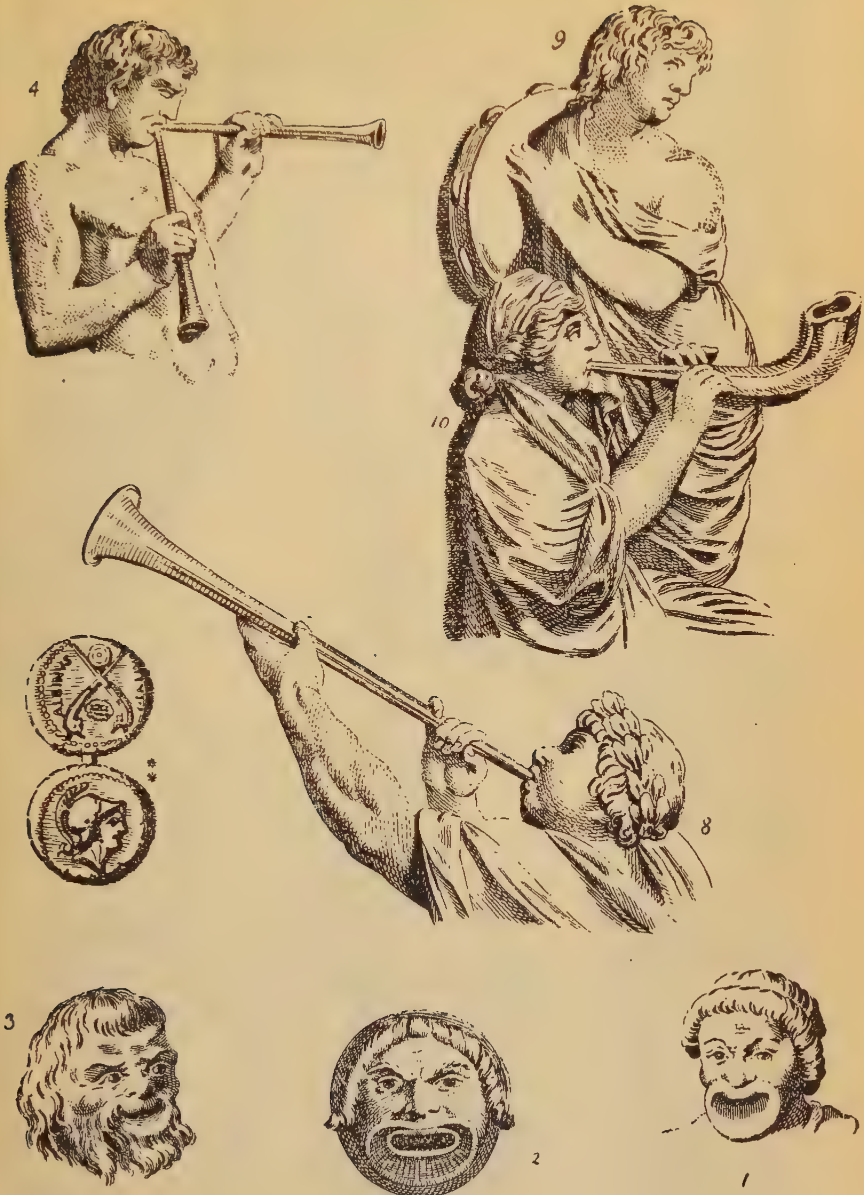


PLATE V

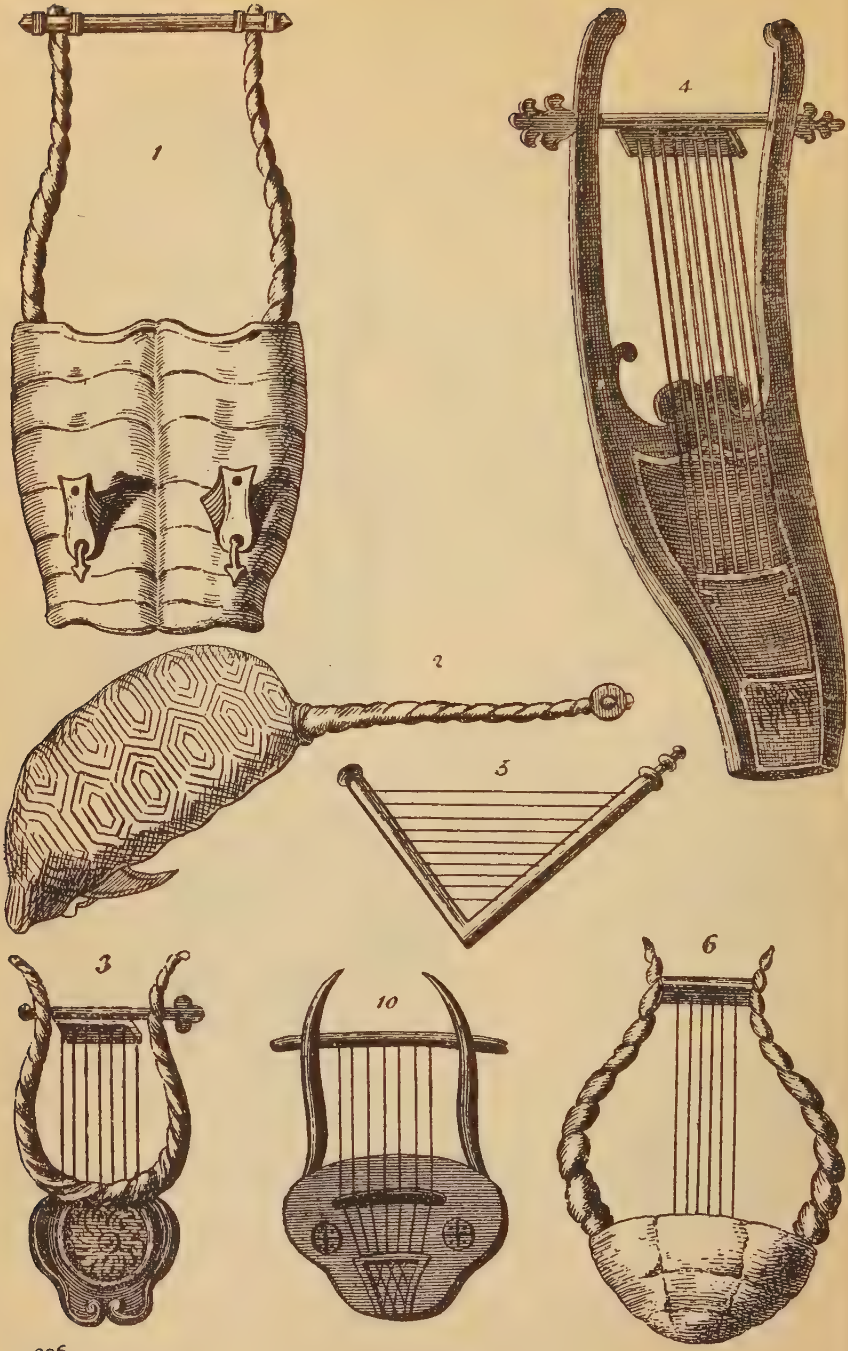
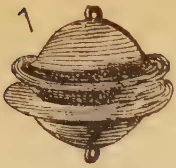


PLATE V (*Continued*).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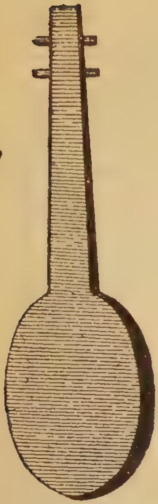
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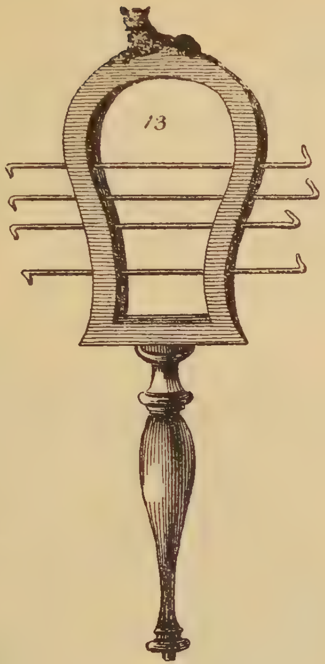
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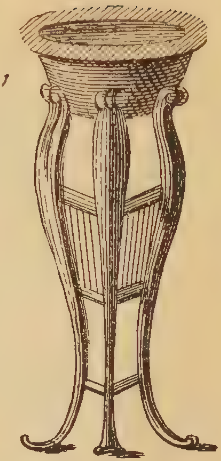
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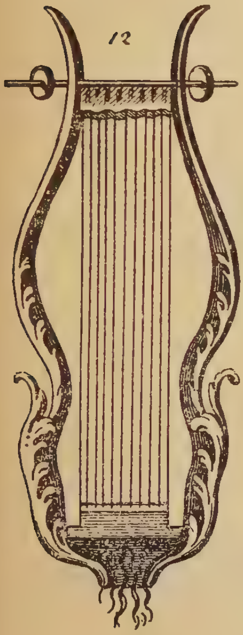
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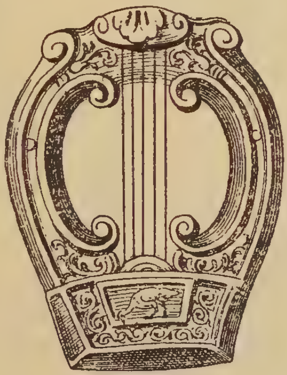
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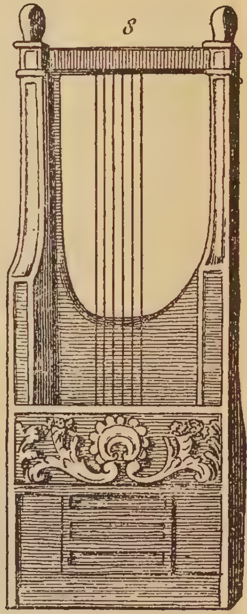
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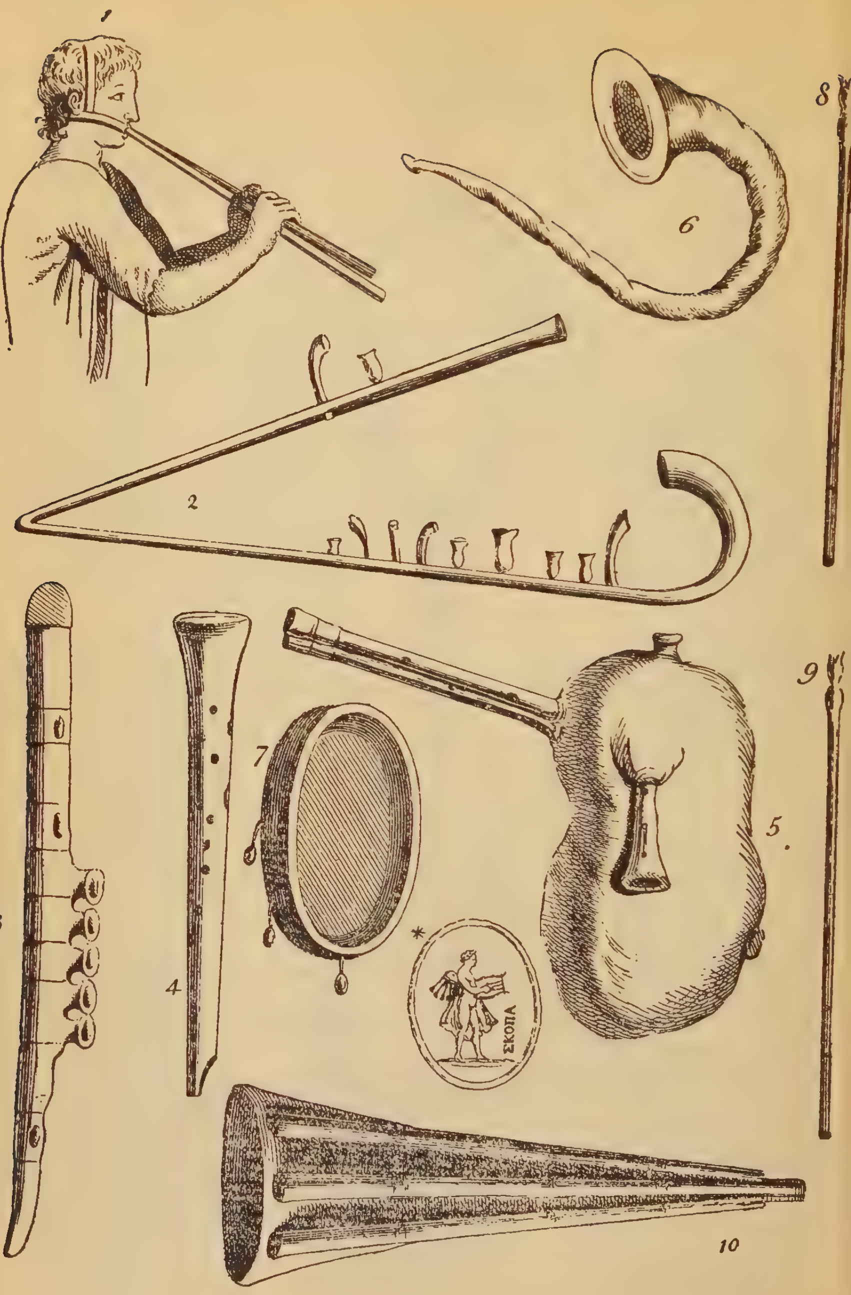
PLATE VI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ΣΚΟΠΑ
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Reflections on the Construction and Use *of some particular* Musical Instruments of Antiquity

THE musical instruments of the ancients were of three kinds: *wind* instruments; *stringed* instruments; and instruments of *Percussion*. Of the FIRST kind the principal were the Flute, Horn, Syrinx, Trumpet, and water Organ, under the several denominations of *Αυλος*, *Tibia; Κεϱας*, *Cornu; Σαλπιγξ*, *Tuba*, *Buccina*, *Lituus ; Συϱιγξ*, *Fistula*, *Calamus;* and *'Υδϱαυλος*, *Hydraulicon*. The SECOND class included the *Φοϱμιγξ*, *Κιϑαϱα*, *Cithara; Χελυς*, *Chelys*, *Testudo; Λυϱα*, *Lyra*, *Fides; Ψαλτηϱιον*, *Psalterium*, &c., which, in English, are indiscriminately called Harp, Cithara, Lyre, and Psaltery. The THIRD class comprehended the *Τυμπανον*, *Tympanum ; Τυμπανιον*, *Parvum Tympanum*, *Tympanulum; Κυμβαλον*, *Cymbalum; Κϱοταλον*, *Crotalum; Κοδομειον*, *Campanum æs*, or Drums, Cymbals, Crotola, and Bells.

Of these three genera the species were innumerable ; however, I shall speak only of the principal of each genus, and first of *wind instruments*.

The two instruments of this kind which nature has constructed, and from which mankind, taught perhaps by the whistling reeds, first tried to produce musical sounds, seem to have been the shells of fishes, and the horns of quadrupeds ; and the *Μοναυλος*, or single pipe, appears in sculpture to have been a mere *horn* in its natural form. (See p. 175). Then succeeded the *Avena*, or single oaten stalk ; the *Calamus*, or single reed, or cane ; and afterwards the *Syrinx*, or *Fistula*, composed of a number of reeds of different lengths tied together. These simple instruments preceded the invention of *Foramina*, or holes, by which different sounds could be produced from the same pipe. The *Tibia* was originally a Flute, made of the shank, or shin bone of an animal ; and it seems as if the wind instruments of the ancients had been long made of such materials as nature had hollowed, before the art of *boring* Flutes was discovered. That once known, they were formed of box-tree, laurel, brass, silver, and even of gold.

There are certain epithets applied to theatrical Flutes in the titles to the Comedies of Terence, which have extremely embarrassed the critics: such as *Pares, Impares, Dextræ, Sinistræ ;* and it has been long doubted whether *Pares* and *Impares* meant double and single Flutes, or equal and unequal in point of length and size. But though in preferring either of these acceptations, some sense and meaning is acquired, yet I should incline to the latter. For in none of the representations in ancient painting or sculpture, which I have yet seen, does it appear that the Tibicen, either at sacrifices or in the theatre, plays on a *single* Flute, though we as often see double Flutes of *different* lengths in his hands, as of the *same* length ; and as harmony, or music in different parts, does not appear to have been practised by the ancients, the Flutes of *equal* length may naturally be supposed to imply *unisons;* and, *unequal,* such as are *octaves* to each other. But as to the distinction between *right-handed* and *left-handed* Flutes, I must own myself far from being possessed of any clear and decisive idea concerning it. The first, and most obvious meaning the words *right* and *left,* applied to the hands that hold the Flutes, cannot afford a satisfactory explanation: for as all the theatrical Flutes that I have ever seen are *double,* holding them in the right or left hand can make no difference to the audience.

It has been imagined by the abbé du Bos, that when the theatrical Flutes were unequal, a drone base was performed on the largest ; an idea to which I can by no means subscribe: for the necessity of a clear and undisturbed elocution on the stage, joined to the tenderness of the ancients for poetry, would have rendered the noise and confusion of drone base more offensive to such as attended to the interest of the drama, than the most florid and complicated counterpoint. It is no uncommon thing to see one of the unequal Flutes used upon these occasions strait, and the other curved at the end. (See Plate VI.) Hesychius, as quoted by Bartholinus, (p. 46) says, that the horned Flute was for the left hand, the strait one for the right. That the *longest* of the two instruments was for the left hand, Pliny seems to prove, when he speaks of cutting the reeds with which they were made; for he says the part next the ground being the widest, serves for the left-hand Flutes, &c. These passages, however, furnish no proofs of their being destined for different parts, or any thing more than *octaves* to each other. Most of the double Flute-players represented in sculpture, appear to grasp the instruments, without any motion of the fingers; nor indeed in many of them are there any holes in sight to employ them, which makes it probable that they were modulated by the mouth like trumpets and horns.

Another difficulty occurs about these Flutes being *always double,* that is, two single tubes held in different hands, or uniting in one mouth-piece. But as I have never seen more than *one* performer at a time represented in painting or sculpture, accompanying the actors on the stage, or the priest at the altar, where these *double*, or *Phrygian Flutes* were chiefly used, they may perhaps have been preferred for their superior loudness ; for force must not only be necessary to the voice in a large temple or theatre, but also to the instruments that accompanied it, in order to the being heard by such a numerous audience as was usually assembled there. Just as the actor's voice was augmented by a mask, and his height increased by stilts (*a*).

The muzzles, and bloated cheeks in representations, corresponding with verbal descriptions, prove that *quantity* of sound was the principal object of the ancients. This might be confirmed by stories of Flute-players and Trumpeters bursting themselves in trials of skill, and even in the common exercise of their profession. Heliodorus, *Æthiop. lib.* ii. as Bartholinus translates the passage, p. 97, describes a Flute-player with eyes inflamed, and starting out of their sockets. *Oculis incensis, ac suâ sede excedentibus;* and this is analogous to the whole system of the ancient theatre.

The defects, however, peculiar to wind-instruments, seem to have been as well known to the ancients as the moderns ; and Aristoxenus, p. 43, complains of them in such strong terms, as would be very applicable to the Flutes of modern times: *Κινουνται ὁι αυλοι, ϰαι ουδεποτε ὡσαυτως εχουσιν*, i.e., *Flutes are continually shifting their pitch, and never remain in the same state.* Among many expedients to which he says performers had recourse, in order to palliate these defects in the intervals, the use of *wax*, occasionally, in the holes of their instruments seems to have been one ; at least Meibomius, in his note on the passage, understands *wax* to be meant as one method: for Aristoxenus, p. 42 and 43, speaking of wind-instruments, talks of *adding*, and *taking away*. This expedient must, however, have been used in order to supply the want of skill in boring Flutes ; and the wax, in warm climates, would be too subject to fusion for a performer to depend much upon its assistance in the *heat* of action. An instrument of the Bassoon kind, called the *Courtaut*, with two rows of projecting apertures, resembling those in No. 3. Pl. VI., is described by Mersennus, *De Instrum. Harmon. lib.* ii., who tells us that the *Tetines*, as he calls the projections, were not moveable, but fixtures, and when those on one side were used, those on the other were *stopt with wax*. The pipes of the *Fistula Panis*, being composed of reeds or canes cut just below the joint, were all *stopt-pipes*, like those in the stopt diapason of the Organ, in which the wind is emitted at the same place where it enters; and as it has a double motion to make, twice the length of the tube, the tone is an octave lower of a *stopt-pipe*, than of an open one of the same length and diameter. The *Fistula Panis* of the island of New Amsterdam in the South Seas, is made

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(*a*) See *Dissert.* sect. ix.

of canes cut below the joints, and consequently of *stopt-pipes*; and the pipes of an Arabian instrument of the same kind, which I have lately received from Aleppo, are all stopt at the end with *wax*.

That the ancients used natural reeds and canes in the construction of their Flutes, we are certain ; but whether they had any such *artificial* reeds as we use for our Hautbois, Bassoons, &c., my researches do not enable me to decide. We find, indeed, in Plutarch's Dialogue, mention of a *Syrinx,* or small pipe, that was sometimes affixed to Flutes ; which M. Burette translates *Hanche,* a word equivalent to our *reed*. But the impropriety of the translation is fully proved by a passage in another treatise of Plutarch, where he gives it as a musical problem, "Why the Flute, when the Syrinx is *drawn up,* becomes sharpened *in all its sounds*, that is, has its whole pitch raised ; and when it is *let down,* or rather, *laid down, κλινομενης,* as if it was fixed to the instrument by a kind of hinge, is again flattened (*b*). The purpose, therefore, of this pipe or Syrinx, was totally different from that of our *reeds,* and was merely to alter the *pitch* of the Flute. Nor was it at all necessary to the instrument, as our reeds are ; for Plutarch relates, in the part of his Dialogue above mentioned, that Telephanes, "had such an aversion to these pipes, he would never suffer the Flute-makers to apply them to his instruments ;" which was the principal reason why he never entered the lists at the public games; where these additional pipes seem to have been much in vogue: and, indeed, if their effect rendered the intervals as false as those of our Flutes are by drawing out the middle-pieces, it was a proof of his judgment, and delicacy of ear.

If any part of the ancient Flutes answered to our reeds, I think it must have been what they called *the tongue, γλωττις, lingula*. This appears to have been essential to the use of the instrument, as our reeds are. The Flutes could scarce be made to *speak* without it; hence the wonder of Midas's performance (see p. 315, note *f*); and the saying of Demades, the Athenian orator, who compared his countrymen to Flutes, "they were good for nothing without their tongues," (Stob. *Ser*. 2). These *Lingulæ* were also *moveable,* and carried about by the performers in little boxes which were called *γλωττοκομεια,* or *tongue-cases;* as our reeds are at present. The resemblance of these tongues and reeds in construction, as well as in use, may perhaps appear the more probable to the reader from an engraving, Pl. IV. No. 14, of a medal in the *Numismata Pembrochiana,* which was pointed out to me by the Hon. Daines Barrington. On one side is Cleopatra, and on the other, a winged musician playing on an instrument which seems to be furnished with an *artificial* reed; of which I shall only observe, that it is the strongest proof I have met with, in coins or in sculpture, of the use of such an expedient among the ancients, and that there cannot be a more striking likeness of a modern *Hautbois*.

(*b*) Διατι, της συριγγος ἀνασπωμενης πασιν ὀξυνεται (ὁ αὐλος, sc.) τοις φθογγοις, κλινομενης δε παλιν βαρυνει. Plut. *Ne suaviter quidem vivi posse secund, Epicur. decreta.*

The last wind instrument of which I shall speak is the *Hydraulicon,* or Water-Organ, that was played, or at least blown, by water. It seems, from the description of this instrument, in Vitruvius, cap. xiii. that the water which forced the air into the pipes was pumped by men. Indeed, it has been much disputed whether it was played with *fingers,* by means of levers or *keys*; and yet the description of it by Claudian seems such a one as would suit a modern Organ, only blown by water instead of bellows.

> *Vel qui magna levi detrudens murmura tactu*
> *Innumeras voces segetis moderator aënæ*
> *Intonet* erranti digito, *penitusque trabali*
> *Vecte laborantes in carmina concitet undas.*

In Athenæus, *lib.* iv. p. 174, there is a history and description of this instrument. He tells us that it was invented in the time of the Second Ptolemy Euergetes, by Ctesibius, a native of Alexandria, and by profession a barber: or rather, that it was improved by him, for Plato furnished the first idea of the Hydraulic Organ, by inventing a night-clock, which was a *Clepsydra,* or water-clock, that played upon Flutes the hours of the night at a time when they could not be seen on the index.

The anecdote in Athenæus concerning the mechanical amusements of the great ideal philosopher, is curious. What a condescension in the *divine* Plato to stoop to the invention of any thing useful! This musical clock must have been wholly played by mechanism. But neither the description of the Hydraulic Organ in Vitruvius, nor the conjectures of his innumerable commentators, have put it in the power of the moderns either to imitate, or perfectly to conceive the manner of its construction ; and it still remains a doubt whether it was ever worthy of the praises which poets have bestowed upon it, or superior to the wretched remains of the invention still to be seen in the grottos of the vineyards, near the city of Rome. Perrault, in his notes upon Vitruvius, *lib.* x. *cap.* 13. gives a drawing of this instrument; such as he conceives it to have been from the description of it by that author ; and tells us, that to illustrate his interpretation of the Latin text, he had constructed an Hydraulic Organ, which was lodged in the king of France's library, among the models of ancient and modern machines. This author, who was a most ingenious mechanic, points out, in the note mentioned above, an ingenious and seemingly practicable method of swelling and diminishing the force of each note in an organ, which modern builders have hitherto neglected to adopt: it is to communicate wind to one pipe, or to two, three, or more pipes, in proportion to the pressure of the key.

In the collection of antiquities bequeathed by Christina Queen of Sweden to the Vatican, there is a large and beautiful medallion of Valentinian, on the reverse of which is represented an *Hydraulic Organ,* with two men, one on the right, and one on the left, who seem to pump the water which plays it, and to listen to its sound.

It has only eight pipes, placed on a round pedestal, and as no keys or performer appear, it is probable that it was played by mechanism. The Organ blown by *bellows*, and furnished with *keys*, such as are in present use, though a descendant perhaps of the *Hydraulicon*, does not so properly belong to this place as to the subsequent volumes, where its invention will be discussed, and its improvements traced among those of *modern instruments*.*

Second genus, or *Stringed instruments*. The idea of producing sound from a string, ascribed to Apollo, was, according to Censorinus, *De Die Nat. cap* 22, suggested to him by the twang of his sister Diana's bow. *Ψαλλειν* is strictly to twang a string, and *Ψαλμος* the sound which the bow-string produces at the emission of the arrow. Euripides in *Bacch* v. 782 uses it in that sense,

——————————*τοξων χεϱι*
Ψαλλουσι νευϱας.

Who twang the nerve of each elastic bow.

Father Montfaucon says it is very difficult to determine in what the Lyre, Cithara, Chelys, Psaltery, and Harp differed from each other ; as he had examined the representations of 600 Lyres and Citharas in ancient sculpture, all which he found without a neck, and the strings open as in the modern Harp, played by the fingers. *Antiq. Expl. tom.* iii. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 3. But though ancient and modern authors usually confound these instruments, yet a manifest distinction is made by Arist. Quintil. in the following passage, p. 101. After discussing the characters of wind-instruments, he says, " Among the stringed instruments, you will find the Lyre of a character analogous to *masculine*, from the great depth or gravity, and roughness of its tones ; the *Sambuca* of a *feminine* character, *weak* and *delicate*, and from its great *acuteness*, and the smallness of the *strings*, tending to *dissolve* and *enervate*. Of the intermediate instruments the *Polypthongum partakes* most of the *feminine ;* but the *Cithara differs not much* from the *masculine character* of the *Lyre*." Here is a scale of stringed instruments ; the *Lyre* and *Sambuca* at the extremes ; the *Polypthongum* and *Cithara* between ; the one next to the *Sambuca*, the other next to the *Lyre*. He afterwards just mentions that there were others between these. Now it is natural to infer, that as he constantly attributes the manly character to gravity of tone, the Cithara was probably the more acute instrument of the two ; less loud and *rough*, and strung with smaller strings. Concerning what difference there might be in the form and structure of the instruments, he is wholly silent. The passage, however, is curious as far as it goes, and decisive. The Cithara may perhaps have been as different from the Lyre, as a single Harp from one that is double ; and it seems to be clearly pointed out by this multiplicity of names that the

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*** The Rev. Canon F. W. Galpin constructed a water organ which was exhibited and used at the Musicians Company Exhibition in 1904.**

Greeks had *two* principal species of stringed instruments: one, like our Harp, of full compass, that rested on its base ; the other more portable, and slung over the shoulder, like our smaller Harp or Guitar, or like ancient Lyres represented in sculpture.

Tacitus, *Annal.* xvi. 4. among the rules of decorum observed by public performers, to which Nero, he says, strictly submitted, mentions, " That he was not to sit down when tired." *Ne fessus resideret.* It is remarkable that he calls these rules, *Citharæ Leges,* " the Laws of the Cithara "; which seems to afford a pretty fair proof of its being of such a size and form as to admit of being played on *standing.*

The use of the *Phorminx* in Homer leads rather to the rough, manly, Harp-like character (*c*). But a passage in Orpheus, *Argon.* 380. seems to make *Phorminx* the same as *Chelys*, the Lutiform instrument of Mercury. It is there said of Chiron, that he " sometimes strikes the Cithara of Apollo ; sometimes the *shell-resounding Phorminx* of Mercury,"

> *Αλλοτε δ᾽αν φοιβον κιϑαϱην μετα χεϱσιν αϱασσων,*
> *Ηλιγυϱην φοϱμιγγα χελυκλονον Εϱμαωνος.*

This passage is curious; for though the Argonautics were not written by Orpheus himself, they have all the appearance of great antiquity.

The belly of a Theorbo, or Arch-Lute, is usually made in the shell-form, as if the idea of its origin had never been lost; and the etymology of the word Guitar seems naturally deducible from Cithara: it is supposed that the Roman C was hard, like the modern K, and the Italian word *Chitarra* is manifestly derived from *Κιϑαϱα, Cithara.*

In the hymn to Mercury, ascribed to Homer, Mercury and Apollo are said to play with the Cithara *under their arms,* ver. 507, *ὁ δ᾽ ὑπωλενιον κιϑαϱιζεν, sub ulna Citharâ-ludebat,* "played with the Cithara *under his arm.*" So in ver. 432, *ἐπωλενιον, at* his arm, should, according to the critics, be *ὑπωλενιον,* as it is afterwards. This seems to point out a Guitar more than a Harp; but the ancients had Lyres, Citharas, and Testudos of as different shapes from each other, as our Harp, Spinet, Virginal, and Piano Forte.

These passages in old authors are a kind of antique drawings, far more satisfactory than those of ancient sculpture; for I have seen the Syrinx, which had a regular series of notes ascending or descending, represented with seven pipes, four of one length, and three of another, which of course would furnish no more than two different sounds. The Cymbals too, which were to be struck against each other, are placed in the hands of some antique figures in such a manner, that it is impossible to bring them in contact with the necessary degree of force, without amputating, or at least violently bruising the thumbs of the performer. And it is certain that artists continue to figure instruments in the most simple and convenient form for their designs, long after they had been enlarged, improved, and rendered more complicated. An instance of this in our own country will confirm the assertion. In the reign of George the Second a marble statue was erected to Handel, in Vauxhall gardens. The musician is represented playing upon a Lyre. Now if this statue should be preserved from the ravages of time and accident 12 or 1400 years, the Antiquaries will naturally conclude that the instrument upon which Handel acquired his reputation was the Lyre; though we are at present certain that he never played on, or even saw a Lyre, except in wood or stone.

In one of the ancient paintings at Portici, I saw a Lyre with a Pipe or Flute for the cross-bar, or bridge, at the top; whether this tube was used as a wind instrument to accompany the Lyre, or only a pitch-pipe, I know not; nor, within the course of my enquiries, has any example of such a junction occurred elsewhere.

The ancients seem to have been wholly unacquainted with one of the principal expedients for producing sound from the strings of modern instruments: this is the *Bow*. It has long been a dispute among the learned, whether the Violin, or any instrument of that kind, as now played with a *bow*, was known to the ancients. The little figure of Apollo, playing on a kind of violin, with something *like* a bow, in the Grand Duke's *Tribuna* at Florence, which Mr. Addison and others supposed to be antique, has been proved to be modern by the Abbé Winckelmann, and Mr. Mings. So that, as this was the only piece of sculpture reputed ancient, in which any thing like a bow could be found, nothing more remains to be discussed relative to that point.

With respect to an instrument *with a neck*, besides that on the broken obelisk at Rome, see p. 243, and one from a sepulchral grotto in the ancient city of Tarquinia, which will be described hereafter, there is, in an antique painting in the collection of William Lock, Esq. which consists of a single figure, supposed to be a Muse, an instrument nearly in the form of a modern Violin, but the neck is much longer, and neither *bow* nor plectrum is discoverable near it. This may have been a Chelys, which was a species of Guitar, either thrummed by the fingers, or twanged with a quill. The painting was stolen out of the Navoni sepulchre, commonly called Ovid's tomb, and had been near 200 years in the *Massima* palace at Rome, when Mr. Lock purchased it. Bianchini, *De Instrum. vet.* gives only one instrument in this form. Tab. iv. No. 7, but never mentions the use of a bow. He calls it the *Chelys*, or reformed Lyre of Mercury, which, says he, p. 28, " having the power of shortening the strings by means of a neck, varied the sound of the same string, like several *magades*. Its form may be seen on an ancient vase, which is now in the *Giustiniani* palace at Rome; it was published by Boissard, tom. ii. p. 145, and in the last edition of Gruter, p. 816. It was played on sometimes by the hand, and sometimes with a plectrum. See Scalig. *in Manil.* p. 384."

Indeed, the ancients had, instead of a *Bow*, the *Plectrum*, but in all the representations which painting and sculpture have preserved of this implement, it appears too clumsy to produce from the strings tones that had either the sweetness or brilliancy of such as are drawn from them by means of the *bow* or *quill*. But notwithstanding it is represented so massive, I should rather suppose it to have been a quill, or piece of ivory in imitation of one, than a stick or blunt piece of wood or ivory. Indeed, Virgil tells us, Æn. vi. 647, that it was made of ivory. (See note *t*, p. 266.)

Third genus: Instruments of percussion. Among these it does not appear that the ancients had the long Cylindrical drum, such as is now used in our armies; nor had they the Tymbal or Kettle Drum, an invention which came from the Turks. All the antique Drums seem of the flat *Tambour de Basque* form; but the Side Drum is so inconvenient for sculpture, that it may have existed without being copied by artists. Lampe *De Cym. Vet.* slightly glances at the subject, *lib*.ii. *cap*. 12, where he gives a curious passage from the Bacchæ of Euripides, to prove that antiquity ascribed the invention of the *Drum* to the *Corybantes*: the description he uses is an exact definition of a Timbrel, or Tabor. He calls it *βυϱσοτονον ϰυϰλωμα*, "a circle with a skin or parchment stretched over it," which points out the Timbrel form as well as the drawing.

With respect to *Bells*, though small ones were certainly known in very high antiquity, as frequent mention is made of them in the Bible; yet those of a large size, hung in towers, and rung by ropes, were unknown till about the sixth century. The modern Greeks have none in their churches, not from principle, but compulsion, having been prohibited the use of them by their conquerors, the Turks. A bell is called by Thucydides *ϰωδων* ; by Diodorus Siculus and Suidas *Πλαταγη* ; Aristophanes has *ϰωδωνιζω;* I *ring;* and other Greek writers call it *Ἡχειον*, a vase. Plautus, Ovid, Tibullus, Statius, and several other Latin writers mention bells under the denominations of *Tintinnabula*, and sounding brass. An account of the introduction of Bells into churches will be given in the second Book.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF MUSIC

BOOK II

Chapter I

Of the Introduction of Music into the Church, and of its Progress there previous to the Time of Guido

THAT Music had very early admission in the sacred rites of the Egyptians and Hebrews, has been already shewn ; and that it likewise constituted a considerable part of the religious ceremonies of the Greeks and Romans at all times, is certain, from testimonies, and descriptions of those ceremonies, still to be found in the most respectable writers of antiquity. Dionysius Halicarnassensis (*a*) relates that Dardanus, upon consulting the Oracle concerning his settlement, among other things, had this answer relative to the custody of the images of the Gods: " Remember to establish in the city, which you shall build, perpetual worship to the Gods, and to honour them with safeguards, sacrifices, solemn Dances and Songs (*b*)." Indeed there remain

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(*a*) *Lib. i.*

(*b*) The late Mr. Spelman's note on this passage is curious with respect to chronology: "The oracle," says he, "that was delivered to Dardanus, if the authorities quoted by Dionysius, which are Callistratus, Satyrus, and Arctinus, the most ancient poet known in his time, have not misled him, is of the highest antiquity; since it was given to him before he founded the kingdom of Troy, which happened in the 3234th year of the Julian period (Petavius, lib. ii.), about 50 years after the Israelites came out of Egypt, and a little before the death of Joshua; 296 years before Troy was taken by the Greeks, in the reign of Priamus. It is very remarkable that this oracle is in very good hexameter verse, and the *language not at all different from that of Homer,* who writ 500 years after this period; nor from the language of those poets who writ 500 years after Homer," Spelman's Dionysius, vol. i. p. 153. If this account could be relied on, the difficulty concerning Orpheus being the author of the verses ascribed to him, vanishes, as well as that of Homer not having been able to write or read, for want of language, and even letters, in such remote antiquity. See Wood's Posthumous Publication.

no proofs that any other language except poetry, through the vehicle of music, had admission in the Rituals or Liturgies of the Pagans. All the prayers, thanksgivings, and praises offered up to their several divinities, were *Songs* and *Choruses*, accompanied by musical instruments, and generally, by *Dancing*, or at least by a solemn *March* and by *Gestures*. "If Music," says Censorinus, "had not been acceptable to the immortal Gods, a *Tibicen* would certainly not have assisted *at every prayer* in their temples (*c*)." Horace calls music *a friend to the temple* (*d*); and says, that "The guardian gods of Numida are to be appeased by incense and *music* (*e*)." Maximus Tyrius calls it "The Companion of Sacrifices (*f*)." And according to Proclus, the very avenues of the temple were furnished with music. "When they approached the altars and temples they sung, and the tibia played in the recess (*g*)."

It has already been observed that Plato was such a friend to temple music, as to wish that no other should be heard either by gods or men. And it appears that in all nations the first *public* use of music has been in the celebration of religious rites and ceremonies. Tacitus (*h*) informs us, that the ancient Germans used to sing the praises of their Gods Teuton, or Tuisto, and Mannus, in verses, with which they likewise recorded the most memorable events in their history.

The propensity which the early Christians had to singing psalms and hymns, may be gathered Acts xvi. 25, where St. Paul himself and Silas are described singing in a dungeon (*i*); which was afterwards imitated by other saints and martyrs. The same apostle, Ephes. v. 19. recommends the singing of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs at festivals, it should seem after the manner of the *Scolia* of the Greeks, which were not only convivial songs, and panegyrics to deceased heroes, but hymns to the Gods. St. James clearly distinguishes prayer from song; chap. v. ver. 13 (*k*). "Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms." And St. Paul has the same distinction, 1 Cor. xiv. ver. 15: "I will *pray* with the spirit, and I will *pray* with the understanding also: I will *sing* with the spirit, and I will *sing* with the understanding also (*l*)."

(*c*) *Nisi grata esset immortalibus Diis musica, profecto, nec tibicen omnibus supplicationibus in sacris ædibus adhiberetur.* De Die Nat. c. 12.

(*d*) *Amica templo.* Lib. iii. Od. 2.

(*e*) *Et Thure & fidibus juvat placare—custodes Numidæ Deos.* Lib. i. Od. 36.

(*f*) *Socia* Sacrificiorum. Serm. 21.

(*g*) *In Chrestomat. apud* Photium.

(*h*) Initio *Libri de Morib. Germ.*

(*i*) "And at midnight Paul and Silas prayed and *sang* praises unto God."

(*k*) Ψαλλετω *Psallat.*

(*l*) Ψαλω τω πνευματι, ψαλω δε και νοι—*Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente.* See likewise Ephesians, chap v. ver. 19, and Coloss. iii. 16.

Lucian speaks of the psalm-singing rage of the first Christians; and Pliny the Younger accuses them of singing, or rather *Chanting* hymns to Christ *as to a God* (*m*).

Justin Martyr, who flourished in 163, has left, in his Apology to the emperor Antoninus Pius,* a clear and indisputable testimony of the early use of hymns by the Christians. "Approving ourselves grateful to God, by celebrating his praises with hymns and other solemnities (*n*)."

Upon these occasions, however, we do not find that a new species of music was invented for the purpose of praising God, after a manner peculiar to the Christians; it is probable therefore that the music of the times, and, perhaps, that of the Pagan hymns, was adopted. Origen, in writing against Celsus, who had treated the Christians as Barbarians, says, that "The Greeks pray in Greek, the Romans in Latin, and other people in the language of their country celebrate the praises of God to the utmost of their power." And when Celsus observes, that "though the Pagans sing hymns to Minerva and to Apollo, they imagine they worship the great God." This father adds, but "We know the contrary, for we sing hymns to none but the supreme Being, and to his only Son, in the same manner as the Sun, Moon, Stars, and all the heavenly host (*o*)."

Clemens Alexandrinus [d. *c*. A.D. 220] has a curious passage alluding to the church and to religious music (*p*): "This is the chosen mountain of the Lord, unlike Cithæron, which has furnished subjects to Tragedy: It is dedicated to Truth: a mountain of greater purity, overspread with chaste shades.—It is inhabited by the daughters of God, the fair Lambs, who celebrate together the *venerable Orgies*, collecting the chosen *Choir*. The singers are holy men, their song is the hymn of the Almighty King: Virgins chant, Angels glorify, Prophets discourse, while Music sweetly sounding is heard (*q*)."

Philo, speaking of the nocturnal assemblies of the Therapeutæ, whom Eusebius calls Christians, upon the vigils of saints, says: "After supper their sacred songs began: when all were risen they selected from the rest two Choirs, one of men, and one of women, in order to celebrate some festival, and from each of these a person of a majestic form, and well skilled in music, was chosen to lead the

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(*m*) *Quasi Deo*. Lib. x. Ep. 97. What Mr. Melmoth translates *a form of prayer*, is, in the original, *carmen*. Tertullian, speaking of Pliny persecuting the Christians, says, that all he accused them of was, that, besides neglecting to sacrifice, they held meetings before day-break *to sing in honour of Christ as a God*. And Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, translates the complaint which Pliny made against the Christians to the emperor Adrian, thus: τον—Χριστον δικην Θεου ὑμνειν. *Christo tanquam Deo canere.*

(*n*) *Gratos nos illi exhibentes rationales pompas, et hymnos celebramus*—&c.

(*o*) *Cum hymni* Minervæ, & Soli *canuntur, magnum Deum magis coli videri: at nos,* subdit, *contra esse scimus. Hymnos enim canimus Soli summo DEO, et unigenito ejus verbo, atque DEO; et laudamus DEUM, e unigenitum ejus eodem modo, ac Sol, Luna, & Stellæ, et tota cœlestis militia.*

(*p*) *Hic est mons Deo dilectus, qui non tragædiis,* &c. *Admonit. ad Gentes.*

(*q*) This is the same musical language which the Greeks and Romans used long before the promulgation of the Gospel.

* The Apology for the Christians was written about A.D. 139. Justinus was born *circa* A.D. 103 and perished in the persecution under M. Antoninus, *circa* 165.

band. They then chanted hymns in honour of God, composed in different measures and modulations, now singing together, and now answering each other, by turns (*r*)."

This passage sufficiently proves the use of music by the primitive Christians, even before churches were built, or their religion was established by law. And Eusebius (*s*) in speaking of the consecration of churches throughout the Roman dominions, in the time of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor [A.D. 272-337], says, "that there was one common consent in *chanting* forth the praises of God: the performance of the service was exact, the rites of the church decent and majestic: and there was a place appointed for those who sung psalms; *youths* and *virgins, old men* and *young.*"

It is in vain to seek for any regular ritual before this period, though St. Isidor, and, after him, all the Spanish ecclesiastical writers, tell us positively that St. Peter first settled the order of the mass (*t*); nor can I find better authority for the establishment of music in the church during the reign of Constantine, than that of Eusebius, who was his cotemporary, and a principal agent in the ecclesiastical transactions of the times. And though the veracity of this historian may in some instances have been suspected, yet that scepticism must be excessive which will not allow the Fathers, and even credulous Monks, to be faithful in their accounts of such transactions as are indifferent to their cause; and when neither their own honour nor interest can be affected by deviations from truth. It was in the year 312 from the coming of our Saviour, that Christianity, after the defeat of Maxentius, became the established religion of the Roman empire. The primitive Christians, previous to this important æra, being subject to persecution, proscription, and martyrdom, must frequently have been reduced to silent prayer in dens and caves.

In 313, Constantine built several sumptuous churches for the Christian worship, and in 314, the celebration of the usual secular games in Italy was omitted, to the great mortification of the Pagans. From this time, to the reign of Theodosius, a period of near seventy years was spent in vain struggles by the zealots of Paganism for the restoration of their ancient religion; and in successful endeavours on the part of the Christians for the establishment of their new worship, and settling the performance of its rites and ceremonies in the most decorous and solemn manner.

It was in the time of this Emperor, about the year 384, that the Capitoline games were abolished. A circumstance perhaps no less fatal to the cultivation of music and poetry, than favourable to good order and decorum. However, according to St. Chrysostom,

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(*r*) *De vita contemp.* All the early Greek fathers encouraged nocturnal singing of psalms and hymns, especially on the vigils of Saints, and the eves of great festivals, on which account the custom was continued much longer in the Greek church than in the Roman. Indeed the *Mesonycticon,* or midnight service, and the *Pernoctations,* are still retained in the Liturgy of that Communion. *See Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church of Russia.*

(*s*) *Lib. ii. cap.* 3.

(*t*) Marbillon, *de Liturg. Gallic.* p. 5.

this Emperor used to have musicians, performers on the flute and harp, to play to him while he was at table.

It was during this reign that the Ambrosian chant was established in the church at Milan. St. Augustine (*u*) speaks of the great delight he received in hearing the psalms and hymns sung there at his first entrance into the church, after his conversion. "The voices flowed in at my ears, truth was distilled in my heart; and the affection of piety over-flowed in sweet tears of joy." He afterwards gives an account of the origin of singing the church service at Milan, in the eastern manner. "The church of Milan," says he, "had not long before begun to practise this way of mutual consolation and exhortation with a joint harmony of voices and hearts."

This was about the year 386, during the persecution of the orthodox Christians by the Empress Justina, mother to the then young Emperor Valentinian II. in favour of the Arians. "At this time," continues St. Augustine, "it was first ordered that hymns and psalms should be sung after the manner of eastern nations, that the people might not languish and pine away with a tedious sorrow; and from that time to the present it is retained at Milan, and imitated by almost all the other congregations of the world (*x*)."

Music is said by some of the fathers to have drawn the Gentiles frequently into the church through mere curiosity; who liked its ceremonies so well, that they were baptized before their departure (*y*).

About this time, during the contention between the orthodox Christians and the Arians, we find by Socrates the historian, L. vi c. 8. that the Heretics used to sing hymns, marching through the streets of Constantinople, *in procession*, with which the vulgar were so much captivated, that the orthodox, under the direction of St. Chrysostom, thought it necessary to follow the example which had been set them by their greatest enemies. Processional singing had been long practised by the Pagans, but no mention is made of it among the Christians before this period.

With respect to the music that was first used by the Christians, or established in the church by the first Emperors that were converted, as no specimens remain,* it is difficult to determine of what kind it was. That some part of the sacred music of the Apostles and their immediate successors, in Palestine and the adjacent countries, may have been such as was used by the Hebrews,

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(*u*) Conf. L. ix. c. 6.

(*x*) St. Ambrose, to whom the establishment of this manner of singing in the western church is attributed, was made Bishop of Milan in 374, over which See he presided till the year 398.

(*y*) The generality of our parochial music is not likely to produce similar effects; being such as would sooner drive Christians with good ears *out* of the church, than draw Pagans *into it*.

* A hymn dating from about 169 is still used in the Byzantine Church, and a hymn with Greek musical notation dating from the 3rd century has been discovered. The "Angelic Hymn" (*Gloria in Excelsis Deo*) is also of great antiquity. There is a number of Hymns and Antiphons dating from the latter part of the 4th century.

particularly in chanting the psalms, is probable; but it is no less probable that the music of the hymns which were first received in the church, wherever Paganism had prevailed, resembled that which had been many ages used in the temple-worship of the Greeks and Romans. Of this, the versification of those hymns affords an indisputable proof, as it by no means resembles that of the psalms, or of any other Hebrew poetry. And examples may be found in all the Breviaries, Missals, and Antiphonaries, ancient and modern, of every species of versification which has been practised by the Greek and Roman poets, particularly the Lyric; such as the Alcmanian, Alcaic, Sapphic, &c. (*z*).

Father Menestrier (*a*) conjectures, with great appearance of truth, that the manner of reading and singing in the church was taken from the public theatres, which were still open when chanting was established; and the passion of our Saviour being a kind of tragedy, it is very probable that in singing it to the people, the Priest imitated the melody of tragedy: whence the custom was derived of performing the mass by different persons, and in different tones. It is certain, at least, that the moderns have taken their ideas of tragedy from religious mysteries (*b*).

As Christianity was first established in the East, which was the residence of the first Emperors who had embraced that faith; and as the whole was regulated by the counsel, and under the guidance of Greek fathers, it is natural to suppose that all the rites and ceremonies originated there, and were afterwards adopted by the western Christians; and St. Ambrose is not only said by St. Augustine (*c*) to have brought thence the manner of singing the hymns, and chanting the psalms which he established at Milan, and which was afterwards called the *Ambrosian chant*, but Eusebius (*d*) tells us, that a regular choir and method of singing the service was first established, and hymns used in the church, at Antioch, the capital of Syria, during the time of Constantine; and that St. Ambrose, who had long resided there, had his melodies thence (*e*). These melodies, and the manner of singing them, were continued in the church, with few alterations, till the time of Gregory the Great.

(*z*) St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, and St. Ambrose, are said to have been the first that composed hymns to be sung in the western churches. Both these fathers flourished about the middle of the fourth century; but Prudentius, a Christian poet, cotemporary with Theodosius, who died in 395, was author of most of the hymns in the Roman Breviary.

(*a*) *Traite des Representations en Musique, Anciennes et Modernes.*

(*b*) *Dissert. sur la Recitation des Tragedies Anciens.* Par l'Abbe Vatry. Mem. des Inscrip. tom.

(*c*) *Confess.* L. ix. c. 7.

(*d*) L. ii. c 17.

(*e*) Antioch was founded by Seleucus, one of Alexander's Captains, and by him made the capital of the Syro-Macedonian Empire; so that it may be regarded as a Grecian city. An order of Monks was established there in the early ages of Christianity, whose discipline obliged them to preserve in their monastery a *perpetual psalmody*, equally perennial with the vestal fire, or perpetual lamps of antiquity *Psalmody-island*, in the diocese of Nismes, had its name from a monastery founded by Corbilla, a Syrian Monk of this order, about the end of the fourth century. This kind of psalmody is known in the Monkish writers by the name of *Laus perennis ;* Gregory de Tours calls it *Psalterium perpetuum*, But besides St. Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory, who have all left clear testimonies of their approbation, and even cultivation, of music in the western church, the ecclesiastical historians are unanimous in recording the sanction that was given to it in the East, by St. Basil, Chrysostom, and Jerom (*f*). And we find early mention, after the Christian religion was established by law, of Chanters and Canons being appointed to officiate daily in the church; these were called in the ecclesiastical canons *Canonici, Psaltæ,* and were distinct from the readers. Of their origin, however, no certain account has been given, though there is no doubt of their use previous to the council of Laodicea, about the middle of the fourth century (*g*). But it is probable that they were established in imitation of the Jewish temple worship, where that was known; and in other places, remote from Palestine, perhaps the Pagan religious ceremonies may have suggested to the Christians these institutions.

St. Ignatius [*c*. 2nd cent.], who, according to Socrates (*h*), had conversed with the Apostles, is generally supposed to have been the first who suggested to the primitive Christians in the East the method of singing psalms and hymns alternately, or in dialogue; dividing the singers into two bands or choirs, placed on different sides of the church. This is called *Antiphona*; and this custom soon prevailed in every place where Christianity was established. Though Theodoret in his history (*i*) tells us that this manner of singing was first practised at Antioch. But for its origin, Socrates, and several of the fathers, pretended that it was revealed to St. Ignatius by a vision, in which he had seen choirs of angels praising the holy Trinity in this manner by singing *alternate hymns*. But *Suidas,* under the word *Χορος,* says that "the choirs of churches were, in the time of Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, and of Flavian, Bishop of Antioch, divided into two parts, who sung the *Psalms* of *David* alternately: a practice that began at Antioch, and was thence dispersed into all parts of the Christian world." Suidas may have taken this account from St. Augustine or Theodoret; but he never names his authors. However, he plainly assigns a much later origin to the practice than Socrates, who gives the invention to Ignatius (*k*). Indeed it seems as if the primitive Christians had had no conceptions more sublime of the celestial employment, or joys of the blessed, than that they were eternally singing.* The ancient hymn, *Te Deum laudamus,*

(*f*) Vide Gerbert, *De Cantu et Musica Sacra.* Vol. i. p. 31.

(*g*) *Canonicus,* a Canon, is not supposed to have any reference to *canto,* to *sing*: Canonicus is one *cui cura datum est ut canones serventur*—one who takes care that divine worship be regularly performed. And the council of Laodicea, which some suppose to have been held in 314, and others in 319, forbids, *Art.* 15. all persons to sing in the church, except the *Singing-canons.*

(*h*) L. vi. *cap*. 8.

(*i*) L. ii. c. 24.

(*k*) Constantius reigned from 337 to 361.

* The later date is the one generally accepted. There does not seem to be any doubt that Antiphonal singing was copied from Jewish Tabernacle worship.

still retained in the church, appears to have furnished the poet Dante with a model of the 28th Canto of his *Paradiso,* where, under three different hierarchies, consisting each of three choirs or choruses, the heavenly host of Cherubim and Seraphim are singing perpetual Hosannahs. Milton has assigned them the same employment:

> ——— Their golden harps they took;
> Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by their side
> Like quivers hung, and with preamble sweet
> Of charming symphony they introduce
> Their sacred song, and waken raptures high;
> No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
> Melodious part, such concord is in Heaven (*l*).
>
> PARAD. LOST, BOOK iii.

St. Ambrose and St. Gregory having been celebrated not only as fathers of the church, but of church music, I shall endeavour to point out the particular obligations which sacred song had to the genius and patronage of these pious personages.

There are few writers on ecclesiastical music who do not speak of the Ambrosian chant, and of its being different from the Gregorian; but no satisfactory account has been given of their specific difference; nor was I able, in hearing the service performed at the Duomo of Milan, or by a perusal of the Missals or other books published in that city on the subject of *Canto fermo*, to discover it, by any considerable deviation from the melodies used in the service of other cathedrals in France or Italy, where the Gregorian chant is said to subsist (*ll*) The truth is, there are no vestiges of the Ambrosian chant remaining, sufficient to ascertain its peculiar character. The fragments of it that Gafurio* has

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(*l*) Orazio Benevoli composed in the last century a mass for the cessation of the plague at Rome, upon the same idea, for six choirs, of four parts each, the score consisting of twenty-four different parts: it was performed in St. Peter's church, of which he was Maestro di Capella, and the singers, amounting to more that two hundred, were arranged in different circles of the dome; the sixth choir occupying the summit of the cupola.

(*ll*) I applied to the late Mr. J. C. Bach, who had been some time Organist of the Duomo, at Milan, for information on the subject; but he confessed himself unable to furnish it. However, he undertook to write to Signor Fiorini, the Maestro di Capella of that Cathedral, concerning the specific difference between the Ambrosian and Gregorian Chant; but the death of Signor Fiorini preceded the answer, if not the reception of the letter. I then applied to the learned Padre Martini, who, with his accustomed kindness and spirit of communication, honoured me with a long letter on the subject; in which, after acknowledging that the *Cantilena Ambrosiana* is, in general, the same as the *Canto Romano,* except in the *Finals,* he has favoured me with copious extracts from a scarce book, entitled *Regolo del canto fermo, Ambrosiano dal Camillo Perego, in Milano,* 1622, in 4to. The principal difference which I can discover in these *finals,* from those of the Gregrorian Chant, is in the frequent use of the favourite Greek interval, the 4th with which, the descending from the Octave of the key of C or D, to the 5th, almost every close is made.

* Gafori or Gafurius (1451—1522). There is a copy of the *Practica Musica* (Milan 1496) in the B.M. (K. 1. g. 3). Hawkins in his *History of Music* gives four chapters to a description of the work.

inserted in his *Practica Musica* are very suspicious, not only as they have a much more modern appearance than even the ancient Gregorian chants that are come down to us, but on account of the *number* of modes in which he gives them, which amount to eight; whereas all writers on these subjects agree in saying that St. Ambrose only used the four authentic modes, and that the four plagal were added afterwards by St. Gregory.*

Though I shall not travel into the land of conjecture in search of Ambrosian chants, it seems allowable to imagine, that, from their Greek origin, they must have been constructed on the tetrachords, by which all the melody of the ancient Greeks was regulated (*m*). And M. Rousseau has truly remarked, that there is no more analogy between their system and ours, than between a tetrachord and an octave.

St. Ambrose, as already related from St. Augustine, having introduced into the western churches the method of chanting the Psalms, in imitation of the eastern manner of singing them, no memorable change seems to have happened in ecclesiastical music till the year 600, about 230 years after the time of St. Ambrose, when Gregory the Great reformed the chant.

The Greek ecclesiastics had retained the names, at least, of the four ancient modes: the Dorian from D to d. The Phrygian from E to e. The Æolian, which is improperly called the Lydian, from F to f (*n*). And the Myxolidian from G to g, which they likewise distinguished by the Greek numerical terms *Protos*, first. *Deuteros*, second; *Tritos*, third; and *Tetartos*, fourth (*o*). There was, however, no other resemblance between these modes and

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(*m*) See Dissert. Book I, from p. 28 to 32.

(*n*) The Lydian mode, as has been shewn in p. 53, and p. 95, is a *whole tone* above the Phrygian; but the modern Greeks, according to the Abate Martini. place it a tone lower, between the Dorian and the Phrygian.

(*o*) These terms, long retained in the Gregorian chant, seem to point out the Greek origin of the Ecclesiastical modes ; they are still retained in the Greek Church, but after the modes were multiplied to eight they could not with propriety be applied to those which were originally called first, second, third, and fourth, as by the intercalation of four new modes. they became the first, third, fifth, and seventh.

* It is traditionally asserted that St. Ambrose allowed the use of only the four authentic modes, and that the plagal forms were banned, but there does not appear to be any justification for this belief.

Besides introducing Antiphonal singing into the Western Church, he was the originator of the metrical hymn. A number of hymns attributed to St. Ambrose have come down to us, but only a few are considered genuine, of which the following may be named:—

Deus Creator Omnium.
Aeterne Rerum Conditor.
Jam Surgit Hora Tertia.
Veni Redemptor Gentium.

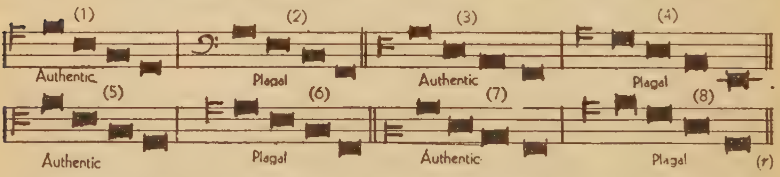
Together with the Ambrosian and Gregorian music other systems such as the Gallican and the Mozarabic (Spanish) flourished. The Church at Milan was strong enough to resist the influence of Rome, but the others more or less disappeared. The Gallican music is known only by means of the fragments which were incorporated into the main body of the Gregorian music. The Mozarabic Ritual existed long enough to be recorded in *Neumes*, but the key to the Spanish notation which, of course, was traditional, was lost when the Gregorian Rite was imposed upon Spain. Recent research has demonstrated that a good deal of the Mozarabic music still survives in the Gregorian Chant.

In the B.M. (Add MSS. 30845 and 30851) are to be found specimens of Mozarabic Neumes of the 10th and 11th cent.

those of the ancient Greeks, of the same denomination, than there would be in modern music between the keys of D, E, F, G, minor, and the different species of octave produced by the sounds belonging to the key of C natural, as they lie between D and d, E and e, &c.

These four modes, which according to some ecclesiastical writers, acquired the appellation of *authentic,* from their having been selected and appointed for the service of the church of Milan by St. Miroclet and St. Ambrose, were by St. Gregory, either for variety, or convenience of the voice, encreased to eight, by assigning to each *authentic,* what was donominated its *plagal,* that is, according to the most probable derivation of the term, its adjunct, or collateral, mode (*p*). Each of these had the same *final,* or key-note, as its relative *authentic,* from which there is no other difference than that the melodies in the four *authentic* or principal modes are generally confined within the compass of the eight notes *above* the key-note; and those in the four *plagal* or relative modes, within the compass of the eight notes *below* the fifth of the key. The *numeral* names of the modes were now altered; the four *authentic* being distinguished by the odd numbers, 1, 3, 5, 7; the four *plagal* by the even numbers, 2, 4, 6, 8: but music speaks to musicians more intelligibly with its own characters, than with those of any other language: I shall therefore give a short example of each mode in Gregorian notes, which by delineating the capital and specific feature of each, will render them recognisable whenever they occur (*q*).

Essential Sounds of the Eight Tones or Ecclesiastical Modes.



(*r*)

(*p*) *Plagalis,* from πλαγιος, *obliquus, a latere.* These terms, *authentic* and *plagal,* are, with reason, censured by Meibomius and Bontempi, as barbarous. Bontempi proposes, instead of the word *authentic* to substitute *principal;* and for *plagal, relative,* or *collateral.* These distinctions in the Romish church are similar to the discriminations made by the Greek musical writers where they class their modes under the denomination of *principal* and *subordinate,* with the distinction *of hyper* and *hypo.* See Book 1, p. 60. It is not surprising that the primitive Christians should give Greek names to the species of octaves in imitation of the Greek modes; nor, if we reflect on the simplicity that was aimed at, and the humble state of those who first employed music in their religious worship, shall we wonder at the incorrect and artless manner in which it was done. How the Roman church acquired Greek terms in Canto Fermo it is easy likewise to imagine, if we recollect that it was a present from Greek fathers: and Gregory, in reforming the mass, not only retained these Greek terms but adopted others, both from the Greek and Hebrew languages and ceremonies, in order to conciliate parties and acquire converts: as *Kyrie Eleison* from the Greek, and *Hallelujah* from the Hebrew.

(*q*) These characters are not supposed to have been invented by St. Gregory, nor were they in use till many ages after his time; but since their invention, having been appropriated chiefly to the purpose of writing ecclesiastical chants in the Antiphonary of that Pontif, they obtained the appellation of *Gregorian Notes.*

(*r*) Glareanus and Zarlino admit of twelve modes, by allowing two to each of the seven species of octave, except B, which, for want of a true fifth, has no authentic; and F, which having no true fourth, admits of no plagal. However, no other than the eight modes given above are in use, as it does not appear that the four last which were proposed by Glareanus, have been adopted in the church.

In the Romish Missals, Breviaries, Antiphonaries, and Graduals, only four lines are used in the notation of the chants; with two clefs, the base tenor, or those of F and C, which are removable; and two kinds of notes, the square and the lozenge; the first for long syllables, and the second for short. In some modern French Missals a third species of note is used, generally at a close; this is square with a tail added to it, and is of longer duration than either of the other two. However, the Italians seldom use any other than square notes in their Canto Fermo, nor did the French, in their more ancient books.

The only accident allowable in Canto Fermo is a flat to B, which is removed by a ♮. No character of ♯ occurs in genuine chants of high antiquity. The first and second modes are frequently transported into A, a fifth higher. In some modern Missals a flat is placed at the clef upon B, for the fifth and sixth modes; but the strict adherents to antiquity murmur at this licence, and rather chuse to impoverish the melody, by making a fourth of the key a *noli me tangere,* than admit this innovation. As it is, no one scale or key of the eight ecclesiastical modes is complete: for the first and second of these modes being regarded, according to the modern rules of modulation, in the key of D minor, want a flat upon B; the third and fourth modes having their termination in E, want a sharp upon F; the fifth and sixth modes being in F, want a flat upon B; and the seventh and eighth generally beginning and ending in G major, want an F sharp.

Such are the outlines and general rules of the ecclesiastical modes and Canto Fermo; there are indeed peculiarities and exceptions to most of them; but as the book is designed chiefly for the perusal of my countrymen, who have little curiosity, and *no use* for these modes, it seems unnecessary to enter minutely into a discussion of their anomalies.

Ecclesiastical writers seem unanimous in allowing that it was the learned and active Pope Gregory the Great, who collected the musical fragments of such ancient hymns and psalms as the first fathers of the church had approved, and recommended to the primitive Christians; and that he selected, methodized, and arranged them in the order which was long continued at Rome, and soon adopted by the chief part of the western church (*s*).

The anonymous author of his life, published by Canisius, speaks of this transaction in the following words: " This Pontif composed, arranged, and constituted the *Antiphonarium* and chants used in the morning and evening service (*t*)."

(*s*) Gregory began his Pontificate in 590.

(*t*) Fleury, in his *Hist. Eccl.* tom. viii. p. 150, gives a circumstantial account of the *Scola Cantorum,* instituted by St. Gregory. It subsisted three hundred years after the death of that Pontif, which happened in 604, as we are informed by John Diaconus, author of his life. The original *Antiphonarium* of this Pope was then subsisting; and the whip with which he used to threaten to scourge the boys; as well as the bed on which he reclined in the latter part of his life, when he visited the school in order to hear them practise. Two colleges were appropriated to these studies; one near the church of St. Peter, and one near that of St. John Lateran; both of which were endowed with lands.

Arnold Wion cites many writers of the middle ages, such as Walafred, Berno, Radulph, and Sigebert, who not only speak of a singing school founded by him at Rome, but tell us that he banished from the church the *Canto Figurato* as too light and dissolute; and that his own chant was called *Canto Fermo* from its gravity and simplicity (*u*). This Pope is likewise said by ecclesiastical writers, to have been the first that separated the chanters from the regular clergy; observing that singers were more admired for their fine voices than for their precepts or their piety.

It is imagined that St. Gregory was rather a compiler than a composer of ecclesiastical chants, as music had been established in the church long before his Pontificate; and John Diaconus, in his life (*x*), calls his collection *Antiphonarium Centonem,* the groundwork of which was the ancient Greek chant, upon the principles of which it was formed.* This is the opinion of the Abbé Lebeuf (*y*), and of many others. The derivation is respectable ; but if the Romans in the time of St. Ambrose had *any* music, it must have been composed upon the Greek system: all the arts of Rome, during the time of the Emperors, were Greek, and chiefly cultivated by

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(*u*) It is not easy to conceive how the *Canto Figurato,* if it meant *florid song,* as at present, could gain admission into the church, when plainness and simplicity were most likely to be encouraged by its rulers, or even how it could have existence during the first ages of Christianity; for the syllabic and metrical music only, seem to have been used in the temples, and even theatres of the Pagans. Meibomius indeed has inserted, in his preface to the seven ancient Greek writers on music, *Te Deum Laudamus,* set, in the opinion of this learned critic, to nearly the same chant as was used to that hymn in the time of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, its supposed authors, and expressed in such a notation as would have been then used; but I cannot help thinking this chant corrupted by graces of more modern times, as *three notes* frequently, and sometimes even *four* and *five,* are applied to one syllable, which destroy the prosody of the language; a licence which would not have been tolerated by the ancients. But in tracing the use of the word *figuratus,* when applied by the ancient ecclesiastical writers to *Cantus,* it does not seem to have the same acceptation as at present, that is, *giving more than one note to a syllable*: Du Cange gives the following example of its use in the middle ages: *in eodem sacello missam de B. Virgine* in figurativo *quotidie decantari suis sumptibus ordinavit.* "He ordered a mass to be daily sung *with notes* in the same chapel at his own expence." An old French poet, speaking of the celebration of the mass on the feast of St. Magloire in 1315, by the Bishops of Laon and Lagonne, together with the Abbots of St. Germain, St. Genevieve, and St. Dennis, says they sung

L' *Allelujah* mout hautement,
Et bien, et *mesureement.*

which is a manifest distinction from *chanting.* In Zarlino's sense of the word *figurato,* the ancients, in their vocal music, admitted of no *other Canto.* And it is the *Canto Fermo* itself, that is incompatible with *metrical* music. Zarlino, *Instit. Harm.* prima part. cap. 8 expressly designs *Canto Figurato* to be *Canto Misurato*: a *measured melody,* in which *notes,* that is—"*figure*" position—of different lengths were used; in opposition to *Canto Fermo,* in which the notes were all of a length, as in our psalmody; or at least of no stated measure, as in our cathedral service. Buontempi says the same, p. 199. *Il Canto Figurato acquistossi l'Epiteto Figurato dalle varie figure* (notes) *che vi s'introducevano.* This removes the difficulty, and makes it probable, that by saying Gregory banished the *Canto Figurato,* it was only implied that he banished *rhythmic* singing, as too lively; he would not let *verse* be sung, or perhaps would not let it be sung *as* verse, because it was gay and paganish.

(*x*) *Lib.* ii. *cap* 6.

(*y*) *Traite Historique et Pratique sur le Chant Ecclesiastique.* Chap. iii.

* It is difficult to fix with any degree of certainty St. Gregory's share in the compilation of the great collection of music known as Gregorian music. That he had some part in this work is generally admitted.

Gregorian music may be divided into:—

(1) Music of the Mass (with Baptism and similar services);
(2) Music of the Hours of Divine Service.

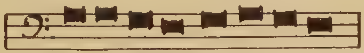
The music of the mass consists of over 600 compositions and that for the Hours of about 2,000 Antiphons and 800 Greater Responds, besides music for the Versicles and Lesser Responds.

It is certain that music schools existed at Rome long before the time of Gregory. It is said that a school for the training of choristers was formed by St. Sylvester in the 4th century and one was certainly established by St. Hilarius in the 5th cent. During the régime of Pope Pelagius (577-90) a school was established near the Lateran Basilica, which afterwards came under the protection of St. Gregory, who used it for supplying various churches with trained singers.

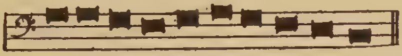
Greek artists; and we hear of no musical system in use among the Romans, or at least none is mentioned by their writers on the art, but that of the Greeks.

It has been long a received opinion that the ecclesiastical *tones* were taken from the reformed modes of Ptolemy; but it is difficult to discover any connection between them except in their name; for their number, upon examination, is not the same, those of Ptolemy being *seven*, the ecclesiastical *eight*. And indeed the Greek names given to the ecclesiastical modes, do not agree with those of Ptolemy in the single instance of key, but with those of higher antiquity (*z*).

It seems, however, as if some idea of the genealogy of the ecclesiastical modes, and their *deviation* from more ancient Music might be acquired, by supposing that the pious fathers, who introduced the use of music first in the churches, would naturally make it as simple as possible, to avoid the reproach of contaminating the Christian service with Pagan *Lenocinia* (*a*). For the same reason, therefore, as they rejected all but the Diatonic genus, they likewise rejected all the variety and complication of *modes* and transported systems, with their difficulties of execution. They took the Hypodorian mode, or natural scale of A, allowing the variety of B flat, occasionally, with the change from the disjunct to the conjunct system which was in every mode, and the different species of octave which *every* mode also admitted. All this was ready to their hands. That they called them *Modes* or *Tones* was not surprising, considering them to have been a *part* of the ancient modes or *toni*, though not the whole: they ended like the old modes upon different *finals*, and were at different *pitches*, though in the same scale. And indeed, besides the effects of transposition by adopting *parts* only of each species for their chants, and not the whole, they made them really different keys to the ear, as in the following examples:



Mediatio (*b*).



Final (*d*).

(*z*) See p. 59 & seq. vol. i.

(*a*) St. Jerom, in his commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, ch. v. ver. 19, p. 652. "Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord," cries out, *Audiant hæc adolescentuli*: *audiant hi quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est, Deo non voce, sed corde cantandum*: *nec in Tragœdorum modum guttur et fauces dulci medicamine colliniendas, ut in ecclesia theatrales moduli audiantur et cantica, sed in timore, in opere, in scientia scripturarum.*

(*b*) *Mediatio* implies the middle of a chant, or the sound which terminates the first part of a verse in the Psalms. The punctuation of the Psalms in the English Psalter, where a colon is constantly placed in the middle of a verse, and frequently when the sense requires not so long a pause, expresses this *Mediatio*, or breathing-place, marked out for those who chant the Psalms in the cathedral service.

(*c*) EVOVAE are the vowels, and, in *Canto Fermo*, the representation of the two last words, in the *Gloria Patri*. Seculorum Amen.

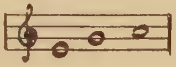
(*d*) *Final*, the last sound of a verse in a chant, which if *complete* is on the key note; if *incomplete*, on some other sound of the key: it is then called a demi-cadence, and the termination is postponed to the next verse; this usually happens in our double chants.

for these two fragments of genuine plain-song in the first mode, give true ideas of modulation into two distinct keys; the first in F with a major third, and the second in D minor (*e*).

It might be expected that some better traces of the music, that so much delighted the Greeks and Romans, would be found in the Canto Fermo of the church ; but if we reflect upon the manner in which the Christian religion was established, such expectations will vanish. The Roman empire having from the beginning opposed and persecuted the proselytes to this new doctrine, its rites were celebrated only in caves and deserts, without pomp and splendor. Its first protectors were the princes of new-founded monarchies, barbarians whom the mild and benevolent doctrines of Christianity, by degrees, rendered less savage and ferocious. On this account, and from the horror with which the followers of the new religion beheld the dissolute manners of the Pagans, the fathers of the church declaimed bitterly against public spectacles, in which the ancient music was still practised ; and to adopt into the church theatrical melodies would have been a scandal and mortal sin: nor, perhaps, did the Pagans themselves use them in their temples. Besides, the new Christians, being chiefly illiterate, and of mean rank, would hardly have been capable of executing the refined and difficult music of the theatre, which was usually performed by skilful and eminent professors. Thus vanished entirely the idea of Greek and Roman secular music, with the knowledge of the Greek characters, now become useless, as nothing remained to be expressed by them but simple sounds, such as were common to Christians and Barbarians.

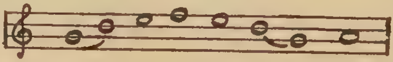
(*e*) The Abbe Lebeuf, who has examined and compared the Canto Fermo of the several ages of the church with great diligence and sagacity, is of opinion, that there is a strong resemblance in the transitions from one key to another in that, and in the ancient Greek music: the Greeks more frequently modulated from the key note to its fifth below, than to the fifth above, see Book I, p. 64. This is discoverable in the fragments of their music that are come down to us. See Dissert. sect. vii. as well as in the precepts of their Theorists. It is the same in the ancient chants of the church. B♭ commonly occurs in a melody that begins in the key of C or A; which implies a modulation into F or D, the fifth below each of these keys: but no F♯ which would indicate a transition into the fifth above, is discoverable. Indeed, sometimes in the key of F the B is made natural, which leads to C, the fifth above; however, such transitions are very uncommon in this, as well as in the Greek music.

The terminations, or closes of Greek Melodies, and ecclesiastical chants, have likewise a great similitude, though they differ so much from those of modern music. In this last, the close is on the key note, in the Greek it is on the third; at least such is the Final of the airs to which the reader is referred: and in the *Canto Fermo*, one of the most common closes is in the third of the tone or mode in which the chant begins. The want of a sharp seventh to several of the modes furnishes another resemblance, in the rising from the flat seventh to the key note at a close; this occurs several times in the fragments, especially in the Ode of Pindar, Dissert. sect. vii. Another similitude is discoverable in the frequent interruption of the Diatonic progression by leaps of thirds, as in St. Ambrose's *Te Deum*



&c.

and in the ecclesiastical intonations



&c.

Mersennus was also struck with the same resemblance: speaking of the Greek melodies, he says, "they plainly appear, from the fragments remaining, to have been," *Simplicibus tonorum ecclesiasticorum cantibus . . . Omnino Similes*. Harmon. lib. vii.

After the conversion of the Emperors, when the Christian religion was established by law, theatres, and all kinds of public spectacles being discouraged, and, by degrees, suppressed, many of the princes themselves regarding them with horror ; the simple, artless, and insipid psalmody of the primitive Christians was continued, though magnificent churches were built ; and ecclesiastical rites, in other respects, were celebrated with every allurement which could captivate the vulgar, and render its ceremonies pleasing to the senses.

Though the original melodies used in the Antiphonary, which includes the chants of the Graduals in the Mass, the Responses, Lessons, and Antiphonaries that accompany the Psalms, were adopted in the church at different times, but reformed and digested by St. Gregory; yet they bear evident marks of the age when they were insensibly received in the church: language was beginning to lose the distinctions of long and short syllables, especially in chanting ; in which there was little variety of notes, either as to length or modulation (*f*), for the vocal organs of the new Christians not having been accustomed to a refined and artificial music, could not easily form the semitones, nor execute a variety of passages; on which account a change of key seldom happens in Canto Fermo, and words are sung to long notes of nearly equal value. For want of semitones, cadences are made from the flat seventh rising a whole tone, in the same manner as among the Canadians and other savage people. There was no need of great musicians to invent, or superior beings to inspire such melody as this ; the priests themselves, who regulated the public worship, might have formed it by mere instinct, as it so much resembles that of a rude and uncivilized people (*g*).

At present, however, this kind of singing is become venerable from its antiquity, and the use to which it is solely appropriated: and its simplicity, and total difference from secular music, precludes levity in the composition, and licentiousness in the performance. As to the want of variety with respect to modulation, such as are much accustomed to the ecclesiastical tones, pretend that a very different effect is produced to the ear by these *different species* of *octave*, even though the idea of the key be not changed: and it must be allowed that these tones, which seem all to belong

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(*f*) The variety of $- \smile$, or long and short syllables, expressed by square and lozenge notes, is a modern attempt, only observed in the French printed Missals; the ancient MSS. and even modern *printed* books of *Canto Fermo* in Italy, have no such distinctions. All notes are, in general, equally square and Gothic ; but whether round or square, their length is the same. *Le note del Canto Fermo si cantano tutte in un'istessa misura, cioe tante valeuna quanto l'altra, o sia tonda, o quardra.* Breve Instruttione alli Giovani per imparare *il Canto Fermo,* del Gios. Mar. Stella. In Roma, 1675.

(*g*) Vide Eximeno, p. 394, 395. *Dell' Origine & delle Regole della Musica in Roma,* 1774. This author, who writes with a strength and eloquence that are seldom found in musical treatises, seems to have expressed himself with too much violence in supposing, that when music was first admitted into the church, the use of rhythm and prosody began to be neglected, because the new languages, then forming from barbarous dialects, and Latin ill pronounced, paid no regard to either: but they have never been lost in the Latin language, and in all Roman Catholic churches the service has ever been performed in Latin. In chanting the Psalms indeed there is no *fixed distinction* of long and short syllables; but this confusion could not have reached the Latin language at the time of St. Gregory.

to one key and scale, do admit the variety of minor and major, as was before observed.

There is a curious chapter in the Micrologus of Guido, which has for title *De Tropis & vi Musicæ*; in which he attributes all imaginable difference of character and effect to the species of octave, or ecclesiastical tones, for he speaks of no other *tropi*; ascribing *garrulity* to one; *voluptuousness* to another; *sweetness* to a third, &c.

M. Rousseau, Art. *Plain Chant,* says, that the "Christians having introduced singing into their religious worship, at a time when music was very much degenerated, deprived the art of the chief force and energy which it had still retained, by a total inattention to rhythm and metre, and by transferring it from poetry, with which it had always been connected, to the prose of the sacred writings, and to a barbarous kind of verse, worse for music than prose itself. Then one of its two constituent parts vanished, and the melody being uniformly dragged without any kind of measure, in notes of nearly equal lengths, lost, by being deprived of rhythm and cadence, all the energy which it received from them (*h*). Hence plain song degenerated into a psalmody always monotonous, and often ridiculous; and yet such of these melodies as have been faithfully preserved, notwithstanding the losses they have sustained, afford real judges valuable specimens of ancient music and its modes, though without measure and rhythm, and merely in the Diatonic genus, which can only be said to be preserved in all its purity in Canto Fermo. These modes, in the manner they have been retained in the ancient ecclesiastical chants, have still a beauty of character, and a variety of expression, which intelligent hearers, free from prejudice, will discover though formed upon a system different from that in present use."*

Notwithstanding the imperfection of the scales, and little variety of keys in the ecclesiastical chants, secular music seems for many ages to have no other rules, but to have been strictly confined to a few keys in the Diatonic genus, without the liberty of transpositions. Hence came the timorous pedantry of excluding all other keys and scales but those used in the church; which kept every kind of melody meagre and insipid, and in subjection to the rules of ecclesiastical chanting. For it appears, that the only major keys used in Canto Fermo, are C and its two fifths F and G; and the only minor keys A, E, and D. And in four

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(*h*) In the Canto Fermo of the Romish church, as in our cathedral chanting, some syllables are sung so slow, and others pronounced with such rapidity, that both verse and prose are equally injured; and yet, the first Reformers of the church thought chanting to be too light, and like common singing; and that there would be more reverence and solemnity in making every syllable of equal length and importance; a practice which is still continued in parochial psalmody.

* That this belief with regard to Plain Song is not only an 18th cent. one is shown by the opinions expressed by many well-known 19th cent. musicians. The following extract from a letter written by Mendelssohn to Lady Wallace is typical.

> "I can't help it, but I own it does irritate me to hear such holy and touching words sung to such dull, drawling music."

of these keys the scale is deficient, as there is no seventh or *note-sensible* to G, A, or D. This accounts for so small a number of the twenty-four keys which the *general* system, and scale of modern music furnishes, having been used by the old composers; as well as for the temperament of the organs by which these modes are afterwards accompanied. And as all music in parts seems, for many ages after the first attempts at counterpoint, to have been composed for the service of religion upon Canto Fermo and its principles; it likewise accounts for the long infancy and childhood of the art, till it broke loose from the trammels of the church, and mounted the stage as a secular amusement.*

If imperfection in one place be perfection in another, let a mutilated scale be a meritorious characteristic only in the church; for on the stage and in the chamber, where zeal and gravity give no assistance to the composition or performance, every refinement and artifice are requisite to stimulate attention, and captivate the hearer. Let all the sharps, and six of the seven single flats be excommunicated; let them have no admission within the pale of the church; but let them not be cut off from all society elsewhere, or the anathema be extended beyond its limits.

But even so late as the present century this barbarism has had its partizans: for the late Dr. Pepusch was desirous of restoring music by the revival of these ecclesiastical scales, to its original *imperfection,* and has given rules (*i*) for composing in all keys without flats and sharps, in imitation, it should seem, of the Lipogrammatists of antiquity, who wrote long poems without the admission of a particular letter. The restrictions and mysteries of ancient modes are luckily abandoned in secular music, like the vain distinctions and occult qualities of the Aristotelian philosophy in the schools.

From the time of St. Gregory to that of Guido,** there was no other distinction of keys than that of Authentic and Plagal; nor were any semitones used but those from E to F, B to C, and, occasionally, A to B♭. But, at present, if the greatest master of modern harmony, with the most fertile genius for melody, were to torture his brain in order to compose in all the keys without the use of other sounds than those of the Diatonic scale of C natural; when, with the most unwearied labour and determined perseverance he had extracted the essence of these modes, and formed it into an elaborate composition, he would still have much more difficulty in finding lovers of music with dulness and patience sufficient to hear it performed, than he had in producing it.

The passages already cited from the fathers only manifest their approbation of music, but neither tell us of what kind it was, nor whether a regular ecclesiastical chant was universally established.

(*i*) See *Treatise of Harmony*, and vol. i. p. 449.

* It would be difficult to find anyone, even the most devoted admirer of operatic music, to agree with this opinion.

** That is from the 6th to the 11th cent.

It seems, however, as if the Liturgy was not settled by Canons, nor a uniformity of chanting ordained till the time of St. Gregory, though we find a very early distinction made between the manner of *singing* the hymns, and *chanting* the psalms. St. Athanasius, and Geronticus, a Monk of Alexandria, and many of the fathers of the fourth century, have left testimonies and admonitions concerning this distinction (*k*). It is, however, the opinion of the learned Padre Martini, to which the Prince Abbot of St. Blasius subscribes, that the music of the first five or six ages of the church, consisted chiefly in a plain and simple chant of unisons and octaves, of which many fragments are still remaining in the Canto Fermo of the Romish missals. For, with respect to *music in parts,* as it does not appear, in these early ages, that either the Greeks or Romans were in possession of *harmony* or *counterpoint,* it is in vain to seek it in the church. Indeed, for many ages after the establishment of Christianity, there is not the slightest trace of it to be found in the MS. *Missals, Rituals, Graduals, Psalters,* and *Antiphonaria* of any of the great libraries in Europe, which have been visited and consulted expressly with a view to the ascertaining this point of musical history.

After the most diligent enquiry concerning the time when *instrumental music* had admission into the ecclesiastical service, there is reason to conclude, that, before the reign of Constantine, as the converts to the Christian religion were subject to frequent persecution and disturbance in their devotion, the use of instruments could hardly have been allowed: and by all that can be collected from the writings of the primitive Christians, they seem never to have been admitted. But after the full establishment of Christianity, as the national religion of the whole Roman empire, they were used in great festivals, in imitation of the Hebrews, as well as Pagans, who, at all times, had accompanied their psalms, hymns, and religious rites, with instrumental music.

The proofs *for,* and *against,* the early admission of musical instruments in the service of religion before this period, are so numerous, that to give them all, and discuss the point, would be an endless labour to the reader and to myself. The two following passages, however, from fathers of the church, seem conclusive as to the *private* use, at least, of instrumental music in the service of religion, before the time of Constantine, as well as its *public* admission into the church during the reign of that Emperor.

Clemens Alexandrinus (*l*) says, " Though we no longer worship God with the clamour of military instruments, such as the trumpet, drum, and fife, but with peaceful words ; this is our most delightful festivity ; and if you are able to accompany your voices with the lyre or cithara, you will incur no censure (*m*)." And afterwards, he

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(*k*) It seems as if the chief distinction was, that the hymns were frequently sung by single persons, and the psalms generally chanted in a chorus of the whole congregation.

(*l*) *Lib.*. ii. *cap.* 4. *Pedagogi.*

(*m*) *Καν προς κιθαραν εθελησης ηλυραν αδειν τε και ψαλλειν μωμος ὀυκ ἐστιν.* Suizerus, *Thes. Eccl.* v. *'Οργανον.*

says: "Ye shall imitate the just Hebrew King, whose actions were acceptable to God." He then quotes the Royal Psalmist: "Rejoice ye righteous, in the Lord—praise becomes the just,—praise ye the Lord on the Cithara and on the Psaltery with ten strings."

Eusebius, in his Commentary on the Sixtieth Psalm, mentions these instruments. He, likewise, in his Exposition of the Ninety-second Psalm, says, "When they (the Christians) are met, they act as the Psalm prescribes: First, they confess their sins to the Lord. Secondly, they sing to his name, not only with the voice, but upon an instrument of ten strings, and upon the Cithara."

Instruments, however, seem not to have had admission indiscriminately in the early ages of the church ; the Harp and Psaltry only, as the most grave and majestic instruments of the time were preferred to all others. Neither Jews nor Gentiles were imitated in the use of Tabrets and Cymbals in the Temple service. The priests of Bacchus and Cybele, in their public processions and celebrations of religious rites, had rendered these instruments so odious to the Christians, that all the Fathers were very severe and peremptory in prohibiting their use (*n*).

Though modern ecclesiastical writers dissemble or deny the use of Dancing in the religious ceremonies of the church, yet the numerous anathemas against it, in the works of the Fathers, are sufficient proofs that it had been practised among the primitive Christians, as well as the Hebrews and Pagans. The following passage from St. Augustine's eighth sermon, not only proves that the early Christians made *dancing* a part of their Sunday's amusement, but puts it out of all doubt that the primitive and pious believers accompanied their sacred songs with instruments. "It is better to dig or to plough on the Lord's Day, than to *dance*. Instead of singing psalms to the Lyre or Psaltry, as virgins and matrons were wont to do, they now waste their time in *dancing*, and even employ masters in that art."

Father Menestrier (*o*), after speaking of the religious dances of the Hebrews and Pagans, observes that the name of *Choir* is still retained in our churches for that part of a cathedral where the Canons and Priests sing and perform the ceremonies of religion (*p*). The choir was formerly separated from the altar, and elevated in the form of a theatre, enclosed on all sides with a balustrade. It had a pulpit on each side, in which the epistle and gospel were sung, as may still be seen at Rome in the churches of St. Clement and

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(*n*) According to Jamblicus, *De vita Pythag.* lib. i. cap. 25, these instruments were forbidden by the Samian Sage to be used by his disciples, to whom he only allowed the lyre.

(*o*) *Des Ballets, Anc. et Mod.* A Paris 1682, p. 12, et seq.

(*p*) The word comes from χορος, a *dance*, or a *company of dancers*. The derivation is remarkable, and not one of those that can be suspected of proceeding from fancy, and accidental similitude of sound. One of the acceptations of the term χορος given by Suidas, is a *company of singers in a church;* that is, a choir. It seems likewise to have been sometimes used, like our word *choir*, in the *local* sense: χορος says *Suidas* και ιο χορευται και ὁ τοπος &c. that is *dancers*, and *the place* in *which* they *danced*. It is so used by Homer, Od. viii. 260. Δειηναν δε χορον—They made smooth, or level, the *place* appointed for *dancing*.

St. Pancratius, the only two that remain in this antique form. Spain, continues he, has preserved in the church, and in solemn procession, the use of dancing to this day ; and has theatric representations made expressly for great festivals, which are called *Autos Sacramentales*.* France seems to have had the same custom till the twelfth century, when Odo, Bishop of Paris, in his synodical constitutions, expressly orders the Priests of his diocese to abolish it in the church, cemeteries, and public processions (*q*). The same author, however, in his Preface, informs us, that he himself had seen, in some churches, the Canons, on Easter Sunday, take the choristers by the hand, and *dance* in the choir, while hymns of jubilation were performing.

M. Tournefort, in his travels through Greece, remarks, that the Greek church had retained, and taken into their present worship, many ancient Pagan rites, particularly that of carrying and *dancing* about the images of the saints, in their processions, to singing and music (*r*).

But the union of acting, *dancing*, and singing, will hereafter be shewn to have been allowed in the church, when the first *Oratorios* or sacred dramas, were performed there.

Some remains of this dancing spirit is still observable in the service of the Romish church, the priests continuing in motion during the whole celebration of the mass. Mr. Hume, in his account of the ceremonies used by Archbishop Laud, at the consecration of St. Catherine's church (*s*), tells us, that this prelate, who was a great venerator of ancient rites, and desirous of reviving the religious observances of the Catholics, " As he approached the Communion-Table, made many lowly reverences; and coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine lay, he bowed seven times. After reading many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was laid. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times towards the bread; then he drew near again, and opened the napkin, and bowed as before."—He did the same by the cup in which was the wine.—If this is not leaping and jumping, as in common dancing, it amounts at least to such a degree of *gesticulation* as the ancient Romans comprehended under the term *Saltatio*.

Having furnished incontestible proofs of the early use of music, both vocal and instrumental, in the church, its *Notation* seems a subject of enquiry not unworthy the curiosity of musical readers.

(*q*) *Constitut.* 36.

(*r*) Tournefort, let. iii. 44.

(*s*) Hist. of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 200. 1st edit 4to.

* For accounts of Spanish religious processions, etc., see articles by J. B. Trend in "*Music and Letters*."

Vol. 1, p. 145, The Mystery of Elche.
Vol. 2, p. 10. The Dance of the Seises at Seville.
Vol. 10, No. 2, The Mystery of the Sybil Cassandra.

Not only the Greek appellatives for the musical scale were in use during the time of Boethius, who died in 526, but the same kind of notation, by letters of the alphabet, in different forms and position, which he has applied to the Diagram in his Fourth Book, chap. iii. (*t*).

Boethius [*c*. 475—*c*. 524], in his chapter on Notation, says, that as his division of strings into concords will give a genealogy of the necessary sounds in the three genera, it becomes necessary for him to describe musical notes, that the name of every one may be known by those signs. " The ancient musicians," says he, " invented and published certain symbols of sounds by which the name of every string was known, and of these there was a different series for each genus and mode, in order to avoid the repetition of the original and entire name of each sound in the system. In this summary manner, a musician, who wished to write a melody to verses, placed over the rythmical composition of metre these signs: so that by this invention, not only the words of the verses, which are formed of letters, but also the melody itself, which is expressed by the like signs, might be transmitted to posterity. Of these modes we will speak, of the Lydian, and its signs in the *three genera*.—" (*u*) He says nothing, in this chapter, of a Roman Notation; but tells us that he adheres to the *Grecian*, " as it is his chief care *not to turn any thing out of the course of antiquity*: there will be two rows of characters," says he, " the higher for the words, and the lower for the instrument that accompanies the singer: " he there defines the characters in his Diagram, which consists of those to be found in Alypius, for the Lydian mode, and which have been explained in the Dissertation, page 30 and page 38, in decyphering the melodies to the Greek hymns.

Upon the whole it seems as if Boethius only used Roman letters as mere marks of reference in the divisions of the monochord, *not as musical notes or characters;* indeed, at the end of chap. xvi. book iv. he says, *sit bisdiapason consonantia hæc,* let the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, represent the concords in double octave. But these letters coincide with our scale only accidentally, which is manifest from the promiscuous use of them throughout the work, where A, for example, frequently happens to represent *hypate hypaton,* which corresponds with our B on the second line in the base.

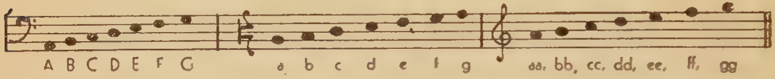
And in book v. chap. xiii. he uses the letters R and X; and throughout, the Roman letters cannot, from the context, be regarded as the musical characters in common use, since Boethius,

(*t*) Some account of this celebrated musical writer, and his Tract, has been given, p. 375, note (*n*); and in this I shall bestow a few words on his chapter concerning Notation; in which though the title promises an exhibition of Greek and *Roman* musical characters, yet only the Greek are explained, nor does a single Roman letter occur for a musical note, in the course of the whole chapter; the title of which, *Musicarum per Græcas et Latinas literas Notarum Nuncupatio,* is justly condemned and exploded by Meibomius, who, has prefixed a correct copy of it to his edition of Alypius, where he observes that the words *ac Latinas* are not to be found in the Selden MS. of Boethius, who only mentions the Greek alphabetic notes.

(*u*) Boethius, as well as every other Latin writer on music, thought it necessary to encumber his Treatise with definitions and calculations of the intervals *in all the genera,* though the *practice* of the chromatic and enharmonic was wholly unknown to the Romans.

in his chapter on Notation, never mentions their being received as such, nor tells us that they were of one or two kinds, as he does of the Greek (*x*).

It seems, therefore, certain at least that the Roman letters were not used as musical characters during the time of Boethius, in whose Treatise no traces of them are to be found; but that such a notation had been adopted between the time of this author and St. Gregory, who, according to the unanimous suffrage of posterior writers on the subject of Ecclesiastical Chanting, reduced their number from fifteen to seven; which, by being repeated in three different forms, furnished a notation for three octaves; the gravest of which he expressed by capitals, the mean by minuscules, and the highest by double letters, thus: which in modern notes would constitute the following scale.



And these letters are still retained in most parts of Europe, as *denominations* of musical sounds, though a different *entablature* and *notation* is used in practice.* The solmization ascribed to Guido, however, was long preferred to this more precise and intelligible musical alphabet, which, at present, seems likely to become universal.

Mabillon (*y*) says, that before the ninth century letters were used for notes in Canto Fermo; and, about the middle of the ninth century, Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, collected, as he tells us himself (*z*), into one book, all the several chants, as they were sung throughout the year, in his own church, under the title of *Antiphonarium*. This passage seems to imply a musical notation in common use at this time, at least in France; but whether it was that of the letters of the Roman alphabet which St. Gregory is supposed to have first adopted, instead of the endless perplexities of the Greek notation, is uncertain.

In all the MSS. of the Micrologus of Guido, written two centuries after [*c*. 1025], alphabetic notes are used in the following manner; which are explained in Gregorian notes.

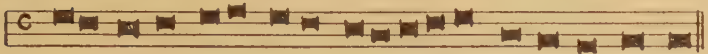
(*x*) I cannot quit Boethius without observing that his tract on Music, which, to read, was long thought necessary to the obtaining a musical degree in our universities; and which, with great parade, has been so frequently praised, quoted, and pronounced, by writers on that art, to be of the greatest importance to every musician, contains nothing but matters of mere speculation and theory, translated from Greek writers of higher antiquity; which, if necessary to be known at this time, would be more profitably studied in the original: but the theory of every art being vain and useless, unless it guide and facilitate practice, the definitions, calculations, and reveries of Boethius, are no more useful or essential to a modern musician, than Newton's *Principia* to a dancer.

(*y*) *Annal. Benedict.* tom iv. *Append.* No. vii. p. 632.

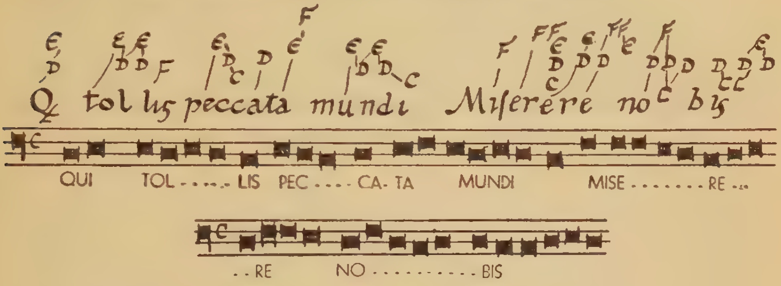
(*z*) *Agobard, de Divina Psalmodia.* Biblioth. pp. cit. tom. xiv. p. 321.

* It does not appear likely that Gregory invented this, or indeed any form of Notation. A contemporary of his, one Isidore, states that in his day there was no way of recording music and that "unless sounds are retained in the memory they perish, for they cannot be written down."

dc ♮ c de dc ♮ a ♮ c d a G F G G
Sit nomen Domini benedictum in sæcula. (*a*).



These letters had sometimes linear ligatures, of which a curious specimen is given by Padre Martini (*b*), from an ancient MS. of Guido, in the possession of that diligent historian.


Q tollis peccata mundi Miserere nobis
QUI
TOL - - - - - LIS
PEC - - - - CA- TA
MUNDI
MISE - - - - - - - - RE - -
- - RE
NO - - - - - - - - - - BIS

Besides the improvement in alphabetic notation, the invention of other kinds of notes has been attributed to St. Gregory: these consisted of lengthened points, placed at different elevations, over each syllable of the words that were intended to be sung in his *Antiphonarium*. Whether this expedient was first suggested by Gregory, or by succeeding transcribers of his Ritual, is uncertain. Eckehard, Jun. (*c*) seems to think that he only used the *literal notation*: for, speaking of Peter, one of the singers sent into France by Pope Adrian, at the request of Charlemagne, he says, that " this chanter first superseded the use of alphabetic characters by certain notes (*d*) placed over words that were to be sung; which Notker Balbulus afterwards explained to a friend (*e*)"*

The Gregorian Chant seems to have been expressed by notes different from the letters of the alphabet, if not by Pope Gregory himself, at least very soon after the death of that Pontiff. The Monk of Angoulême, author of the Life of Charlemagne, anno 787, says, that " The Antiphonarium of Gregory was written by himself in *Roman notes*; and that all the chanters of France learned the Roman, now called the French note." One of these notes, says Du Cange, was placed over each syllable (*f*).

(*a*) From a MS. of Guido in the Laurenzinian Library, at Florence.

(*b*) *Storia della Musica*, tom. i. p. 178.

(*c*) *De casibus Sancti Galli, cap.* 4. (*d*) *Notulis.*

(*e*) This work of Notkerus is still extant in the fifth vol. of *Antiq. Lect. Canisii*, part ii. p. 739.

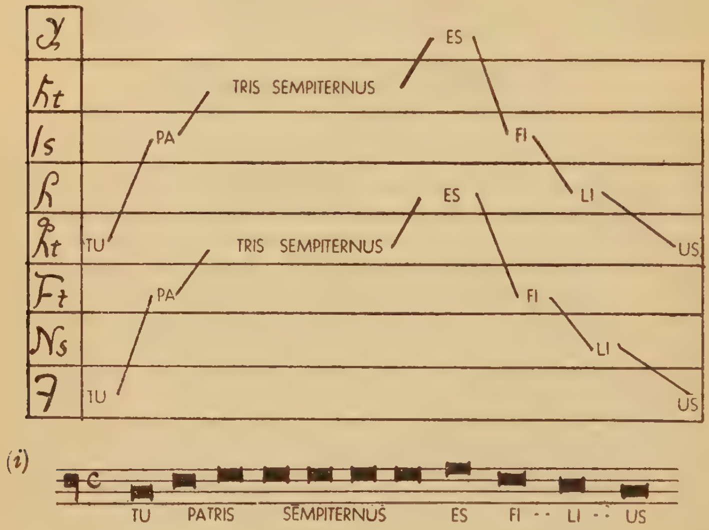
(*f*) *Gloss. ad. Script. Med. et Inf. Latini.*

* *Balbulus*=the stammerer. A monk of St. Gall who died in 912. His works on music were reprinted by Gerbert (*Scriptores*, Vol. 1). There is in the National Library at Vienna (Codex 184) an example of St. Gallen neumes which are written alongside and not over the text.

The earliest examples of Neums are in the *Codex Amiatimus*, which dates from about A.D. 716.

There is a beautiful MS. Psalter in the Library of Bennet Coll. Cambridge, supposed to have been brought from Rome by Austin the Monk, in the time of Pope Gregory. I had formed hopes, that in this some kind of notation would be found, but none appears. In the seventh chapter of the Statute Book of Aix la Chapelle, in the year 879, and in that of Charlemagne (*g*), it is, however, ordained, that " *notes*, chants, and grammar, should be taught in every monastery and Diocese."

Lines began to be used in the tenth century, as appears from an ancient manuscript treatise on Music, by Odo the Monk,* written about the year 920 (*h*). These were eight or nine in number. At first, the syllables of the psalm or hymn, that was to be sung, were placed in the spaces between these lines, thus:



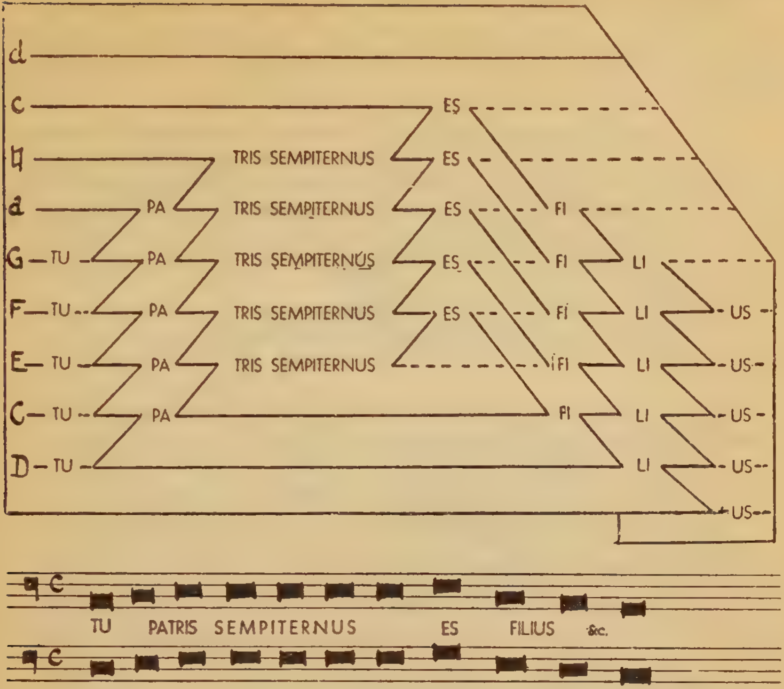
After this an alphabetic character was placed at the beginning of each line; capitals for the grave sounds, and minuscules for the acute; as may be seen in the following specimen from a MS. of Guido's Epistle to the Monk of Pomposo, in the Laurenzinian library at Florence, and in the British Museum, No. 3199, in which the melody is written in five different keys.

(*g*) Lib. i. cap. lxviii. and lib vi. cap. 277.

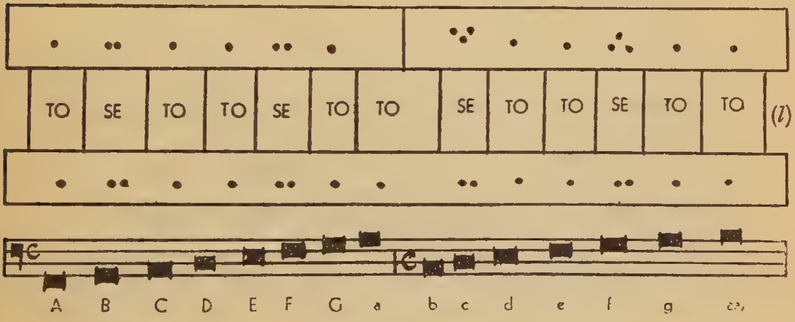
(*h*) *Trithem. de Scriptorib. Eccles.* N. 292.

(*i*) These eight lateral characters, or ciphers, imply the eight tones of the church, D, E, F, G, authentic, and plagal; the small letters t, and s, tone and semitone. Of the repetition of syllables over each other, an account will be given in the next chapter.

* It is probable that this treatise was written by Otger or Odo of Tornières who was also known as Hoger or Noger.
The *Musica Enchiriadis* and the *Scholia Enchiriadis* formerly attributed to Hucbald or Hubaldus are now believed to be the work of Otger.


d
c
♮
a
G
F
E
C
D
TU
PA
TRIS SEMPITERNUS
ES
FI
LI
US
TU
PATRIS SEMPITERNUS
ES
FILIUS
&c.

To this kind of notation succeed *Points,* a scale formed of which is given from a tract written by the great musical Monk Hubaldus (*k*), who flourished about the year 880.* The MS. is


TO
SE
TO
TO
SE
TO
TO
SE
TO
TO
SE
TO
TO
(*l*)
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
a
b
c
d
e
f
g
aa

(*k*) ***Enchiridion Musicæ authore*** Uchubaldo, ***Francigena.***

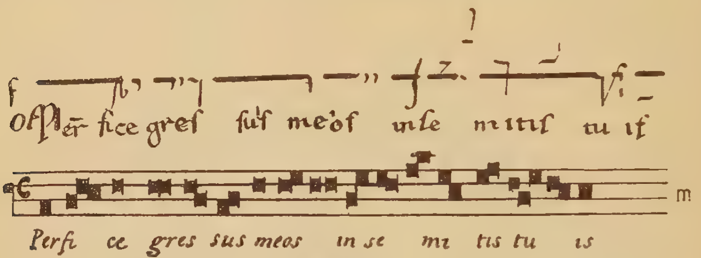
(*l*) This example robs Guido of the glory of having invented *Points,* however double points, or *Counterpoint,* may belong to him; but this claim will be discussed in the next chapter; and it is but just to observe here, that the above species of notation seems never to have been in general use.

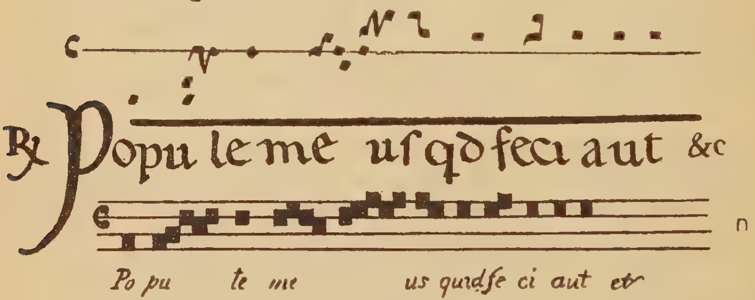
* Hucbald was born about 840 and died in 930. The only work which is now ascribed to him is *De harmonica Institutione.*

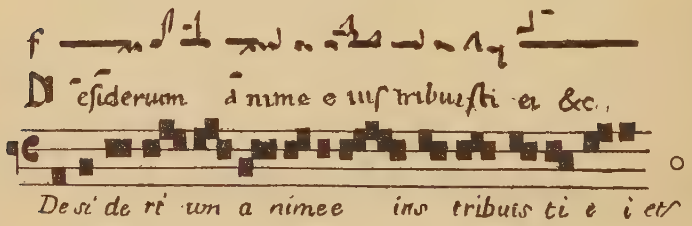
The *Musica Enchiriadis* is now thought to have been written by Otger of Tornières. See *Hucbald's echte und unechte Schriften,* by Hans Muller (Leipzig 1884) with regard to the authorship of these works.

still subsisting in the Malatesta Library of the Minor Conventual Fathers at Cevena, and in that of the King of France at Paris, No. 7202, of which last I procured a copy.

The three following examples of ancient notations by points, are given from P. Martini, tom. i. p. 184, in which only one line is used to ascertain the predominant sound of the chant: a red line for the clef F, and a yellow one for that of C. This seems to have been the first time that a line was drawn through notes of the same elevation, and the origin of clefs; which are only Gothic letters corrupted or disfigured.







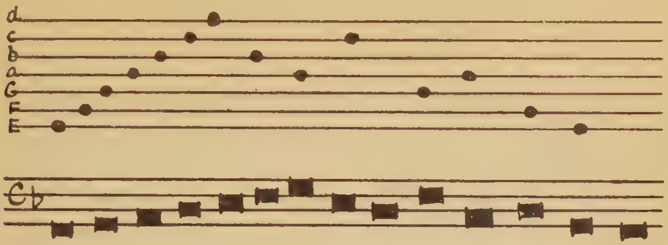
(*m*) From a fragment of an ancient Missal written about the year 900, which is preserved in the archives of the cathedral at Modena.

(*n*) From an ancient missal in the possession of P. Martini. Guido, in the prologue to his *Antiphonarium*, speaks of this kind of notation, where the red line implies the clef of F, and the yellow that of C.

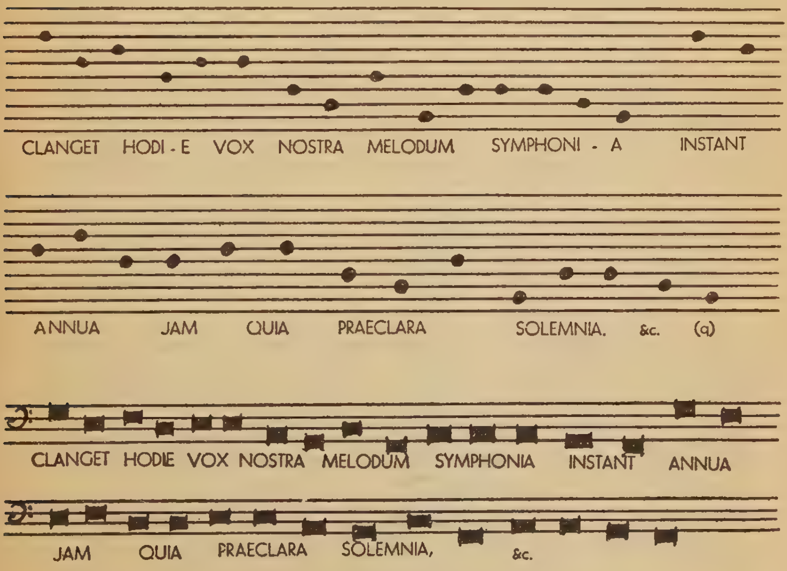
> Quasdam lineas signamus variis coloribus
> Ut quo loco, qui sit sonus, mox discernat oculus;
> Ordine tertiæ voces splendens crocus radiat,
> Sexta ejus, sed affinis flavo rubet minio.

(*o*) From an ancient Missal.

Vincenzio Galilei (*p*) says, that a little before the time of Guido the *points* were placed on seven *lines*, only, without using the spaces; perhaps in imitation of the seven strings of the ancient lyre:



The same writer has exhibited, in a specimen of this notation, an example of very ancient Roman melody, concerning the authenticity of which he had not the least doubt, as it was communicated to him, he says, by a Florentine gentleman, who had found it in an extreme ancient MS. of the most perfect preservation of any that he had ever seen. It is not indeed of so exquisite a kind as to make us lament the loss of such music; though the disposition of those who could be pleased with it may have been to them a great blessing.


CLANGET HODI - E VOX NOSTRA MELODUM SYMPHONI - A INSTANT
ANNUA JAM QUIA PRAECLARA SOLEMNIA. &c. (q)
CLANGET HODIE VOX NOSTRA MELODUM SYMPHONIA INSTANT ANNUA
JAM QUIA PRAECLARA SOLEMNIA, &c.

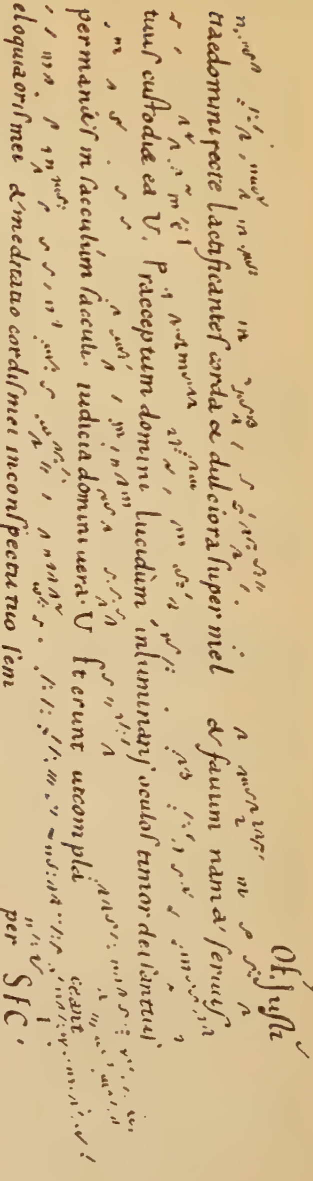
(*p*) Dial della Mus. Anti. e Moder. p. 36.

(*q*) It was from these *Points* being placed over each other in the first notation of music in different parts, that the term *Contrapunctum, Counterpoint,* had its origin.

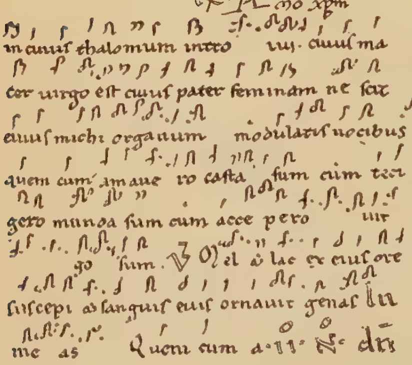
Of these two specimens of ancient Ecclesiastical Notation Nº.I is from a M.S. Missal of the 9th Century, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan

and Nº.II from one of the 11th Century, with which I was favoured by Dr. Morton principal Librarian to the British Museum

Nº I


Of. Justi
tiae domini recte laetificantes corda & dulciora super mel & favum nam & servus
tuus custodiet ea V. Praeceptum domini lucidum inluminans oculos timor dei sanctus
permanens in saeculum saeculi iudicia domini vera V Et erunt ut complaceant
eloquia oris mei & meditatio cordis mei in conspectu tuo semper SEC.

Nº II.


R. A more xpm
in cuius thalamum introivi. cuius mater virgo est cuius pater feminam nescit
cuius michi organum modulatis vocibus
quem cum amavero casta sum cum tetigero munda sum cum accepero virgo sum. V Mel et lac ex eius ore
suscepi et sanguis eius ornavit genas meas
In Quem cum a. R. dns

Basire sc. St. Thomas Ap. sci

Few, however, of these methods of notation seem to have been *generally* received in cotemporary Missals, after the Greek characters were disused; for in the MS. specimens which I have seen, the marks placed over the words, in the middle ages, previous to the time of Guido, often appear arbitrary, and to have been adopted only in some particular church, convent, or fraternity.

Points were first used simple, afterwards with tails; sometimes detached, sometimes confluent; and sometimes united and distorted like hieroglyphics. I collected examples of this notation in the Ambrosian library at Milan, in the Vatican at Rome, at Antwerp, and in the libraries and convents of several other cities on the Continent: many of which are, indeed, unintelligible at present to the most learned librarians and antiquaries I consulted. Of these I shall, however, give specimens, more to convince the reader of the rude state of music in these barbarous ages, than to display its beauties, or my own sagacity in deciphering the characters.

A few examples of such music will perhaps suffice to enquirers reasonably curious in Gothic antiquities; and, indeed, such as *can* be decyphered may comfort the reader of taste for the unintelligible state of the rest. The history of barbarians can furnish but small pleasure or profit to an enlightened and polished people: and the ecclesiastical chants of the early and middle ages of Christianity, have no other constituent part of good music than that of moving in some of the intervals belonging to the Diatonic scale; nor do any stronger marks of selection and design appear in them, than might be expected in a melody formed by a fortuitous concourse of musical sounds. And, indeed, these chants bear nearly the same proportion to a marked and elegant melody, as a discourse drawn from Swift's Laputan Mill would do with one written by a Locke or a Johnson.

The characters, however, in the last two specimens are not arbitrary marks, or signs of single sounds; but, like those used in some ancient Greek Missals, of which an account will be given hereafter, expressed different inflexions of voice, for which, in modern notation, several characters would be required. As lines seem first to have been used for the purpose of ascertaining the clef, and to intersect such notes as were of the same elevation, it would not be difficult to discover the melody intended to be expressed by these characters in ancient Missals, if their force was known, and their situation determined by lines drawn through them.

The appellations given to these characters were, in general, barbarous, though some of them seem intended, by their form, as well as import, to delineate the motion of the voice (*r*).

They seem, before lines were applied to them, to have been in general use from the ninth to the fourteenth century; as they are not only to be found in the MSS. above mentioned, but in innumerable others which are still preserved in the several libraries and convents of Europe, whence Walther has given specimens in his *Lexicon Diplomaticum;* and in these MSS. they differ no more than letters in the hand-writing of individuals of the same age and nation. In many of them particular words at the end of a verse or sentence, have groups of notes given to them, which, in modern musical language, would be called divisions. Some of these appear in the fragment from the Ambrosian MS.; and Walther (Tab. VI.) has deciphered a chant of the eleventh century, in which the second syllable of the verb *sanantur* has a *volata,* or flight of notes, set to it, consisting of near seventy different sounds.

The same diligent and ingenious antiquary has likewise ascertained the notation of a MS. of the twelfth century, by drawing lines through the characters, Tab. XII. and elsewhere has not only given proofs of this species of notation having been in use till the 14th century, but exhibited (Tab. XXIV.) an explanation of the *singing-clefs* and *musical notes* of the middle ages, with which I shall present my readers, in order to enable the studious in musical antiquities, to decipher the characters used in the Canto Fermo of the middle ages, wherever they shall find them, previous to the use of lines, Gregorian notes, or the invention of a time-table.

And as the learned abbot of St. Blasius (*s*) has given in his second vol. a plate of the metrical accents and characters for inflexions of voice used about this time, amounting to forty, with their several names underneath, in Hexameter verse, I shall also insert a copy of this plate [pp. 440-1], as it will furnish appellations to the musical characters which Walther explains, and point out the meaning of others, which occur in both Latin and Greek Missals of the ages anterior to Guido, and the use of lines. Some of these characters, as their names imply, are grammatical, some metrical, some representatives of musical sounds, and others,

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(*r*) The names of ten of the musical notes used in the middle ages occur in two Latin verses given by Du Cange, in his Glossary, from Theogerus, Bishop of Metz, *apud Bernardum Pez,* tom. i. *Anecd. Præfat.* p. 15. under the article *Heptaphonos.*

Is (Christus) *in œvum sit benedictus.*
Heptaphonos, strophicus, punctus, porrectus, oriscus,
Virgula, cephalicas, clinis, quilisma, podacus.

And the forms of some of them are likewise preserved in a MS. Latin tract on music, supposed to have been written in the twelfth century, which I saw in the Jesuit's college at Antwerp. See *Present State of Music in Germany,* &c. vol. i. p. 32 and 48, first edit. John Cotton, the author of this tract, who is supposed to be an Englishman, speaking of the different finals of the intonations of the Psalms says: *Tercius neumandi modus a Guidone inventus. Hic sit per virgas,*
π ω V
clipes, quilismata, puncta, podatus, ceterasque hujusmondi notulas suo ordine dispostas.

(*s*) *De Cantu et Musica Sacra,* p. 59, and pl. X. No. 2.

perhaps, were appropriated to the graces or embellishments which were then used in melody.*

But, it may be easily imagined, while these notes were used without lines to ascertain their exact situation, that they must have been very uncertain guides ; and the author of the Antwerp MS. already mentioned, in speaking of these characters, as *Neumæ,* which was a term applied to divisions upon a single vowel at the end of a psalm or anthem, as a recapitulation of the whole chant, justly observes, that "these irregular signs must be productive of more error than science, as they were often so carelessly and promiscuously placed, that while one was singing a semitone or a fourth, another would sing a third or a fifth (*t*)."

It may easily be imagined, that neither this nor any other notation could instantaneously become general ; improvements in arts long remain local in every age and country ; and it is natural to suppose that the characters in question were long unknown, or of but small use, in some parts of Europe, while they were received and successfully practised in others.

Though the most ancient melodies used in the church may have been adopted from the pagan Greeks, it seems as if they had been at first retained by memory, and handed down to distant ages by tradition ; for no monuments remain, either in the Eastern or Western church, of music written in characters similar to those in Alypius, or of the Greek hymns inserted in the Dissertation prefixed to this work. For though Meibomius has set such notes to *Te Deum Laudamus,* in his preface to the seven ancient Greek writers on music, yet he does not pretend to have found them in that form in any MS. of antiquity ; his sole design in applying them to this venerable chant, being to shew how perfect a master he was of the ancient Greek notation.

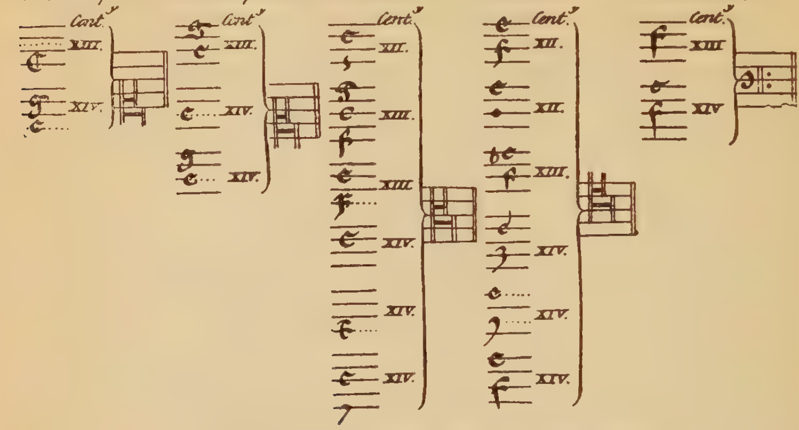
The schism between the Greek and Latin churches, which happened in the ninth century, prevented such changes as were made in the Roman Ritual, after that period, from being adopted ; and the notation used before, seems long to have been continued in the Greek church. In Russia, however, all the Rituals were called in at the beginning of the last century ; and a uniform liturgy was established, in which the modern method of writing music was received. But in the Greek isles a notation peculiar to its inhabitants is still in use, which is not only as different from ours as their alphabet, but totally unlike that in the ancient Missals.

In examining the most ancient of these in the Vatican library which were written in capitals, the first notation I could discover consisted chiefly of accents; and when small letters were afterwards used, these accents were only somewhat lengthened.

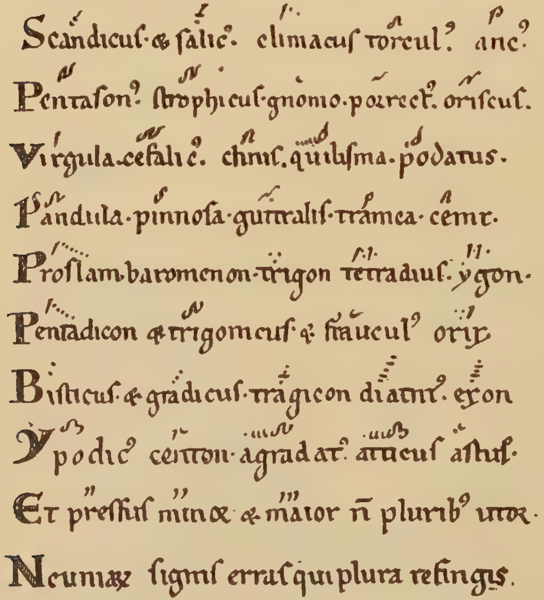
(*t*) *Qualiter autem istæ irregulares neumæ errorem pocius quam scientiam generent, in* virgulis & clinibus, *atque podatis considerari per facile est: quandoquidem & equaliter omnes disponuntur et nullus elevationis vel depositionis modus per eas exprimitur. Unde fit ut unusquisque tales neumas pro libitu suo exaltet aut deprimat, ut ubi tu semitonium vel diatessaron sonas, alius ibidem ditonum vel diapente faciat. Cap.* 21.

* A chart shewing the growth of the *Neumes* will be found in Grove's (*Article*: *Notation;* Vol. 3, pp. 648-9).

Singing Clefs of the Middle Ages


Treble & Soprano.
Mezzo Soprano
Contralto.
Tenor.
Baritono & Base.
Centʸ
XIII.
XIV.
XII.

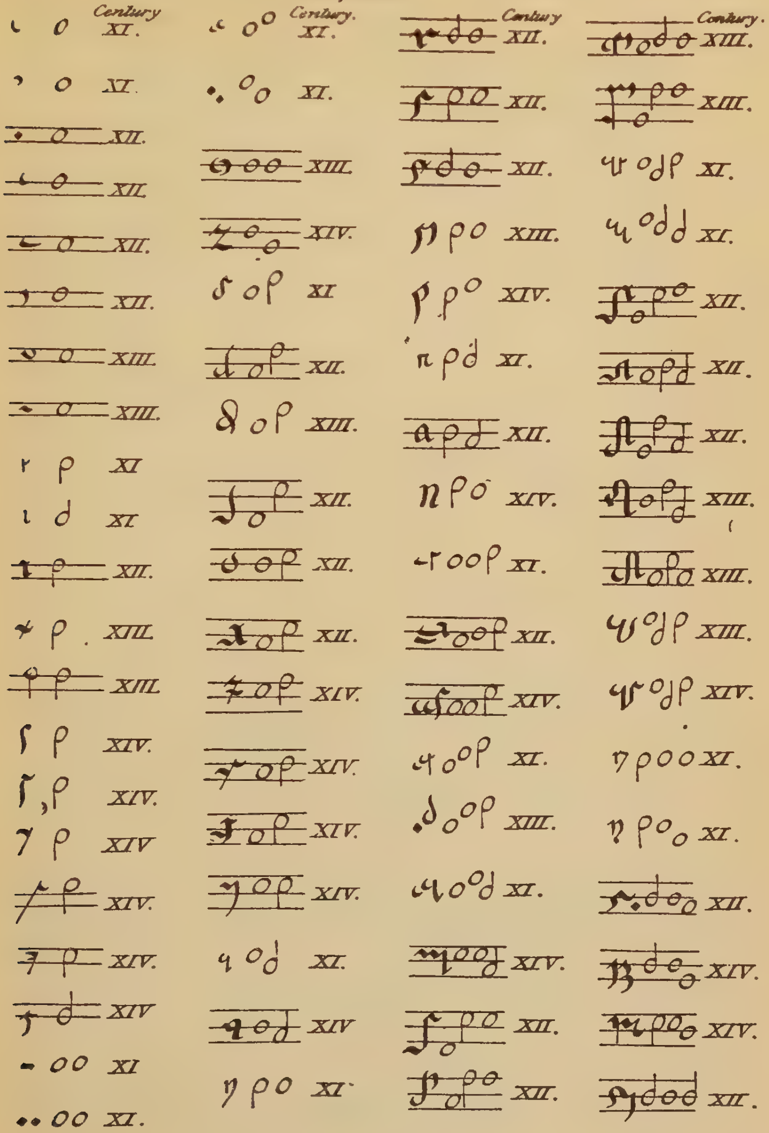
The Names & correspondent Signs of Musical Sounds.



Scandicuſ· & ſalicꝰ· climacuſ torculꝰ· ancꝰ·
Pentaſonꝰ· ſtrophicuſ·gnomo·porrectꝰ· oriſcuſ.
Virgula·cefalicꝰ· clinuſ·quiliſma·podatus.
Pandula·pinnoſa·gutturaliſ·tramea·cemt·
Proſlambanomenon·trigon tetradiuſ· ygon·
Pentadicon & trigonicuſ & franculꝰ orix
Biſticuſ· & gradicuſ·tragicon diatinꝰ· exon
Ypodicꝰ centon· agradatꝰ· atticuſ aſtuſ·
Et preſſiſ minor & maior n̄ pluribꝰ utor·
Neumarꝫ ſigniſ erraſ qui plura refingis.

Bayly Sculpᵗ. Sᵗ Thoˢ Apostle.

MUSICAL CHARACTERS in ANCIENT MISSALS
Explained.


Century XI.
XI.
XII.
XII.
XII.
XII.
XIII.
XIII.
XI
XI
XII.
XIII.
XIII.
XIV.
XIV.
XIV
XIV.
XIV.
XIV
XI
XI.
Century. XI.
XI.
XIII.
XIV.
XI
XII.
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Century XII.
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Century. XIII.
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XI.
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XIV.
XIV.
XII.

Bayly Sculp^t St Tho.^s Apostle.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, they very much resemble the characters to be found in contemporary Latin Missals. However, the melodies in the lower ages became more elaborate, and the notes more numerous than in those of higher antiquity.

St. John Damascenus, who lived in the eighth century [*c.* 700-754], is celebrated by the writers of his life, and by ecclesiastical historians, as the compiler and reformer of chants in the Greek church, in the same manner as St. Gregory in the Roman. And Leo Allatius (*u*) under the title *Octoëchus* (*x*), tells us, they were composed by J. Damascenus. Zarlino goes still farther, and informs us, (*y*) that in the first ages of Christianity, the ancient Greek notation by letters having been thrown aside, John Damascenus invented new characters, which he accommodated to the Greek ecclesiastical tones; and that these characters did not, like our's, merely express single sounds, but all the intervals used in melody: as a semitone, tone, third minor, third major, &c. ascending and descending, with their different duration. This resembles, in many particulars, the notation, just exhibited from the ecclesiastical books of the Romish church, before the time-table and characters in present use were invented, or, at least, generally received.

The Abate Martini of Venice, with whose friendship I was honoured when I visited that city in 1770 (*z*), having visited the Greek isles in hopes of acquiring such a knowledge of the music practised there at present, as would enable him to judge, whether any of the miraculous powers attributed to it by their ancient inhabitants still remained, as well as to compare its excellence with that of his own country; and as this learned and sagacious enquirer confided to me his papers on that subject, this seems the time to communicate to my readers a sketch of their contents.

The system of modern Greek musical notation, according to the Abate Martini, seems much more complicated and obscure than the ancient. The characters convey nothing to the mind either by their form or names, the greatest part of which cannot be construed; and the rest are construed to no purpose. Their signification, as words, does not point out their meaning, as musical characters; and all that I can discover is, that some of them seem descriptive of gesticulations ; such as *ουανισμα*, which, perhaps, directed the priest to look up, or stretch his hands towards heaven. *Οτανϱος*, which might direct him to make the sign of the cross, or to carry the cross. *Λυγισμω, flexio, contortio*. Indeed, it is said in the papers, that some of these characters are for the *Χειϱομια*, or *Legerdemain*, and not *δια φωνην*, for the *voice*. This is the more likely, as the Greek service abounds in gesticulations and manual dexterity.

The Abate was informed, that though the oriental Greeks have signs for musical sounds equivalent to ours, they sing more by

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(*u*) *De Libris Eccles. Græcorum.*

(*x*) Οκτωηχος: *Eight Tones.*

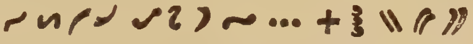
(*y*) *Instit. Harm. 4ta. parte. cap.* viii.

(*z*) See Present State of Music in France and Italy, p. 154. first edit.

tradition than science. However, the distinctions for the duration of sounds, such as our time-table furnishes, are still wanting. The Abate procured an extract from a tract upon the music of the modern Greeks, written by Lampadarius; but who he was, or when he lived, no one could inform him. In this it appears, that the characters amount to more than fifty; among which, most of the names of those musical terms given by Du Cange, from a MS. treatise on the ecclesiastical music of the Greeks are to be found (*a*).

To insert these here, and endeavour to explain them, will perhaps be conferring but a small favour on my readers; for from the scarcity of music written in such characters, so few will be their opportunities of making use of any knowledge they may acquire by the study of them, that it would be like learning a dead language in which there are no books, or a living language without the hope of either reading or conversing in it.

I shall, however, for the gratification of the curious in these matters, exhibit here fourteen musical characters which occur in Greek MSS. of the Evangelists, written in capitals during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, though, at present, they are wholly unintelligible, even to the Greeks themselves. I have already observed that the more ancient the MSS. the fewer and more simple are the notes: the *Codex Alexandrinus,* in the British Museum, has none; and the *Evangelisteria* MSS. in the Harleian Collection, 5785, 5598, both of the tenth century, have only such as these, which were copied in Greece by the Abate Martini.



The *Codex Ephrem.* in the King's library at Paris, of the fifth century, has likewise the same kind of musical notes; and it is assigned as a reason for the *Codex Alexandrinus* not having them, that it was written for private use, not for the service of the church.

Kircher (*b*) undertakes to give his reader an idea of modern Greek Music and its characters; and has indeed collected a great number of notes and their names, but pretends not to furnish

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(*a*) *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Græcitàtis.* Du Cange, who has so amply collected and explained the characters used by the modern Greeks in chymistry, botany, astronomy, and other arts and sciences, is silent as to their musical notation; nor have I been able to acquire any information on that subject, except what the Abate Martini has supplied me with. The title of the Treatise, by *Lampadarius,* is the following. Τεχνολογια της μουσικης τεχνης The extract from it, which is in my possession, is too long for insertion here; nor would it be of much use could I allow it room, as no equivalents to the Greek characters are given in our own notation. But with respect to the author, I find among the memorandums which I made in the King of Sardinia's library at Turin, an account of a Greek MS. of the fifteenth century, No. 353. *b.* I. 24. in which *Lampadarius* is often mentioned as author of the music to the hymns and prayers it contains. Fabricius, likewise, Bibl. Græc. vol. ii. p. 369, 564, and 586, speaks of a MS. in the Selden Collection at Oxford, and another in the Jesuits library at Louvain, in which there are explanations of the notes used by the modern Greeks, and musical compositions by several authors, particularly *Lampadarius.* In the patriarchal church of Constantinople, there are four singers, who are placed on the right and left sides of the choir: the first on the right hand is called Πρωτοψαλτης. the principal singer; the first on the left Λαμπαδαριος, *Lampadarius;* the two others who assist the principals are called *Domestici.* It is probable that Lampadarius, who flourished about the year 1300, either took his name from the office he filled; or, on account of his eminence in music, that his name was given to the office.

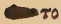
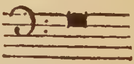
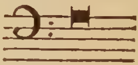
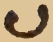
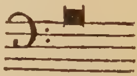
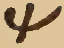
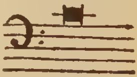
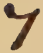
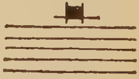
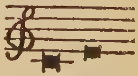
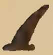
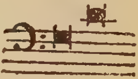
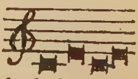
(*b*) *Musurgia, Tom. i. p. 72.*

equivalents in the music of the western world. And to insert such barbarous names, and more barbarous characters here without explanation, would no more help to initiate a student in the mysteries of Greek music, than the Hebrew or Chinese alphabet. At the first glance they very much resemble the characters used in *Choregraphy*, an art invented about two hundred years ago to delineate the figures and steps of dances. They are too numerous and complicated to be all inserted and explained here; however, to the following, as they most frequently occur, I shall give the names, and correspondent notes in our own music, by the study of which the musical reader would be able to form some idea of the melody they are intended to express.

There are eight ascending and six descending characters, some for single sounds, and others for wider intervals, as thirds and fifths, such as Zarlino, in the passage mentioned above, had imagined were invented by J. Damascenus; and all these have their particular *Chironomia*, or signs for the gestures with which the priest is to accompany the inflections of voice.

ισον. The beginning, or first note of every chant, is called *Ison*, which is equivalent to the key or tone in which any melody is sung.

Ascending Notes.

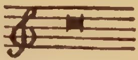
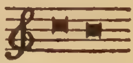
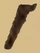
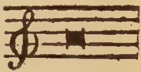
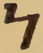
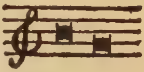
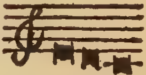
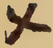
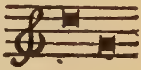
	το ὀλίγον (c), - - - - -	id est exigua	
	η ὀξεια, - - - - - - -	acuta	
	η πετασθη (d), - - - - - -	volatilis	
	το κυφισμα, - - - - - -	levitas	
 or	τὸ πελασθὸν (e) - - - -	volatil	
	τὸ κεντημα, - - - - - -	stimulus	
	η ὑψυλη, - - - - - - - -	alta	
	τὰ δύο κεντήματα, - - - - -	duo stimuli	

(c) Kircher, to whom even Egyptian hieroglyphics are easy, has resolved the names of these Greek notes into Latin. Musurg. *ubi supra.*

(d) *Perhaps* πετασις.

(e) πεταστον.

Descending Notes.

	ὁ 'Απόϛροφος,	**apostrophus**	
	οἱ δύο 'Απόϛροφοι,	**duo apostrophi**	
	ἡ ἀποῤῥοὴ,	**defluxus**	
	το κρατημα υπορροον,	**stimulus defluxionis**	
	το 'Ελαφρον,	**vagum**	
	ἡ Χαμιλὴ,	**temperans**	

The octaves to all these sounds are expressed by different characters.

The Abate Martini heard the Greeks, in Passion Week, sing several tropes or modes, which they now term ἤχοι, in four parts, in the style of Palestrina ; and this kind of music they call *Cretan*, but why, is not easy to divine, unless they learned counterpoint while the Venetians were masters of the island (*f*).

The Abate says, that he often heard the common people of Greece sing in concert, and observed that they made frequent use of the *fourth ; della consonanza che noi chiamiamo oggi quarta.* By this he must mean that he used it as a concord in two parts, or if there were more than two parts, in positions where our harmony forbids the use of it ; otherwise it would not have affected his ear as a singularity.

The fact is curious ; and I find it confirmed by Zarlino, who observed the same practice in the Greek church at Venice. The fourth we shall find was in such favour during the time of Guido, as to be preferred in descant to every other concord, and thought to constitute the most pleasing harmony. This partiality may probably have arisen from the importance of *fourths* in the ancient Greek system, and the want of a temperament to render thirds and sixths more agreeable; but the improvements in harmony soon brought it into disgrace in Italy, while, from a contrary cause it has kept its ground to the present time

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(*f*) The Venetians were in possession of Crete, or Candia, from the beginning of the thirteenth century till 1669, when they were driven thence by the Turks, after a siege of more than twenty years.

in Greece, at least among the populace. And indeed, even in Italy, it seems to have retained a part of its ancient privileges long after the time of Guido, and when harmony was thought to be in great perfection: for Zarlino says, that Jusquin, and the other old Flemish masters, used it frequently in their compositions: *nella parte grave, senza aggiungerle altro intervallo* (*g*).

The present state of Greek music, indeed, does not confirm or favour the opinion of Dr. Brown, who asserts, with his usual courage (*h*), that " about four hundred years after Guido,. the debauched art once more passed over into Italy from Greece: certain Greeks, who escaped from the taking of Constantinople, brought a refined and enervate species of music to Rome, &c." As many travellers assert that the modern Greeks have no music in parts, we may suppose, that in those places where it was heard by the Abate Martini, it had been brought thither by the Venetians, during the time that they had possessions in the Archipelago.

That the Greek music has undergone many alterations since the ancient treatises that are come down to us were written, is certain from the change and increase of its vocabulary. Bryennius (*i*) has given, as names of intervals, a list of barbarous terms not to be found in any preceding writer within my knowledge; and in the Greek Glossary of Du Cange, and the Abate Martini's papers, a great number occur that are not to be found either in writers of high antiquity, or in Bryennius (*k*).

The technical language of the Greeks has always been copious, and in music perhaps its seeming redundance is more conspicuous than in any other art or science. But in other arts and sciences Words are representatives of Things existing; whereas, in denominating the tones and inflexions of voice, which to realize, require new creation, there can be no correspondence between the type and substance. The colours, the forms, and objects, which a painter wishes to represent, are in nature; and the poet, in all the ebullition of wild enthusiasm and fervid imagination, describes what he has seen and felt, or what *is* to be seen and felt, and for which common language must supply him with symbols. But it has never entered the thoughts of man to give names to all the minute shades of colour between black and white, or to the gradations by which light is propagated between the time of total darkness and the sun's meridian. And yet, in a scale of sounds, from the lowest musical tone in the human voice to the highest, where octaves are not represented by similar signs

(*g*) *Instit. Harm.* p. 152. and *Dim. Harm.* p. 88.

(*h*) *Dissert.* on Music and Poetry, p. 209.

(*i*) Lib. iii. sect. 3.

(*k*) Manuel Bryennius flourished under the elder Palæologus about the year 1320. It is probable that he was a descendant of the house of *Brienne*, an ancient French family, that went into Greece during the Crusades, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. (Fabric. *Bib. Gr.* Du Cang. *Fam. Byzant.*) In this author, *lib.* iii, *sect.* 4, the words Ηχος, and πλαγιος appear for *tonus* and *obliquus;* and πρωτος, δευτερος, τριτος, τεταρτος. are used to distinguish the modes or tones: a proof that he was a modern Greek. Padre Martini is of opinion that these terms were first introduced in church music, to exclude the Pagan titles of Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, &c.

and appellatives, the names and characters must be numerous. The lines and clefs of the European music have certainly freed it from many perplexities with which it was embarrassed, even in the artless times of Canto Fermo.

But however flowery the Greeks may have made their ecclesiastical melody, or however they have multiplied its characters, the desire of permanence in the heads of the Western church, with respect to all sacred matters, long kept music in the plain and simple state in which it was left by Pope Gregory the Great; for we do not find, till the invention of counterpoint, that it received any material change or improvement. Our own Bible and liturgy, if they remain in their present state five or six hundred years, will, perhaps, be unintelligible to the vulgar, though written in the best language of this country when they were introduced into the church. And the Greek and Roman languages, which were so well understood by the primitive Christians, became dead and obsolete by degrees, to all but the learned in after-ages. The preclusion of change or innovation in sacred concerns which has occasioned permanence, has likewise been the cause of inelegance and obscurity.

But I shall now quit the subject of church music among the Greeks and Romans, and close this chapter with an account of its establishment in England and France.

It is the opinion of Bishop Stillingfleet (*l*) that St. Paul himself visited this island, and that the Gospel was propagated here during the time of the Apostles. He speaks of Dioclesian's persecution [A.D. 303]; of its being stopt by Constantius; and of the flourishing state of the British church under Constantine. He treats likewise of the great antiquity of episcopal government here; of the ancient endowment of churches, even before the time ot Constantine, and of the privileges granted by that Prince. He gives an account of the schools of learning established here by Germanus and Lupus, early in the fifth century; of the public service of the British church; and of the difference between the Gallican and Roman service. But the part of his work, which more immediately concerns the present enquiries, is his account of the arrival of Augustine the Monk in England; and what he says of the manner of performing the mass by the early Christians, and of the superiority of the ancient Roman church music over that of all the other Western churches. I shall not however croud my pages with long quotations from a work of which so many copies are disseminated throughout the island; but content myself, and, I hope, my readers, with merely pointing it out to their perusal.

We learn from Venerable Bede, and from William of Malmsbury, that Austin the Monk, commonly called the English apostle, who was sent from Rome by Pope Gregory the Great, to convert the Saxons, instructed them in ecclesiastical music.

(*l*) *Origines Britannicæ.* 1685.

The account which Bede gives (*m*) of the conversion of the Saxons in 596, being inserted in all the histories of this country, it does not seem necessary to give it a place here. However, there are a few circumstances in this narration, which are too much connected with the establishment of music in the English church to be omitted. Bede tells us, that when Austin, and the companions of his mission, had their first audience of King Ethelbert in the isle of Thanet, they approached him in procession *singing Litanies*; and that, afterwards, when they entered the city of Canterbury, they sung a *Litany*, and at the end of it, *Allelujah*.

But though this was the first time the Anglo-Saxons had heard the Gregorian Chant, yet Bede likewise tells us (*n*), that our British ancestors had been instructed in the rites and ceremonies of the Gallican Church by St. Germanus, and heard him sing *Alleluja* many years before the arrival of St. Austin.*

Several letters, which passed between that Pontiff and him, during his mission, are still extant. He was the first Archbishop of Canterbury. " The principal difference," says Bishop Stillingfleet (*o*), " between the Roman and Gallic Ritual, which the Britons had adopted before the arrival of Austin, was in the *Church Music*, in which the Romans were thought to excel other western churches so far, that the goodness of their music was the principal incitement to the introduction of their offices."

Milton relates, from the Saxon annals, that in the fourth year of the reign of Egbert, 668,** by means of Theodore, a learned Monk of Tarsus in Greece, whom Pope Vitalian had ordained Archbishop of Canterbury, the Greek and Latin tongues, with several liberal arts, as arithmetic, *music*, astronomy, and the like, began first to flourish among the Saxons (*p*).

Venerable Bede was himself an able musician, and is supposed to have been the author of a short musical tract, *De Musica Theorica, et Practica, sue Mensurata* (*q*). Of the two parts of this Treatise ascribed to Bede, the first *may* have been written by him ; the second, however, is manifestly the work of a much more modern author ; for we find in it, not only the mention of music in two or three different parts, under the name of *Discant*, but of instruments never mentioned in writers cotemporary with Bede ; such as the *organ*, *viole*, *atola*, &c. A *notation* too of much later times appears here, in which the *long*, the *breve*, and *semibreve* are used, and these upon *five lines* and spaces, with equivalent rests and pauses. The word *modus* is also used for *time*, in the sense to which the

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(*m*) *Eccles. Hist. lib.* i. *cap.* 25.

(*n*) *Lib.* i. *cap.* 20.

(*o*) *Orig. Brit.* p. 237.

(*p*) Milton's Hist. of Engl. b. iv. p. 65.

(*q*) Vide Edit. Coll. 1688, vol. i. p. 344.

* St. Austin, or as we know him, St. Augustine, was sent to England in 597 by Pope Gregory

** Theodore was sent to England in 669, and founded a school at Canterbury. The Venerable Bede was a student there.

term *mood* was applied after it ceased to mean *key*. Upon the whole it seems as if this last part of the tract attributed to Bede, was written about the twelfth century ; that is, between the time of Guido and John de Muris.*

Bede, however, informs us (*r*) that, in 680, John, Præcentor of St. Peter's in Rome, who was sent over by Pope Agatho to instruct the Monks of Weremouth in the art of singing, and particularly to acquaint them with the manner of performing the festival services throughout the year, according to that which was practised at Rome. And such was the reputation of his skill, that "the masters of music from all the other monasteries of the North came to hear him ; and prevailed on him to open schools for teaching music in other places of the kingdom of Northumberland."

These are marks of grace and modesty which our neighbours the French could not boast, even in such early times of ignorance and simplicity. For we have, from cotemporary writers, the relation of a serious quarrel between Gallic and Roman musicians, so early as the time of Pope Adrian and Charlemagne, concerning superiority of taste and knowledge ; a quarrel which has been since often renewed, but which, had it been left to the reference of unprejudiced and intelligent judges of other nations, would have been soon determined without ever coming to a second *trial* or combat. The French, however, after every defeat, revive with still greater clamour their pretensions to a *Titular Sovereignty*, without having the least claim to it, either from inheritance, conquest, or former possession.

The story of this ancient musical quarrel is somewhat long, but the necessity of inserting it here at full length seems the greater, as it not only shews the antiquity of the ridiculous rivalry and hatred still subsisting between French and Italian musicians, but is a convincing proof that the English were not the only people obliged to the Romans for the method of chanting the Psalms, and singing the Hymns in their cathedral service. Musical missionaries were sent, at this time, from Rome to other parts of Europe, to instruct the converts to the Gospel in the church service ; which accounts for that similarity and almost identity of melody, observable in the sacred music of all the countries of Europe at the time of the Reformation, till when, little other music was known or practised than that of the church.

"The most pious King Charles having returned to celebrate Easter at Rome, with the Apostolic Lord, a great quarrel ensued, during the festival, between the Roman and Gallic singers. The French pretended to sing better, and more agreeably, than the Italians : and the Italians, on the contrary, regarding themselves as more learned in Ecclesiastical Music, which they had been taught by St. Gregory, accused their competitors of corrupting, disfiguring,

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(*r*) *Vit. Abbat. Wiremoth, & Eccles. Hist. lib.* iv. *cap.* 18.

* It is now thought to have been the work of a 12th cent. writer known as the Pseudo-Aristotle.

and spoiling the true chant. The dispute being brought before our sovereign Lord the King, the French, thinking themselves sure of his countenance and support, insulted the Roman singers; who, on their part, emboldened by superior knowledge, and comparing the musical abilities of their great master, St. Gregory, with the ignorance and rusticity of their rivals, treated them as fools and barbarians. As their altercation was not likely to come to a speedy issue, the most pious King Charles asked his chantors, which they thought to be the purest and best water, that which was drawn from the source, at the fountain-head, or that, which, after being mixed with turbid and muddy rivulets, was found at a great distance from the original spring? They cried out, unanimously, that all water must be most pure at its source ; upon which, our Lord the King said, Mount ye then up to the pure fountain of St. Gregory, whose chant ye have manifestly corrupted. After this, our Lord the King applied to Pope Adrian for singing masters, to correct the Gallican Chant, and the Pope appointed for that purpose Theodore and Benedict, two chantors of great learning and abilities, who had been instructed by St. Gregory himself: he likewise granted to him *Antiphonaria,* or Choral Books of that Saint, which he had written himself in Roman notes. Our Lord the King, at his return to France, sent one of the two singers, granted to him by the Pope, to Metz, and the other to Soissons; commanding all the singing masters of his kingdom to correct their *Antiphonaria,* and to conform in all respects to the Roman manner of performing the church service. Thus were the French Antiphonaria corrected, which had before been vitiated, interpolated, and abridged, at the pleasure of every Choir-man ; and all the chantors of France learned from the Romans that chant which they now call the French Chant. But as for the beats, trills, shakes, and accents of the Italians, the French were never able to execute or express them; nor, for want of sufficient flexibility in the organ of voice, were they capable of imitating, in these graces, any thing but the tremulous and gutteral noise of goats (*s*). The principal school of singing was established at Metz, and in the same proportion as the Roman chant exceeded that of this city, the singers of Metz surpassed all those of other French schools. The Roman chantors likewise instructed those of French in the art of *Organizing* (*t*); and our sovereign Lord Charles having, besides, brought with him into France masters in grammar and arithmetic, ordered those arts to be cultivated throughout his

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(*s*) *Chevrotter, et far una tosse di capra,* are expressions applied in France and Italy to such singers as have a bad shake.

John Diaconus, in his Life of St. Gregory, gives in queer and barbarous Latin, scarcely to be translated, a curious account of the vocal abilities of the ancient Germans and French, who, in attempting to sing the Gregorian Chant, were wholly unable to express its sweetness; "injuring it by barbarous changes, suggested either by their natural ferocity or inconstancy of disposition. Their figures were gigantic, and when they sung it was rather thunder than musical tones. Their rude throats, instead of the inflexions of pleasing melody, formed such rough sounds, as resembled the noise of the cart jolting down a pair of stairs."—Vita S. Greg. cap. ii.

(*t*) *Arte Organandi.* This term will be explained in the next chapter.

dominions ; for, before the reign of the said Lord the King, the liberal arts were neglected in France (*u*)."

Among the Anglo-Saxon Benedictines, who contributed to the establishment of the Gregorian Chant in this island, was Benedict Biscop, the preceptor of Venerable Bede ; who, having been five times at Rome, and well received by Pope Agatho, acquired a perfect knowledge in the monastic rules, the *Choir Song,* and all ecclesiastical rites. His disciple Bede, who wrote his Life, informs us, that it was chiefly from him that the *Roman Chant* was so well known in the monasteries of his founding in the Bishoprick of Durham, Girwy, and Weremouth ; in the last of which Bede ended his days (*x*).

Adrian, Stephen, Monk of Canterbury ; Friar James, and many others, are celebrated by Bede for their skill in singing after the Roman manner. It was then the custom for the clergy to travel to Rome for improvement in music, as well as to import masters of that art from the Roman college. At length the successors of St. Gregory, and of Austin his Missionary, having established a school for ecclesiastical music at Canterbury, the rest of the island was furnished with masters from that seminary. Indeed, Roman music and singing were as much in favour here, during the middle ages, when there were no operas or artificial voices to captivate our countrymen, as Italian compositions and performers are at present.

It was at the latter end of the ninth century, that our Alfred flourished ; a Prince, whom all his historians celebrate, not only as a great sovereign, legislator, warrior, politician, and scholar, but as an excellent musician. And Asser, Fryer John, Grimbald the Monk, all his contemporaries, speak in high terms, not only of his own performance, but of the encouragement he gave to music, among other sciences, in the University of Oxford.

During this period, music, such as it was, must have been thought a most important part of a learned education, as it was one of the sciences which constituted the *Quadrivium,* or highest class of philosophical learning: consisting of music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, as the *Trivium* did of grammar, rhetoric, and logic. But the methods of teaching both the theory and practice of music, were so dark, difficult, and tedious before its notation, measure, and harmonial laws were settled, that youth generally spent nine or ten years in the study of it, seemingly to very little purpose. But, under all these disadvantages, it appears to have been so much

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(*u*) *Et reversus est Rex piissimus Carolus,* &c. Vide Annal. & Hist. Francor. ab an. 708, ad an. 990. Scriptores Coetaneos. Impr. Francofurti 1594. Sub vita Caroli magni. Charlemagne died in 813.

The Abbe Velly, who, in his *Hist. de France,* tom. i. p. 53, gives the same account of the establishment of the Romish chant in France, adds; that "the monarch was likewise desirous of introducing into his churches the Liturgy, or Mass, as used at Rome; but here he met with greater difficulties.—The French clergy, jealous of their ancient usages, opposed, in a body, this measure, as an innovation; the royal authority, however, at length prevailed."—After such an account of Charlemagne, it is hardly possible to read the following passage without amazement. Charles confirmed the instrument with his hand, that is to say, by *making his mark;* for it is to be observed, that this Prince, one of the most learned men of his age, *could not write*!" According to Mezeray, the addition to the signature of this prince, at the bottom of each treaty, must have been *engraved;* for he there says, "I have signed it with the pommel of my sword, and promise to maintain it with the point."

(*x*) Biscop died 703, and Bede 735.

more agreeable to the Monks than their other studies, that they seem to have cultivated it in retirement, at the exclusion of almost every thing else that was connected with reason and philosophy. Innumerable are the musical treatises to which these studies gave birth, during this dark period, and torpid state of the human mind ; while homicide was the first secular virtue, and while, among ecclesiastics, the best singer was esteemed the most learned man (*y*).

So destitute of literature was this island, during the youth of Alfred, that he was twelve years old before a master, properly qualified, could be procured, in the western kingdom, to teach him the alphabet. But, while yet unable to read, he could repeat a variety of Saxon songs, which he had learned in hearing them sung by others, who had themselves, perhaps, only learned them by tradition (*z*). His genius, indeed, is said to have been first roused, and stimulated by this species of erudition, which has often made a considerable progress even among barbarians.

The well known story of Alfred entering and exploring the Danish camp, in the disguise of a harper (*a*) or minstrel, and being musician sufficient to impose on the enemy for many successive days, is related by Ingulf, Henry of Huntington, Speed, Malmesbury, Sir H. Spelman, Milton, and almost all the best modern historians (*b*). And this excellent Prince not only encouraged and countenanced the *practice* of music, but, in 886, according to the Annals of the Church of Winchester, and many ancient writers, founded a Professorship at Oxford for the cultivation of it as a *Science ;* and the first who filled the chair was Friar John of St. David's, who not only read lectures upon music, but logic and arithmetic.*

St. Dunstan is mentioned by several German writers not only as a great musician, but as the inventor of music in four parts: A mistake that has arisen from the similarity of his name with that of *Dunstable,* one of the earliest writers on Counterpoint in this country; at least it is certain, that music in four parts was not only unknown here, but throughout Europe, in the tenth century, during which Dunstan flourished (*c*). Indeed, almost all the Monkish writers thought it necessary to make a *conjurer* of this turbulent prelate. Fuller (*d*), who has consulted them all, tells us, that he was an excellent musician, which, according to this writer, was a qualification very requisite to ecclesiastical preferment ; for, he informs us, that, "preaching, in those days, could not be heard for singing in churches." However, the superior knowledge of Dunstan

(*y*) Fabricii, Bib. Lat. tom. i. p. 644.

(*z*) Flor. Vigorn. sub ann. 871. Brompton, Chron. in ALFR. p. 814. and MS. Bever. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. No. 47. f. 82.

(*a*) Alfred translates the Latin word *Plectrum* into Hearp-næzel, Sax. by which it should seem, that the harp, in the time of this royal musician, was played like the ancient lyre, with a *plectrum*. Næzl, is likewise Saxon for a nail of the finger or toe. Hearp-nœzlar, also implies the pins or pegs of a harp.

(*b*) See *Archæologia,* vol. ii. p. 100. et seq. 1773. 4to.

(*c*) Dunstan died 988, aged 64. (*d*) *Church History,* 1666.

* There is no evidence other than the Annals of Winchester to support this story.

in music, was numbered among his crimes ; for being accused of *magic* to the King, it was urged against him, that he had constructed, by the help of the Devil (probably before he had taken him by the nose), a harp, that not only moved of itself, but played without any human assistance (*e*). With all his violence and ambition, it may be supposed, that he was a man of genius and talents; since it is allowed, by the least monkish among his historians, that he was not only an excellent musician, but a notable painter and statuary, which, says Fuller, "were two very useful accomplishments for the furtherance of Saint-worship either in pictures or in statues."

Indeed, it is expressly said, in a MS. life of this prelate (*f*), that among his sacred studies, he cultivated the arts of writing, *harping,* and painting. It is likewise upon record, that he cast two of the bells of Abingdon abbey with his own hands (*g*). And according to William of Malmesbury, who wrote about the year 1120, the Saxons had organs in their churches before the Conquest.* He says, that Dunstan, in the reign of King Edgar, gave an organ to the abbey of Malmesbury ; which, by his description, very much resembled that in present use (*h*). William, who was a monk of this abbey, adds, that this benefaction of Dunstan was inscribed in a Latin distich, which he quotes, on the organ pipes (*i*).

As Dunstan is said, by several writers, to have furnished many English churches and convents with *Organs,* this seems the place to speak of the origin of that ecclesiastical instrument, and of its first introduction into the church.

The most ancient proof of an instrument resembling a modern organ blown by bellows, and played with keys, very different from the Hydraulicon, which is of much higher antiquity, as has been already shewn, p. 403, is a Greek epigram in the Anthologia, attributed to the Emperor Julian the Apostate, who flourished about 364.

I shall here give a literal translation of this epigram, which, though it contain no very beautiful or poetical images, will answer the historical purpose of ascertaining the existence of an instrument

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(*e*) If the modern Merlin had lived in an age so ignorant of mechanics, he would have been thought a far greater magician than his name-sake of King Arthur's days, and to have deserved a faggot much more than either St. Dunstan or Friar Bacon.

(*f*) *Vit. St. Dunstan.* MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. FAUSTIN. b. xiii.

(*g*) *Monast. Anglic.* tom. i. p. 104.

(*h*) *Organa, ubi per æreas fistulas musicis mensuris elaboratas, dudum conceptas follis vomit anxius auras.*

(*i*) *Vit. Aldhem.* Whart. Ang. Sacr. ii, p. 33. *Osb. Vit. S. Dunst.*

* The Organ in England was mentioned by Aldhelm (d. 709), and in a Psalter which used to be in the Cotton MSS. in the B.M. and now at Utrecht is an illustration of two monks playing an organ. This MS. dates from about the 8th of 9th cent. An account of an organ built at Winchester by Bishop Elphege (d. 951) before the middle of the 10th cent, states that 70 men were required to work the bellows and that it had 400 pipes, 40 tongues (equivalent to keys) and 26 bellows. Two performers were required, "each of whom manages his own keyboard." Each tongue worked 10 pipes, and as all the pipes attached to a tongue functioned together, it was a case of "full organ" all the time.

The instrument is described in full in a poem written by Wolstan, a monk attached to Winchester Abbey. Hopkin and Rimbault reprint the poem with a translation in their *History of the Organ,* pp. 20 and 21.

in the fourth century, which, in many particulars, resembled a modern organ (*k*).

"I see reeds of a new species, the growth of another and a brazen soil; such as are not agitated by our winds, but by a blast that rushes from a leathern cavern beneath their roots; while a *robust* mortal (*l*), running with swift fingers over the concordant *keys* (*m*), makes them, as they smoothly dance, emit melodious sounds."

Nothing material is omitted in the version of this epigram, or rather enigma, upon the organ, though not a very ingenious one; for the word *αυλων*, the *pipes*, discovers the whole mystery.

At the time of Cassiodorus, who flourished under King Vitigas the Goth, in 514, the Hydraulicon, or water-organ, began to lose its favour, and the wind-organ, blown by hand-bellows, became common; of which he gives the following description: "The organ," says he, "is an instrument composed of divers pipes, formed into a kind of tower, which, by means of bellows, is made to produce a loud sound; and in order to express agreeable melodies, there are, in the inside, movements made of wood, that are pressed down by the fingers of the player, which produce the most pleasing and brilliant tones (*n*)."

Several ecclesiastical writers mention the organ as an instrument that had very early admission into the church, at periods somewhat different in different parts of Europe.* To Pope Vitalian [R 683-97] is ascribed its first introduction at Rome in the seventh century; and ancient annalists are unanimous in allowing, that the first organ which was seen in France was sent from Constantinople as a present from the Emperor Constantine Copronymus the Sixth, in 757, to King Pepin (*o*); which, as well as Julian's epigram, gives the invention to Greece, where the Hydraulicon had likewise its origin (*p*).

(*k*) I shall insert the original here, for the satisfaction of the learned reader, from the Anthol. lib. i. cap. 86, 8.

> Αλλοιην ορωω δονακων, φυσιν ηπου απ αλλης
> Χαλκειης ταχα μαλλον ανεβλαστησαν αρουρης,
> Αγριοι ουδ ανεμσισιν υφ ημετεροις δονεονται,
> Αλλ υπο ταυρειης προθορων απηλυγγος απητης,
> Νερθεν ευτρητων καλαμων υπο ριζαν οδευει.
> Και τις ανηρ αγερωχος εχων θοα δακτυλα χειρος,
> Ιραται αμφαφων κανονας συμφραδμονας αυλων
> Οιδ απαλον σκιρτωντες αποθλιβουσιν αοιδην

(*l*) *αγερωχος*, a tall, sturdy fellow, alluding to the force necessary to beat down that kind of clumsy *carillon* keys of this rude instrument of new invention.

(*m*) The rules of the pipes, *αυλων*; literally, *keys*.

(*n*) Organum *itaque est quaque turris quœdam diversis fistulis fabricata, quibus* flatu follium *vox copiosissima destinatur; & ut eam modulatio decora componat, linguis quibusdam ligneis ab interiore parte construitur, quas disciplinabiliter* magistrorum digiti *reprimentes*, grandisonam efficiunt et suavissimam cantilenam. In Psalm. CL.

(*o*) Mabill. *Annal. Benedict.*

(*p*) See vol. i. *ubi supra.*

* A Spanish Bishop, Julianus (*c.* 450), states that the organ was in common use in Church worship in Spain at that time. There is a description of one in the city of Grado before 580. The art of organ building was known in England in the 8th cent., and it is probable that organs were introduced into France about the middle of that century.

As early as the 9th cent. English craftsmen were exporting organ pipes to the Continent.

Venerable Bede, who died 735, says nothing of the use of organs, or other instruments, in our churches or convents, when he is very minutely describing the manner in which the Psalms and Hymns were sung.

However, in a celebrated Missal of the tenth or eleventn century, among the *Barberini* MSS. at Rome, No. 1854, where directions for the performance of the several parts of the service are given, in the midst of the lesson from *The Song of the Three Children,* after the 27th verse: " Neither hurt nor troubled them," are these words: *Here the priest begins to sing* WITH THE ORGAN (*q*).

And, according to Mabillon and Muratori, organs became common in Italy and Germany during the tenth century, as well as in England; about which time they had admission in the convents throughout Europe.* And music, long before this period, having been received into churches and religious houses, under the sanction of Fathers, Popes, Prelates, and other ecclesiastical rulers, by whom it was incorporated into the Liturgy, it would naturally employ much of the leisure and meditation of those devoted to a monastic life; soften the rigour of a religious discipline; animate zeal, and keep off langour and apathy in the monotonous task of daily devotion, on which the mind could not at all times apply itself with equal fervour. And being the only, or at least the most pleasant and rational amusement which a religious profession allowed, its effects were more likely to operate powerfully upon such as were sensible of its charms in convents and religious houses, where few other pleasures came in competition with it; than upon persons in the gay world, where the frequency and multiplicity of delights, and the facility with which they are obtained, often bring on satiety and indifference.

It does not appear in dark ages of ignorance and superstition that the Anglo-Saxons, who then possessed the chief part of our island, were more barbarous than the inhabitants of the rest of Europe, Italy excepted. Indeed, no works of taste or genius, in the polite arts, appear to have been produced at this time in any part of it; and as to music, consisting merely of such chants as were applied to the Psalms and Hymns of the church, it seems to have been practised as much, and as successfully, in our own country as in any other: for since the time that Austin, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, and his successor, Theodore, the First Primate of all England, with his assistant, Adrian the Monk, established the Roman Chant in England, our Canto Fermo, if we may believe the Monkish historians, was cultivated and taught by a great number of the most ingenious clergy of the time, who, they tell

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(*q*) *Nec quidquam molestiæ intulit,* Hic canere insipit cleris cum organis.

* There is a record of the destruction by fire of an organ at the Church of Clooncraff, County Roscommon, Ireland, in 814.

Many churches in England were provided with organs by St. Dunstan (928-88).

us, were *well skilled* in music (*r*). Of what this skill and this music consisted, if examples were to be given, they would, perhaps, not exalt the fame of our Saxon ancestors: and it seems more for their advantage, and for the credit of our country, to let them rest in peace, and to rely on the favourable character given of their musical talents by cotemporary writers, than to sweep off the cobweb veil, and shew what was then the nakedness of the land (*s*). Indeed, I have had but little leisure for the study of Saxon antiquities, though I have collected many, nor should I have had space for such illustrations of them as concern my subject, if I had been sufficiently qualified for such a task. But Saxon antiquities have lately been so well explored by the learned members of the Antiquarian Society, by Mr. Strutt, and by several other writers, possessed of the necessary erudition, leisure, and diligence for such investigation, that it is hoped a deficiency in these particulars will be the more readily pardoned.*

(*r*) Pope Gregory, who, according to Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* l. ii. c. 1. first ordered *Alleluja* to be sung in Britain, died 605, after reigning thirty years. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Abbot Adrian, came from Rome, as the same writer informs us, in 668. These introduced the Roman manner of singing in all our churches, which before had been only practised in Kent. The first singing master in Northumberland, except John, was Edde, sirnamed Stephen, who was sent thither out of Kent by Wilfred, Primate of all England.

(*s*) One observation I must make relative to the cultivation of music by our British and Saxon ancestors, which is; that among the representations of musical instruments which have been found and published by the diligent Mr. Strutt, almost every one is to be seen that was practised by the Greeks and Romans in their most flourishing state. But this, however, does not convince me that the natives of this island either invented or knew the use of these instruments; which it is most probable were brought hither by our conquerors the Romans, for the amusement of their voluptuous commanders, and other great personages appointed to keep us in subjection; and therefore the representations of these instruments, whether in painting or sculpture, must have been copied from Roman models, which had likewise been previously constructed from those of Greece. Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, seems to speak very contemptuously of our ancestors, with respect to the progress they had made in arts and sciences, for, after mentioning Cæsar's expedition into Britain, he says, " News is daily expected from that island. The coasts, however, are well defended by forts, and it has been discovered that the silver mines which were expected to be found there, are merely imaginary; so that the whole booty the place affords will consist in slaves, among whom I do not believe any will be brought that are well skilled either in music or literature."

——*In illa insula neque ullam spem prædæ, nisa ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut* musicis *eruditos expectare.* Ep. l. iv. c. 16.

* Despite this summary dismissal of the period, it was without doubt one of the most important eras in the history of music. The change from the Greek *magadizing* at the octave to the introduction of the 4th and 5th as part of the material used by composers, was an event of first-rate importance. As early as the time of Otger this *organizing* was part of the general technique of the times and the writer of the *Musica enchiriadis* treats of this method of composition as if it was firmly established. Briefly stated the change in method may be described as an advance from the Greek theory of a single melody line to an attempt at combining two melodies. Without these early experiments the whole story of music would have been different.

Chapter II

Of the Invention of Counterpoint, and State of Music, from the Time of Guido, to the Formation of the Time-Table

THE ingredients which I have now to prepare for the reader, are in general such as I can hardly hope to render palatable to those who have more taste than curiosity. For though the most trivial circumstances relative to illustrious and favourite characters become interesting when well authenticated, yet memory unwillingly encumbers itself with the transactions of obscure persons.

If the great musicians of Antiquity, whose names are so familiar to our ears, had not likewise been poets, time and oblivion would long since have swept them away. But these having been luckily writers themselves, took a little care of their own fame; which their brethren of after-ages gladly supported for the honour of the *corps*.

But since writing and practical music have become separate professions, the celebrity of the poor musician dies with the vibration of his strings; or, if in condescension, he be remembered by a poet or historian, it is usually but to blazon his infirmities, and throw contempt upon his talents. The voice of acclamation, and thunder of applause, pass away like vapours; and those hands which were most active in testifying temporary approbation, suffer the fame of those who charmed away their care and sorrows in the glowing hour of innocent delight, to remain unrecorded.

If it be true that the progress of music in every country depends on the degrees of civilization and culture of other arts and sciences among its inhabitants, and on the language which they speak, the accents of which furnish the skeleton and nerves of all vocal melody; great perfection cannot be expected in the music of Europe during the middle ages, when the Goths, Vandals, Huns, Germans, Franks, and Gauls, whose ideas were savage, and language harsh and insolent, had seized on its most fertile provinces. All the dialects that are now spoken in Europe are a mixture of Celtic and Latin;* and as the inhabitants of Italy preserved the Roman language longer than those of other countries remote from the seat of empire, more vestiges of the Latin tongue still remain in Italy than elsewhere. For though there are many terms in it that they were forced to receive from the Barbarians who invaded them, yet the chief part of the language is still Latin corrupted, and sometimes softened and improved. And as literature, arts, and refinements, were encouraged more early in Italy at the Courts of the Roman Pontiffs, than in any other country, modern music has thence been furnished with its Scale, its Counterpoint, its best Melodies, its religious and secular Dramas, and with the chief part of its Grace and Elegance. Italy, in modern times, has been to the rest of Europe what ancient Greece was to Rome; its inhabitants have helped to civilize and polish their conquerors, and to enlighten the minds of those whose superior force and prowess had frequently enslaved them.

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* **Burney may have been a learned musician, but he was a poor philologist.**

Few persons who speak or write on the subject of the present system of music express the least doubt of *Counterpoint* having been invented by Guido [*c*. 990—*c*. 1050], a monk of Arezzo, in Tuscany, about the year 1022. But there is nothing more difficult than to fix such an invention as this upon any individual: an art utterly incapable of being brought to any degree of perfection, but by a slow and gradual improvement, and the successive efforts of ingenious men during several centuries, must have been trivial and inconsiderable in its infancy; and the first attempt at its use necessarily circumscribed and clumsy.

Guido, however, is one of those favoured names to which the liberality of posterity sets no bounds. He has long been regarded in the empire of music as *Lord of the Manor*, to whom all strays revert, not indeed as chattels to which he is known to have an inherent right and natural title, but such as accident has put into the power of his benefactors; and when once mankind have acquired a habit of generosity, unlimited by envy and rival claims, they wait not till the plate or charity-box is held out to them, but give freely and unsolicited whatever they find without trouble, and can relinquish without loss or effort.

But, in order to ascertain with some degree of method and accuracy how much modern music has been indebted to this celebrated monk, it seems necessary to give a list and analysis of the writings that have been attributed to him. The tract which is most frequently mentioned, and, except by the few that have seen it, is supposed to contain all the inventions with which Guido has been invested, is the MICROLOGUS (*a*). Of this work there are three copies among the MSS. in the King of France's library at Paris: the most ancient of which, No. 7211, is of the twelfth century; and of this I obtained a copy, which was collated with the other two.* It is a short treatise in monkish Latin, and full of obscurities, containing an account of the author's method of teaching boys to sing,

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(*a*) Μικρολογος, an epitome, or compendium.

* The Micrologus of Guido is supposed to have been written *Circa* 1025. There is an incomplete copy in the B.M. in a volume which contains two other works attributed to Guido (Harl. MS. 3199).

There is also a copy at Balliol College, Oxford, which was for a long time thought to be by Odo of Cluny.

An edition with other works by Guido was published by Gerbert (Scriptores, 1784), and a good critical edition by Dom. A. Arnelli, O.S.B., of Monte Cassino, was issued in 1904.

with rules for the proper performance and composition of the plain chant.

Though it is natural to expect to find in this treatise an account of the inventions and improvements commonly attributed to him (*b*); yet it is vain to seek them. He does not expressly claim any of the inventions; and his expressions are ambiguous, even where he seems to speak as an inventor: it is always—*nos* ponimus —*nostris* notis—*nostram* disciplinam. Sometimes this seems to be only the dignified egotism of an author, and sometimes it seems literal. One of the additions to the scales of the ancients he seems however clearly to disclaim. The account is that he added the Greek *gamma* at the bottom of the scale; but in his treatise his account of the notes begins thus: "In primis ponitur Γ Græcum *á modernis adjectum*" (*c*).

Another expression seems to imply that the distinction of B flat and B natural was not of his invention: for he says (*d*), "b vero rotundum—adjunctum vel molle *dicunt*": they call. Yet, in his second chapter, where he gives the notes, he seems to speak as if this invention was his own: between a and ♮, says he, we put another b, which we make round; but the first we make square, as a, b, ♮, c, &c. (*e*).

His invention of the hexachords must have been posterior to this treatise: for when he gives the scale he never mentions them; nor is the term once used in the whole manuscript.*

His scale is always mentioned as going up to e e; but in the Micrologus he only gives it up to d d. The other note I suppose was added afterwards when his scale was arranged into hexachords.

He seems by his expression to claim the honour of having added the tetrachord *superacutarum* as he calls it; for he says, "*addimus*, hic eisdem literis, sed variis figuris, tetrachordum superacutarum, &c." These notes, says he, many call superfluous. "*Nos*, autem, maluimus abundare, quam deficere."

The invention of the syllables *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la,* must likewise have been posterior to this treatise; for they are not once mentioned in it.**

His invention of points upon parallel lines, instead of the letters, is not to be found in the Micrologus. All his musical examples are given in the letters Γ A B, &c. added to the vowels

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(*b*) "Thus far go the improvements of *Guido Aretinus*, and what is called the Guidonian system; to explain which he wrote a book he called his *Micrologum*." Malcolm, p. 558.

(*c*) Zarlino seems to allude to this, *Istit. Harm.* p. 103 & 148 in speaking of Guido's *Introduttorio*, by which the Italians generally mean his Micrologus.

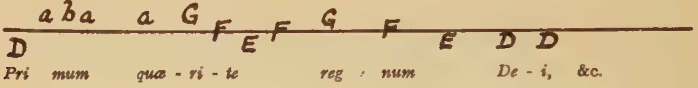
(*d*) Cap. viii. *de Aliis affinitatibus et* b *et* ♮.

(*e*) The *natural* in MS. musical tracts for many centuries after the time of Guido, was expressed by a Gothic B, thus: ♮ and the flat by an Italic b; whence one was called B *quadrum*, and the other B *rotundum*.

* The invention of the hexachord is thought to have been in 1024, but it is difficult to assign precise dates to either of the two events.

** Each hexachord began with a different letter name, but the syllabic names always started from *ut*. The semitone in each hexachord was always between *mi* and *fa*. The whole series extended over a compass of two octaves and five notes, and was called the *Gamut*. See plate p. 473.

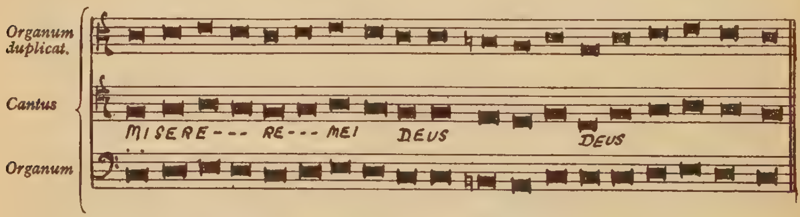
a, e, i, o, u. However, the manner of placing some of them seems to present a kind of embryo of that invention. For over the words a line is drawn, and the letters, like the characters described in the preceding chapter, are placed at different elevations with respect to that line, according to their different degrees of acuteness or gravity.


a b a a G F E F G F E D D
D
Pri mum quæ - ri - te reg - num De - i, &c.

In most of the examples, however, the letters are placed of an equal height, and without a line; but perhaps this was the transcriber's fault, and to save time. Indeed the lines are not wanted to ascertain the literal notation so much as that by characters; and both seem to have been in use in Guido's time, as he himself informs us in another work (*f*); for speaking of the notes used by the Abbot Odo, he says, "though signs are used for sounds in the Enchiridion, yet, letters commonly answer the purpose of notation."

The most curious part of the Micrologus is the chapter *De Diaphonia, et Organi jura;* as it shews the state of music at the time it was written, and gives such specimens of the first rude attempts at harmony as may be safely pronounced authentic.*

By *Diaphonia,* Guido only means discant; which says he, we call *organum* (*g*). This consisted in singing a part under the plain-song, or chant. Some used only fourths for this purpose, but it was allowable to double either the plain-song or the *organum,* by octaves, *ad libitum.* The following is the example which he gives of the *organum,* or under part being doubled; in which there is a continued series of 4ths, 5ths, and 8ths. The sounds are expressed by letters in the Micrologus; as C F c, D G d, &c., but, for the convenience of the reader, I shall write them in Gregorian notes.

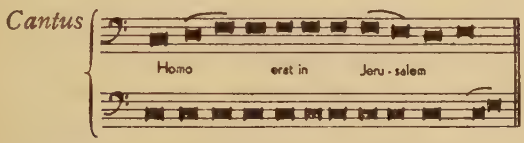


(*f*) *De Divis. Monochor. secund. Boetium,* ex Cod. Medic. Laurent. apud Martinum.

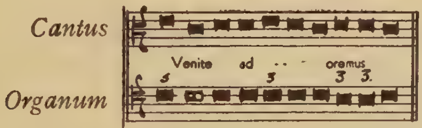
(*g*) The late M. Rousseau's account of *organizing* does not exactly agree with the examples given by Guido, which far from being confined to 3ds, scarcely ever admit that pleasing concord; but Rousseau took his ideas of it from the Abbe Lebeuf's specimens of the early attempts at counterpoint in France, which, at first, consisted only of a minor 3rd to the 7th of the key before a close, and for a concord so simple and easily formed, says Rousseau, the singers who *organized* had extraordinary pay. *Organum* has frequently been imagined the instrument so called, not a vocal part added to the chant or plain song; and some have even been so absurd as to make Guido in this part of the Micrologus talk of the *Organist.*

* There does not seem any reason to doubt the authenticity of the examples of Organum or Diaphony given by Odo the monk in the *Musica enchriadis* which precedes the *Micrologus* by about 100 years.

But this method of discanting Guido seems to reject as harsh, and substitutes for it an improved method, perhaps, of his own invention ; but his expression, as usual, is ambiguous. *Superior* [Nempe] *Diaphoniæ modus durus est; noster vero mollis.* This smoother and more pleasing method of under-singing a plain-song consists in admitting, besides the fourth, and the tone, the major and the minor thirds; rejecting the semitone and the fifth (*h*). The under part might sing in any of these four intervals with the upper, according to certain rules which he gives ; but in a language almost totally unintelligible. He annexes examples, which, though they appear confused, and are probably very incorrectly transcribed (*i*), may be regarded as curious exhibitions of nearly the best harmony which seems to have been known in Guido's time; though very little superior to that he had just censured as harsh. The following is a specimen:



All the examples are in the same wretched *falso bordone* (*k*); and in every one of them the fourth is in the greatest favour of all the concords: *principatum obtinet,* as he had laid it down. In spite of his disapprobation the *organum* in consecutive fourths is still frequently admitted ; and indeed few other concords are used till the last example, when 3ds, which before seem to have been only touched by accident, or as passing notes, are now honoured with an important part in the *Discant.*



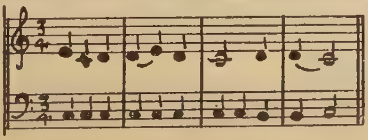
(*l*)

(*h*) Though Guido so seldom admits the ditone or major 3d in his counterpoint, yet he has the merit of having first exalted it to the rank of a concord; it being invariably numbered with the discords by the ancients.

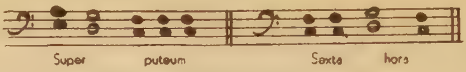
(*i*) For instance, several 5ths occur; an interval which he expressly forbids, *under* the plain-song.

(*k*) This term, which the French call *faux-bourdon,* and the old English writers *fa-burden,* was applied in the early days of discant to such counterpoint as had either a drone-base (*bourdon* is French for a drone) or some part moving constantly in the same intervals with it: as in three parts, when the treble moves in 6ths with the base, the middle part will consist of no other intervals than 3ds.

(*l*) This harmony, if performed in triple time, would not offend modern ears: I write the *organum* an octave lower than Guido, for the convenience of keyed instruments.



The most singular circumstance in this counterpoint is the rejection of the *fifth*: a rule to which he adheres even where the 5th below is to our ears the natural and the fundamental base:



But it would be as absurd as hopeless, to try these first wild essays of Harmony by the improved rules of modern composition. This chapter, however, upon the Diaphonia, and the examples annexed, sufficiently enable us to judge with what truth it has been so often asserted that Guido was the inventor of Counterpoint, or music in parts ; what improvements he might afterwards make are not known ; but he must have taken large strides, if from these uncouth and feeble attempts he advanced into the regions of pure harmony ; or indeed produced any thing that the ear could now tolerate. Nothing can be more pleasant, after seeing these specimens, than the pomp with which Dr. Brown presents this Monk to his readers. " After many centuries had passed in darkness, GUIDO AROSE! and with a force of genius surpassing that of all his predecessors, invented the art of counterpoint, or composition in parts (*m*)."

The method Guido pursued in teaching boys to sing, was by making them practise with the monochord (*n*), for the division of which he gives some plain and easy rules, cap. 3. But here it is of importance to observe that he suggests no other than the old division of Pythagoras.* The title of his tract just quoted p. 5. on the division of the monochord, tells us that he follows the principles of Boetius, who was a Pythagorean in harmonics. The *diatonum ditonicum,* which the Abbé Roussier so much prefers to all others, and in which the fourth consists of two major tones and a limma: $\frac{8}{9}\times\frac{8}{9}\times\frac{243}{256}$ (*o*), is the arrangement with which the ear of Guido was satisfied ; nay, he says no other division can be found. He never seems to have heard of Ptolemy's division into major and minor tone and semitone: which, indeed, forms the only intervals that are consistent with harmony, or with the major third being admitted as a concord.

In his chapter *De Diapason,* &c, he assigns a reason for using seven letters ; and says that some moderns still adhered to the old Greek system of tetrachords so far, as to use but four characters, which they repeated from tetrachord to tetrachord, as we do from octave to octave.

(*m*) Dissert. on Poetry and Music, p. 198.

(*n*) The instrument which Guido recommends had probably a neck, and was *fretted;* as bridges, like those on a common monochord, could not, without much practice, have been moved quick enough.

(*o*) See p. 356 of this volume.

*In a MS. at Vienna (National Library. *Codex* 51) there is an illustration of Guido demonstrating the use of the monochord to Bishop Theodaldus. There is a reproduction of this in *The Story of Notation* by C. Abdy Williams.

This was solmisation *à la Grec.* *τα, τη, τω, τε,* and the English, in general, make use of only four of the six syllables of the hexachords: *mi, fa, sol, la.*

It has already been observed (*p*), that Guido, in speaking of the ecclesiastical tones, which he explains in his Micrologus, c. xiv. assigns to them the same power over the human affections, as the ancients did to their modes. And now, having given a general idea of the contents of this celebrated manuscript, I shall proceed to enumerate the other writings that have been attributed to Guido.

In the King of France's library at Paris, besides three copies of the Micrologus, the following tracts, No. 7211, go under his name: *De sex motibus vocum à se invicem, et dimensione earum. Ejusdem Rhythmus. Ejusdem Liber de Musica.* Part of these MSS. were transcribed in the eleventh, and part in the thirteenth century.

In the Vatican, a Dialogue on Music, which begins, *Quid est Musica?* is given to Guido, but I found it afterwards to be the *Enchiridion* of Odo, Abbot of Cluny.*

Padre Martini, in his *Saggio di Contrappunto,* p. 32, gives a long passage from a tract by Guido: (*Formulæ Tonor,* ex Codice Mediceo Laurent, XLIX.) "*Sunt præterea alia Musicorum, genera aptata,*" &c. This work is called by Guido himself, in his letter to Michael the Monk of Pomposa, *Antiphonarium,* and is frequently quoted under that title by others.

And in the list of authors, annexed to his first volume, the same author, p. 457, includes: *De artificio novi Cantus, et Mensura Monochordi* Guidonis, apud Pez. Thes. Anecd. nov. T. VI. (*q*). He likewise, in the same volume, quotes *Epist. ipsius Guidonis ad Michaelem Monachum Pomposianum, ex Cod. Ambros.*

There is a small volume of MSS. in the British Museum, No. 3199 [HARL. MSS.] which contains fifteen of the twenty chapters of Guido's *Micrologus* ; a short tract, *De Constitutionibus in Musica,* which seems to belong to that in which the famous passage occurs that was so severe on the singers of his time, and which has since been often quoted with pleasure, as applicable to their successors: *Temporibus nostris super omnes homines* Fatui *sunt Cantores.*

Guido, in the prologue to his *Antiphonarium,* (apud Gerbutum, tom. II. p. 68.) speaks of singers with still more bitterness, in the following lines.

Musicorum et cantorum
Magna est distantia,
Isti dicunt, illi sciunt,
Quæ componit Musica.
Nam qui facit, quod non sapit,
Definitur bestia.
Cæterum tonantis vocis

(*p*) P. 424 of this volume.

(*q*) These are two distinct tracts, the latter of which is likewise in the Laurent. library at Florence, under the title, *De Divisione Monochordi, secund. Boet. um.*

* See editor's note, p. 432 with regard to the authorship of this MS.

Si ludent (al. Laudent) *acumina,*
Superabit philomela,
Vel vocalis asina.
Quare eis esse suum
Tollit dialectica.
Hac de causa rusticorum
Multitudo plurima,
Donec frustra vivit, mira
Laborat insania
Dum sine magistro nulla
Dicitur antiphona.

Between a Singer and Musician
Wide is the distance and condition ;
The one repeats, the other knows,
The sounds which harmony compose.
And he who acts without a plan
May be defin'd more beast than man.
At shrillness if he only aim
The nightingale his strains can shame ;
And still more loud and deep the lay
Which bulls can roar and asses bray.
A human form 'twas vain to give
To beings merely sensitive,
Who ne'er can quit the leading-string,
Or psalm, without a master, sing (*r*).

Here Guido speaks of lines and spaces, and of coloured lines. Here also is the hymn *Ut queant laxis resonare firbis,* in old ecclesiastical notation; and *Tu patris sempiternus es filius,* written in the same manner as it is printed in this volume, p. 433. This tract is of considerable length, and clears up several points which the Micrologus had left disputable. In sect. 3d, *Quid est Armonia?* he gives a fair definition of harmony in the sense it is now understood: *Armonia est diversarum vocum apta coadunatio,* &c.—and speaks of *Organum* as synonymous with *symphonia* and *diaphonia,* distinct from the instrument called an *organ.* But here, in treating of *symphonia vocum,* no 3ds are mentioned, and his harmony in four parts consists only of 4ths, 5ths, and diapasons, or 8ths.

In completing the scale, or septenary, he quotes Virgil: *Orpheus Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum.* Then, after giving rules for *diatessaroning* and *diapenting,* or organizing in a regular series of 4ths and 5ths, he enumerates the ecclesiastical tones, and finishes by calling them by their Greek names: as *primus tonus vocatur Hypodorius, secundus Hypophrygius,* &c.

(*r*) The distinction between a singer and musician was first made by Boethius, lib. I. cap. 34. Next, by Aurelian, then by Guido, and afterwards by almost all subsequent writers on music, down to Pietro Aaron; see his *Lucidario in Musica, Libro 2do. fol. i. "Il Cantore, et simplice Citaredo sara in comparatione del musico come è il bandatore rispetto al podestà,"* &c.

Guido, both here and in the Micrologus, uses the terms *authentic* and *plagal* for the modes, and likewise the Greek distinctions of *protus, deuterus, tritus* and *tetrardus* (*s*). I find in the Monks Hubald and Odo, who are both more ancient writers than Guido, these terms, and many others, which are still retained in the music of the modern Greeks; a proof, that, before the separation of the two churches, the Romans had their chants from the Greeks.

There is likewise in the same volume a short tract, *De Tonis,* which I should have supposed to have been Guido's *Antiphonarium,* if I had not unsuccessfully tried to find in it some remarkable passages of that work which I remembered to have seen quoted elsewhere.

There are so few means by which a Monk devoted to an obscure and tranquil state can arrive at celebrity without quitting the plain path which piety and the duties of his profession have marked out for his pursuit, that Guido seems to have excited the envy of his brethren by attempting it. Luckily the study of music was not incompatible with the rules of his order; and while he seems to lament the malignant effects of that enmity which his successful studies had created, he established a reputation among the liberal and candid part of mankind, which has lasted more than seven hundred and fifty years. It was perhaps a stimulus to excessive devotion that the Monks seldom exercised their pens but in endeavours to swell their legends, by transmitting to posterity the actions of those insane mortals, who by anticipating infernal torments, were honoured with the venerable title of saints. But these lives have long ceased to be read, even where the mind has little else to feed on; while the fame of those who have bequeathed to their descendants some durable memorial of their existence, which interests tradition, will never fade away; and had the life of Guido been written, though pregnant with few events, it would have been perused with avidity as long as the art, whose powers he extended, shall afford pleasure to mankind.

But concerning the life of this musical legislator little is known, except that he was a Monk of the order of St. Benedict when he first distinguished himself, and afterwards Abbot of the Holy Cross at Avellano, near Arezzo. Yet, luckily for his fame, he has himself recorded perhaps the most important and honourable event of his life, in a letter to his friend Michael, a Monk of Pomposo, which Cardinal Baronius has inserted in his Ecclesiastical Annals, vol. xi. p. 74, and introduced it with an account of his having invented "a new method of teaching music, by which a boy might make a greater progress in a few months, than a man of intelligence and assiduity used to do in several years." This author likewise informs us that the singular service which Guido had rendered music, having been communicated to Pope Benedict the VIII. that Pontif sent for him to Rome, and treated him with great kindness: a circumstance which happened, according to Baronius, in the year 1022.

(*s*) **Τεταρτος barbarized.**

It seems, however, as if Guido had not been so far dazzled by the splendour of a court or the honours he had received at Rome as to remain long in that city; for Benedict dying in 1024, we find by his own letter to the Monk Michael, that his successor, John XX. or, as some say, the XIXth. had sent three messengers to invite him to return to Rome. On his arrival there a second time, his reception from the new Pontif was still more flattering than from his predecessor. He frequently condescended to converse with him freely on the subject of his musical discoveries; and when Guido first shewed him his *Autophonarium,* or notation of the Mass for the whole year (*t*), his Holiness, regarding it as a prodigy, would not quit his seat till he had learned to sing a chant in it by Guido's new method, and had by this means accomplished that himself which he hardly believed possible when it was reported to have been done by others.

The Pope, desirous to retain him in his service, pressed him to continue at Rome; but Guido, finding himself unable from the bad state of his health to bear the approaching heat and bad air of that city during summer, left it, upon a promise of returning thither in winter, to explain his new system in a more ample manner to his Holiness.

When he quitted Rome he made a visit to the Abbot of Pomposo, a town in the duchy of Ferrara, who so strongly solicited him to settle in his convent, that at length he consented, in hopes, as he says, " of extending the fame of that great monastery by his future labours."

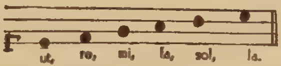
It was here that he composed several of his musical tracts, and, some imagine, his Micrologus, which he dedicated to Theobald, Bishop of Arezzo, and which, according to a memorandum found on the back of the original MS. he finished in the thirty-fourth year of his age. But if the Micrologus were written after his second journey to Rome, and his acquiring so much fame for his new method of teaching to sing by the syllables *ut, re, mi,* &c. it is difficult to account for his utter silence about them throughout that work, where a literal notation is constantly used.

It now remains, either by passages from his own works, or the testimony of writers nearly cotemporary, to ascertain the inventions that have been attributed to him. And these shall be considered separately, under the following heads: *Gammut,* or the Greek gamma added to the scale; *Lines* and *Clefs;* the *Harmonic-Hand; Hexachords,* and *Solmisation; Points, Counterpoint, Discant,* and *Organizing;* and the *Polyplectrum,* or spinet. I shall be thought too minute, perhaps; but however dull such disquisitions may appear to miscellaneous readers, they certainly constitute the *Business* of my History. These are facts, the rest but flourishes; for it is unfortunate with respect to the music of the middle ages as well as of the ancient Greeks and Romans, that when so little is known there should still remain so much to be said.

(*t*) See p. 415 and 431.

Mere music, however, says nothing to eyes that cannot read, or ears unable to hear it. To such, therefore, as are both blind and deaf to musical signs and sounds, and contentedly ignorant of both, I fear this chapter will be very far from amusing. But as there are many things belonging to a work of this kind, which though few will read, yet, if omitted, many would miss, I shall endeavour to animate myself with the hopes that the few will at least have curiosity and perseverance sufficient to travel with me to the dusty shelves of Gothic lore, and to the gloomy cells of Monks and Friars, where I am forced with great toil, and small expectation, to seek my materials.

Menage, in his *Origine de la Langue Françoise,* gives the following derivation of the word Gammut. "Guido Aretinus, a Benedictine Monk, who had been employed to correct the ecclesiastical chants, about the year 1024, composed a scale, conformable to the Greek system, adding to it a few sounds above and below. And discovering afterwards that the first syllable of each hemistich in the hymn to St. John the Baptist (*u*), written by Paul Diaconus, who lived about the year 774, formed a regular series of six sounds ascending:



he placed at the side of each of these syllables one of the first seven letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and because he accompanied the note which he added below the ancient system with the letter gamma, the whole scale was called GAMMUT, a name by which it is distinguished to this day."

The Abbé Lebeuf (*x*) gives a derivation of the word gammut, which does not seem so happy as many of his other conjectures. He thinks it probable, that after the seven sounds in ascending had been expressed by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, the second octave was indicated by Greek characters, on which account Γ gamma, the Greek G, appeared at the top of the page or monochord, and by this means, gammut became the general name of all the notes. But this conjecture is not confirmed by the Micrologus of Guido, nor by any of the ancient MSS. of musical treatises that I have seen.

It has been imagined likewise by the Abbé du Bos, with as little foundation, that Guido gave the name of gamma to the first note of his scale, because the same sound was expressed by that letter in the Diatonic genus of the Greeks; but upon examining the diagrams of Alypius, and the other Greek theorists, it appears, that this sound would have been below the proslambanomenos,

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(*u*) *Ut queant laxis resonare fibris*
Mira gestorum famuli tuorum
Solve polluti labii reatum
Sancte Johannes!

(*x*) *Traite du Chant Eccl.* p. 155.

or most grave sound in all their systems; nor does the note which we call G, or gammut, occur in any one of the Greek diagrams, except in Aristides Quintilianus, who says, p. 25, that whenever a sound was wanted below the proslambanomenos of the Hypodorian mode, it was expressed by the letter omega ω, recumbent; as the last or lowest sound in all the systems. This, says Meibomius, in his notes, p. 240, accounts for Guido's placing the sound G or Γ below A in his system, but gives no reason for the preference of that letter to every other in the alphabet.

Poor Guido, like other ancient authors, is often praised, and sometimes censured, for ideas which never entered his head: and in the present instance, Messrs. Menage, Lebeuf, Du Bos, and Meibomius have been bestowing their ingenuity on the *dent d'or,* before they were assured of its existence; for, alas! the Greek letter gamma had been used by Odo, the Monk of Cluni, in his Enchiridion, for the lowest sound of the musical scale, a century before the writings of Guido were known; and he speaks of it himself, in his Micrologus, as a note added by the moderns (*y*).

The Abbot Berno, too, who wrote several tracts on music about the beginning of the 11th century, says, that the moderns placed the Greek letter at the beginning of the scale out of reverence to the Greeks, from whom music was derived (*z*).

But when a lower sound than proslambanomenos, which the Romans had expressed by the letter A, was found necessary to complete the scale, as octaves were represented by the same letters in different forms, it was natural to use the Greek Gamma for that purpose; and as to the intention of expressing gratitude to the Greeks, that thought seems more likely to have occured to those who were guessing at a reason afterwards, than to have been in the minds of those who added Γ to the diagram.

Parallel lines have already been proved of higher antiquity than the time of Guido; but the regular staff of four lines was not generally used in the church till the thirteenth century.* The description, however, which Guido has given of different coloured lines to ascertain the sound of C and F has encouraged an opinion of his having first suggested the idea; but even that contrivance is not indisputably his property: for in the Magliabecchi library at

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(*y*) The *Enchiridion* of Odo, Abbot of Cluni, written about the year 920, is still extant in the king of France's library, in the Vatican, and in the library of Baliol Col. Oxon. It is a dialogue between a master and a scholar (*Incipit Explanatio Artis Musicæ sub Dialogo*), beginning, *Quid est musica?* The Vatican copy however is said to have been written by Guido, but it is a tract which Guido himself quotes, more than once. The title of this tract has been mistaken by Sigebert, *De Script. Eccles.* cap, 109, for the name of the author, and as such it is inserted in Brossard's List of Writers on Music; but this is less surprising than that Muratori, tom. i. p 496, should so far deviate from diligence and accuracy as to copy such a blunder. It is said that the Enchiridion of Odo is in Baliol Coll. library, Oxford; which had been taken for granted, as it had been asserted by other writers; but upon examining the MS. myself, afterwards, I found, and acknowledged my mistake.

(*z*) *Græca litera in graviori introductorii parte locatur, ad Græcorum reverentiam; a quibus musica defluxit.* De Musica seu de Tonis, *apud* Gerbert.

* A single line (usually in red), to indicate the pitch of a note was first used about A.D. 900. A second line (yellow) was soon added, and about one hundred years later two more (black) were introduced.

Before the use of the red line it was the custom to scratch a line across the parchment.

Florence I found a MS. missal, said to be of the tenth century, in the old ecclesiastical notation, with two lines, the one red, and the other yellow. Sometimes indeed there was but one line, which was red. I made a facsimile of two fragments, which I would have had engraved for this place, had not the subject of ancient notation been already illustrated with a sufficient number of examples in the preceding chapter.

Kircher (*a*) speaks of Guido using five lines and five spaces; but without authority. Indeed he seldom discovers the source of his information, and it would have been difficult to authenticate many of the wonderful things he relates from mere tradition and common report. But as he gives liberally to Guido, he is as little scrupulous in taking away: for he tells us that points were used long before the time of Guido, and instances a most ancient MS. in the monastery of Vallombrosa, where the melody to the famous hymn *Salve Regina* is written in points on and between two lines only. It is not certain that Guido invented points, but it is generally allowed that this hymn was written by Hermannus Contractus, who died in 1054: that is, thirty years after the Micrologus was finished. He asserts likewise, with equal ill luck, that Guido claims the invention of the syllables *ut, re, mi,* &c. in his letter to the Monk Michael, published by Baronius; in which letter, however, not the least mention or allusion to these syllables is discoverable. He asserts roundly too that he not only invented polyphonic music, or counterpoint, but the polyplectrum, or spinet, for which there is not the least support to be found in Guido's writings. Kircher's Musurgia is a huge book, but a much larger might be composed in pointing out its errors and absurdities.

But though lines without spaces, and spaces without lines had been used before the time of Guido, he seems to have first suggested the use of lines and spaces together: and thus the lines, which by some had been made as numerous as the notes, were reduced to four; a number which in missals and rituals of the Romish church has never since been exceeded. Indeed the use of a line for each note, in the manner exhibited page 435, may never have arrived at the knowledge of Guido, who speaks the language of an inventor, with respect to lines and spaces, more than on any other occasion. For in the prologue to his Antiphonarium he says, " By Divine assistance, I have pointed out such a method of notation, that, by a little help from a master at first, an intelligent and studious person may easily acquire the rest by himself. And if any one should suspect my veracity in this assertion, let him come to our convent, let him make the experiment, let him examine the children under my care, and he will find, that, though they are still severely punished for their ignorance of the psalms, and blunders in reading, they can now sing correctly, without a master, the chants of those psalms of which they can scarce pronounce the words." He then

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(*a*) *Musurgia,* p. 114.

proceeds to explain the use of lines and spaces, and to inform his friend Michael the Monk, to whom he addresses his Antiphonarium, that " whatever notes are placed on the same line, or in the same space, must have the same sound." "And that the name of the sound is determined either by the colour of the line, or by a letter of the alphabet placed at the beginning of it:" a rule of such consequence, " that if a neuma or melody be written without a letter or coloured line, it will be like a well without a rope; in which, tho' there be plenty of water, it will be of no use."

Whoever examines the ancient ecclesiastical notes without lines or letters, will perceive no exaggeration in what Guido says of his invention, or at least improvement, of the old method of notation, by applying lines to the letters and characters which he found in use. And if he be allowed the invention of lines and spaces, clefs will of course accompany them. For these were originally nothing more than the letters of the alphabet placed opposite to notes of the same name ; and it was certainly about the time of Guido that the *claves signatæ,* as they were called, were reduced to two, F and C, at the distance of a fifth from each other ; leaving, till more lines were pressed into the service, the rest of the notes to be divined by their situation (*b*). This, therefore, is the mystery of unknown song, of which Guido so frequently speaks in his epistle to the Monk Michael: *Regulæ de ignoto cantu;—argumentum novi cantus inveniendi ;* by which expressions he claims the merit of having first taught the method of discovering musical intervals with certainty by the eye ; and of singing melodies with which the ear had not been previously made acquainted.

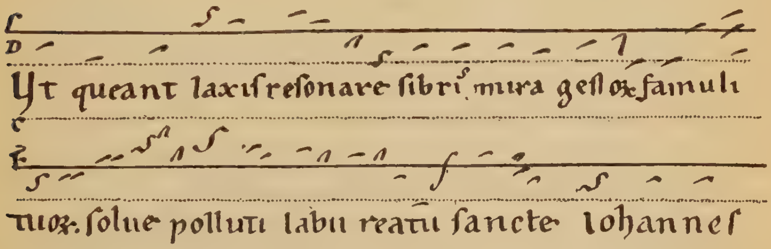
No proof can be found in the writings of Guido that the Harmonic Hand was of his construction ; writers, however, mention it by the name of the Guidonian hand, soon after his time (*c*). And, when his system was digested and the hexachords were arranged, to teach the names of the notes by the joints of the fingers of the left hand seems to have been a common expedient ; in which, however, the syllabic names of the notes do not follow in an order sufficiently regular or remarkable to be of much use in forming the hexachords, or discriminating the mutations. Such an expedient would have been more clear and useful in teaching the tetrachords, by appropriating a finger to each of the five, in the great system, or disdiapason of the Greeks. And by imagining the five fingers of each hand to represent the five lines and spaces of the base and treble clefs, children may likewise be taught to name the notes in the scale much sooner than solmisation by the harmonic hand.

(*b*) See the plate, p. 440 for the form of the several clefs used from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.

(*c*) Sigebert, *In Chronico, ad ann.* 1028; and John Ægidius, a musical writer of the thirteenth century, quoted by the Abbot of St. Blasius, say that those who are not possessed of a monochord, might supply the want of that instrument by the Hand, which may represent the scale and musical intervals; and as there are various monochords, so the Hand is variously used. The harmonic hand is likewise recommended by John Cotton, cap I. and by Franchinus, *Pract.* Mus. lib. l. cap. i.

Henry Faber (*d*) [d. 1552] has arranged the notes in the harmonic, or Guidonian hand, in a better manner than any other author within my knowledge, by placing a clef at the top of the three middle fingers, as beacons or land-marks, and making each finger the representative of a tetrachord (*e*). D'Avella (*f*) exhibits a great number of harmonic hands, in which the notes of the scale are differently disposed ; one of the hands, I know not why, he calls Boethian, another he gives to Plato, and a third to Aristotle!

In all my enquiries after the writings of Guido in the several libraries of Europe, I have never been able to find, in the tracts attributed to him, any other representation of the hexachords, or solmisation, of which he is said to be the author, than the following, which may be seen in the Museum MS. No. 3199 [Harl. MSS.], and which I find agrees exactly with the MS. whence the Abbot of San-Blasius has given a facsimile. It is in the Epistle *De Artificio Novi Cantus,* prefixed to his Antiphonarium, and addressed to the Monk Michael. This epistle was first published imperfectly, by Baronius; next, and more fully, by Mabillon, L.LV. *an.* 324 ; and, lastly, still more correct, by Bernard Pez (*g*). In some MSS. this epistle is prefixed to the Micrologus, and by some writers quoted as a part of it ; in others, however, only the two epistles dedicatory to Theobald, Abbot of Arezzo, are found ; which are certainly all that originally belonged to that celebrated work. The following may be regarded as the germ, or first sketch of solmisation.


c
D
Ut queant laxis resonare fibris mira gestorum famuli
c
F
tuorum solve polluti labii reatum sancte Iohannes

Rousseau has given the same melody, in Gregorian notes, from an ancient MS. in the Chapter Library at Sens, as it was probably sung in the time of Guido, and in which each of the six syllables is exactly applied to the correspondent sound of the gammut.

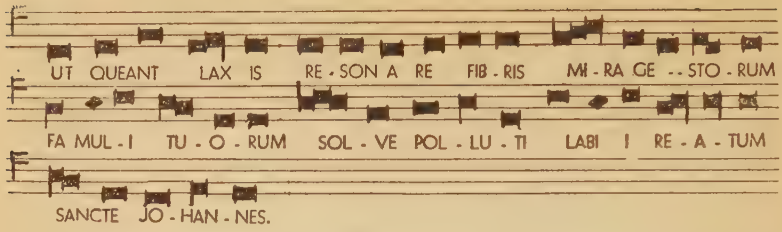
(*d*) *Ad Musicam Practicam Introductio* Mulhus. 1571 [1st ed. c. 1550].

(*e*) See the plate, p. 473. No. I.

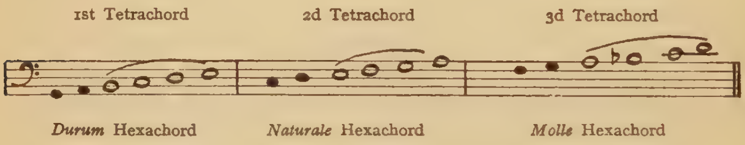
(*f*) *Regole di Musica,* Roma, 1657, folio. A book full of prejudices in favour of old rules, and many peculiar to the author; which render what was before dark and difficult, still more unintelligible. From his ignorance of history and the little that is known concerning the music of the ancients, he advances innumerable absurdities ; one of which is, that, "St. Gregory ordered that no other Gammut should be used in the church, than that of Guido," who lived five hundred years after him.

(*g*) *Thesaurus Anecd. Noviss.* Tom. V.

(*h*)


UT QUEANT LAX IS RE - SON A RE FIB - RIS MI - RA GE - - STO - RUM
FA MUL - I TU - O - RUM SOL - VE POL - LU - TI LABI I RE - A - TUM
SANCTE JO - HAN - NES.

Innumerable are the representations of this hymn by writers posterior to the time of Guido, who have expressed the melody in letters, sometimes with lines, and sometimes without, as well as in Gregorian notes. They all tend to the same purpose of ascertaining and articulating the sounds of the six notes of the scale in the key of C ; and if it be true, as with great probability has been suggested, that Guido did not pretend to invent a new scale, but to revive that which had been long used by the Greeks and Romans, it was very natural, after forming one tetrachord of the Greeks into a hexachord, for him to proceed in making the same addition to all the tetrachords in the great system of the ancients. These, as has been shewn in the first section of the Dissertation, were of three kinds, and so are the hexachords.



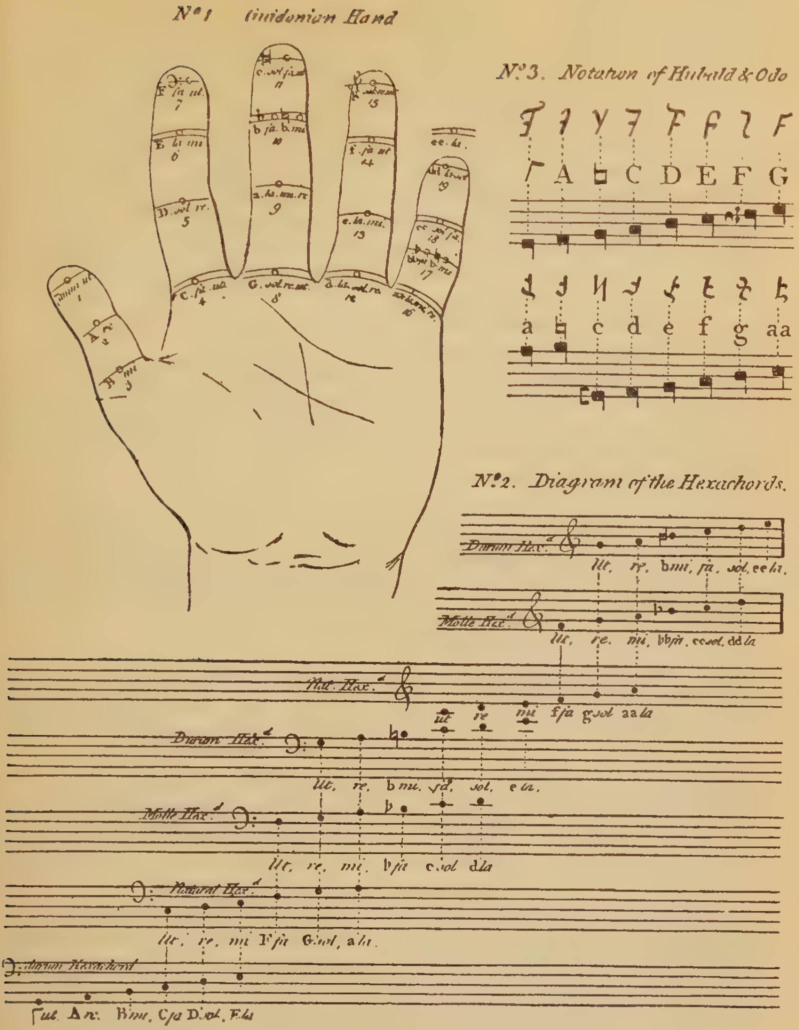
and each of these being repeated an octave higher will extend the scale to dd, the last note in Guido's Diagram (*i*).*

But it is only by a view of the whole Guidonian system disposed into hexachords, rising one out of the other, that the use of several different syllables being given to a single note can appear ; and to those who have never studied the scale and hexachords in their several relations, the names of Gammut, *A re, B mi, C fa ut, D sol re, E la mi, F fa ut, G sol re ut,* &c. must seem mere gibberish. But their use is manifest in the Diagram on the next page, No. 2, which shews the contexture and relation of the keys ; and that where more than one syllable is added to the literal name of a note,

(*h*) This is the ancient form of the *Tenor* Clef, which is only a Gothic C.

(*i*) In the *Canto Fermo,* or ancient chants of the Romish church, F was not allowed to be made sharp in the key of G; which rendered B, as tritonus to F♮, harsh and difficult: hence the hexachord of G was called *durum;* that of C, in which the B flat was unnecessary, *naturale;* and that of F, in which the B flat was indispensable, *molle,* soft; as it removed the harshness which the *tritonus,* or sharp 4th, consisting of three whole tones between F and B♮, would have occasioned. The durum hex. is sometimes called by the Italians, the hex. of B *quadro,* and by the French B *quarre,* or B.

* A seventh hexachords was added; see plate No. 2. p. 473.



Nº1 Guidonian Hand

Nº3. Notation of Hucbald & Odo

Nº2. Diagram of the Hexachords.

Γ A ♮ C D E F G
a ♮ c d e f g aa
Durum Hex.
ut, re, ♮mi, fa, sol, ee la,
Molle Hex.
ut, re, mi, b♭fa, cc sol, dd la
Nat. Hex.
ut re mi f fa g sol aa la
Durum Hex.
ut, re, b mi, c fa, sol, e la,
Molle Hex.
ut, re, mi, b fa, c sol, d la
Natural Hex.
ut, re, mi F fa G sol, a la.
Durum Hexachord
Γ ut, A re, B mi, C fa, D sol, E la

it is on account of its appertaining to more than one hexachord: as the sound G *sol, re, ut,* for instance, belongs to all the three original keys, or hexachords of C, F, and G. For it is *sol,* as 5th of the key of C ; *re,* as 2d of F, and *ut,* as the key note of G. Hence arise *Mutations* or changes of names in solmisation: as the sound G, for example, while C is the key, is constantly called *sol ;* when F is the key it is called *re,* and when the modulation passes into the key or hexachord of G, it is called *ut,* or according to the Italians, *do* (*k*).

Though the system of solmisation does not appear to have been wholly developed in the writings of Guido, the invention is ascribed to him by writers very near the period in which he lived: for Sigebert, a Monk of Gemblours, in the diocese of Namur, in Brabant, in his Chronicle under the year 1028, as well as in his account of ecclesiastical writers, says, that " he had excelled all his predecessors ; as by his method children were taught to sing new melodies, with more facility than by the voice of a master, or the use of an instrument: for by only affixing six letters or syllables to six sounds, all that music admits of, regularly, and distinguishing these sounds by the joints of the fingers of the left hand, their distances ascending and descending through the whole diapason, are clearly presented both to the eye and the ear (*l*)."

Now as Sigebert was nearly cotemporary with Guido, his testimony in favour of the discoveries attributed to him have more weight than any proofs that can be adduced from such of his own writings as are generally known (*m*).

John Cotton, who lived about a century after Guido, in the first chapter of his MS. tract on Music [*De Musica*], says, that solmisation by the six syllables, *ut, re, mi, fa,* &c. was practised by the English, French, and Germans ; but adds that the Italians made use of other syllables: an assertion the more extraordinary, as Italy had given birth both to Guido and his invention.

Carpentier, in his Supplement to the Latin Glossary of Du Cange, art. *Gamma,* the *Musical Diagram,* gives a passage from the Chronicle of Tours, under the year 1033 (*n*), which puts Guido in full possession of the scale and solmisation. " Guido Aretine, a wonderful musician, flourished in Italy about this time. He constructed the gammut and rules for singing, by applying those names to the six sounds, which are now universally used in music. For, before, practitioners had no other guide than habit and the ear."

(*k*) The first mention I find of the syllable *do* being used instead of *ut* is by Gio. Maria Bononcini, father of the celebrated composer and rival of Handel, in his *Musico Prattico,* published in 1673, p. 35, who says, *"S'avverta, che in vece della sillaba ut i moderni si servano di* Do, *per essere piu risuonante."*

The Guidonian syllables were taught at full length to children in my own memory, without explaining their relations to different hexachords. About the year 1740, being at Chester grammar-school, Mr. Baker, then organist of the cathedral in that city, who had studied music under Dr. Blow, while he was confined to his house by a fit of the gout, undertook to enable me to become his assistant in the most summary way he thought possible, by setting me the *syllabic,* not literal *gammut.* But though I learned in a few days to play two or three chants on the organ at the cathedral, it was many years before I regarded the words G *sol re ut, a la mi re,* &c., but as mere jargon, or was able to assign to each syllable its place in the different hexachords.

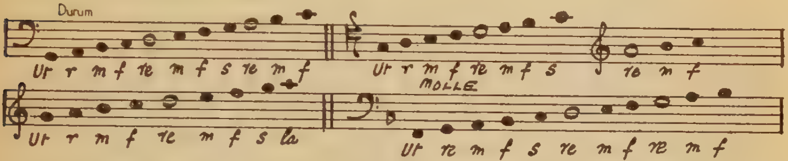
(*l*) In Chronico ad ann. 1028, et in Libro Descript. Eccles. cap. 144. The word *regulariter* in this passage is worth remarking, as it accounts for the exclusion of *si,* or the sharp 7th of a key, for which there was no appellation provided. And it seems to have been regarded by Guido and his followers as an irregular and licentious note of taste. Indeed the *tritonus* or sharp 4th has been a rock of offence to Greeks, Chinese, Scots, and savages ; and is still so to rustic singers, as all those who have ears, in every country congregation throughout the kingdom, experience every Sunday.

(*m*) The Chronicle of Sigebert begins at 181, and is continued to 1112. He died the year after.

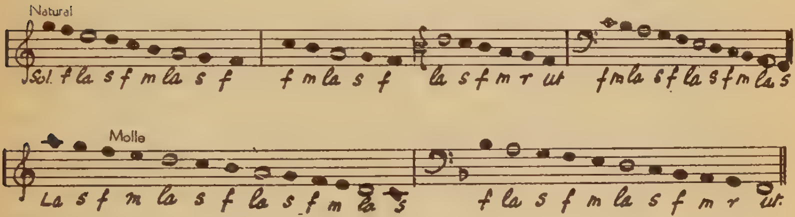
(*n*) Apud Marten. Tom. V. Collect. coll. 999.

Henry Faber (*o*), a clear and instructive writer for the age in which he lived, quotes Guido fairly, and as if he had read him. And it is his opinion that he certainly applied the syllables *ut, re,* &c. to the ancient literal names of notes.

Dominico Pedro Cerone, in an elaborate work, written in the Spanish language, and published at Naples 1613,* has taken great pains to throw a light upon this subject, which he says he found, by his own experience, extremely dark and difficult (*p*). He minutely goes through all the seven hexachords, shews their connexion with each other, and gives scales to manifest the mutations, which, in ascending beyond a Hexachord are made by the syllable *re*, and, in descending, by *la* (*q*).



The same series of sounds in the octave and 15th would have the same names.



In justice to Guido it must be allowed, that his Hexachords provided for all circumstances of solmisation in the ecclesiastical modes, which were subject to no accidents of flats and sharps, and in which no other sounds or keys were used but those which the different species of octave in C natural furnish. Guido himself takes notice of this (*r*), and declares, that he writes merely for the church, where the pure Diatonic genus was first used. Transported keys, however, from *c* natural major and *a* natural minor, which are only imagined to change their pitch, when represented by other

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(*o*) *Ad Musicam Practicam Introductio.* Mulhusii Duringorum, 1571.

(*p*) "Y es cierto, que una de las cosas que hasta agora a muchos ha hecho deficultad & impedimento para cantollano y organo, ha sido las mutancas, come por esperiencia vemos cada dia." Melopeo. lib. v. cap. 2. *De las mutancas*, p. 398.

(*q*) In modern language the whole mystery of *mutations* might be resolved into this short rule: "That the best way of modulating into the immediate note above or below any key, is by the 5th; that a transition, for instance, from G to F, or F to G is forbidden, unless it is through the key of C; but from C that it is warrantable to pass either into G or F, indifferently."

(*r*) *Sunt prœterea et alia musicorum genera aliis mensuris aptata,* (meaning the Chromatic and Enharmonic). *Sed hoc genus musicœ quod nos exposuimus,* (which is the simple diatonic,) *peritissimorum musicorum virorum ractione* (*f* ratione) *suaviori et veraciori et naturali modulacione constat perfectum,* Tract. Form. Tonor. ex. Cod. Medeceo. Laurent. xlix. plutei 29.

* See editor's note p. 114, with regard to this work.

sounds in the same relation to the key-note, and all the accidents to which modern modulation is subject, should be provided for. To do this in a clear, simple, and practicable manner, would require great meditation. It has frequently been attempted by men of science, as well as by practical musicians, who though they have obviated some former inconveniences, and supplied a few of the defects which have been complained of, have generated others that have been found far more difficult to vanquish ; so that the business still remains to be done. And before I terminate this long article, to which very few readers will, perhaps, wish me to return, it seems necessary to mention the attempts that have been made at *multiplying* and *diminishing* the number of syllables used in Solmisation according to the Hexachords.

The authors of musical tracts discover but little discontent on this subject till the latter end of the sixteenth century, when the pretended reformers enlisted under two banners ; the one erected in France, espoused the cause of *Addition*, and the other, in England, maintained the side of *Subtraction*. Of the former party a long account is given by Mersenne, in his *Harmonie Universelle* (*s*), and by Rousseau in his Dictionary. These wished to have distinct and invariable appellations for all the sounds of the octave, of which Guido had only furnished six ; and after various experiments, and proposals to the public, the syllable *Si*, about the end of the last century, was universally received in France for the seventh of the key of C. This new syllable is generally ascribed to Le Maire, a singing-master at Paris ; but it was not received when Mersenne published his *Harm. Univ.* 1636: for he there says (*t*), "that to avoid the mutations, Le Maire, who had published a musical tract, invented the syllable *za* after *la*, to complete the octave." Indeed the defect had been pointed out, and methods suggested for supplying it, long before the time of Le Maire (*u*). This method, however, provided for no transpositions, as *c*, whether natural, flat, or sharp, is invariably called *ut ; d*, flat, natural, and sharp, *re*, &c. So that the musical student receives no more

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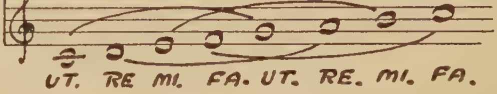
(*s*) *Des Genres*, lib. iii. p. 192.

(*t*) Liv. vi. 342. *Art. de bien chanter.*

(*u*) Zacconi, *Pratica di Musica*, tom. ii. lib. i. c. 10, says, that Anselmo Fiamingo, musician to the Duke of Bavaria, proposed the completion of the octave, by adding the syllables *Si* and *Bo*. Zacconi's work was published in 1596,* and Mersenne (*Quæst. et Comment. in Genesim*, p. 1623) tells us from Maillard, a French writer on music, that an anonymous author in Flanders, perhaps the same Anselme Fiamingo, proposed the two additional syllables *Si* and *Bo*, for the completion of the octave, so early as 1547.

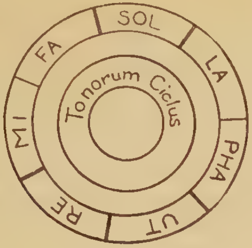
Guido, *Microl*. cap. 5, speaking of there being only seven different notes, says, "On this account, according to *Boetius* and ancient musicians, we figure, or express, by seven letters all our sounds." *Hac nos de causa omnes sonos secundum Boetium et antiquos musicos septem literis figuramus*. "While some moderns less judiciously use only four characters, figuring each fifth by the same *sign*." Meaning, doubtless, what has been already said in this chapter, that some musicians used only four characters, in which case every fifth in the octave will have the *same* sign:



* The first part of the *Prattica di Musica* was published at Venice in 1592 (reprinted 1596). The second part was published in 1619, also at Venice.

assistance from it, with respect to the semitones in the other eleven keys, than from the literal appellations used by the Germans.

Mr. Charles Butler, in his *Principles of Musick*, published 1636, is the earliest English writer that I have read who mentions the omission of *ut* and *re* in solmisation. "The perpetual order of the



notes in the Gammut," says he, p. 12, "as of the moons in the year, is most fitly exemplified in that figure which has no end."

"These names," continues he, "though they are still taught in schools, according to the first institution, among other principles of the art ; yet the modern vulgar practice commonly changes *ut* and *re* into *sol* and *la*: so that for the seven several notes they use but four syllables ; which greatly hinder learners, both in singing and setting. But let those who wish to retain this change, attend to the following short direction: after *mi*, sing *Fa, sol, la*, twice upwards; and *la, sol, fa*, twice downwards, which will lead both ways to *mi* in the same clef or key."

Botempi recommends this kind of solmisation by the tetrachords *mi, fa, sol, la*, to his countrymen the Italians (*x*); by whom, however, it does not appear to have been adopted.

After the time of Butler, notwithstanding the censure just quoted, which he supports by cogent reasons, the *ut* and *re* were rejected by all the English singing-masters. For though the hexachords had governed solmisation in most parts of Europe, from the time of their first arrangement till the latter end of the last century, the English musicians differing from all others, exploded the two last syllables, *ut, re*, and only used in their solmisation the remaining four, *mi, fa, sol, la* ; which was reducing the scale to *tetrachords*, like the ancient Greeks: for these moderns invented nothing new, and only recurred to the very practice that was in use during the time of Guido, which he condemned, and laboured to reform by his hexachords.

Morley, indeed, derives all his rules of solmisation from the hexachords, and yet when he exceeds their limits he never uses *ut* or *re* (*y*).

But Playford, about sixty years after Morley's publication, says, that "though six names for the notes, in singing, were used during

(*x*) P. 124 of his *Storia della Musica*, published in 1695.

(*y*) A plain and easie Introduction to Practical Musicke, 1597.

many ages, yet only four are now mentioned (*z*)." And Dr. Holder [1616-97/8],* Dr. Wallis, and every writer on the subject of music in this kingdom, were unanimous in excommunicating these two syllables, till the arrival of Dr. Pepusch, who endeavoured, and not unsuccessfully, to have them again received into the pale of the church (*a*).

The Neapolitans still adhere to the hexachords and mutations, denominating every key-note with a major third DO, and with a minor third *re;* and accidental flat *fa,* and sharp *mi.* Mr. Galliard, in his translation of Tosi on Florid song (*b*) gives the following short and clear rule for finding the *mi* and *fa* in all keys: "Where flats and sharps are marked at the clef, if there be no flat, that is *fa;* if more flats, the last. If one sharp, that is *mi;* if more, the last."

Of the several attempts that have been made at augmenting the number of syllables in solmisation, in order to furnish a distinct name for every accidental flat and sharp, none have, as yet, been generally received. The only addition to the six Guidonian syllables that has been adopted, and that chiefly in France, is the *Si* for the seventh of the key. But till every note in the system has a fixed and certain appellation, no provision can be made for the accidents of flats, sharps, and transpositions. However, the Italians, in general, more frequently teach singing by the *vowels* than *syllables ;* which they call *vocalizzare* instead of *solfeggiare ;* and the friends of this method say, that too frequent articulation in the first forming of the voice impedes its passage, occasioning a want of steadiness in the *portamento,* and a convulsive motion in the mouth, which can never after be corrected. Nice observers pretend to discover this imperfection in singers of the Neapolitan school.

In 1746 was published at Venice a small pamphlet, entitled, "Reflexions upon the manner of learning to sing, with a new method of solmisation by *twelve syllables,* providing for all the keys, and the accidents to which they are subject (*c*)." For those who wish to retain the ancient names of the notes, with the additional syllable *Si,* used by the French, this is an ingenious and useful little tract ; as the author has so far respected what had been long received in practice, that he has changed nothing: and the additional syllables are only for such sounds as had before no appellations assigned to them but what belonged to other notes, which occasioned confusion, tautology, and difficulty.

The first six natural sounds from C to A, he calls, as usual, *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la;* and to the seventh of this key he applies the

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(*z*) Introduction to the Skill of Musick, eleventh edit. 1687, p. 2. The first was printed in 1655 [dated 1654].

(*a*) A Treatise on Harmony, 1731, second edit.

(*b*) Page 18, in a note upon § 12.

(*c*) *Riflessioni sopra alla maggior facilita che trovasi nell apprendere il canto con l'uso di un solfeggio di* dodici monosillabi, *atteso il frequenti uso degl' accidenti.* The author concealed himself under the seemingly affected name of *Euchero pastore Arcade,* by which it was implied, that he was a member of the Academy of Arcadia at Rome.

* Composer and writer on musical subjects. He wrote a *Treatise of the Natural Grounds and Principles of Harmony* for the use of the Chapel Royal members. For his compositions see B.M. *Harl. MSS.* 7338-9.

syllable *Si*: it is, therefore, only to the five short keys of the harpsichord, which serve occasionally both for flats and sharps to the long keys, that he has furnished names. The sounds in the natural scale of C, by this means, retain their ancient appellations, invariably, whether they are wanted for flats, sharps, or naturals.

C	*c♯d♭*	D	*d♯e♭*	E	F	*f♯g♭*	G	*g♯a♭*	A	*a♯b♭*	B
Ut	*pa*	Re	*bo*	Mi	Fa	*tu*	Sol	*de*	La	*no*	*Si*

The author, to assist the memory of the musical student, has formed his twelve syllables into four ideal words: *Utparè, Bomifà, Tusoldè, Lanosì,* which comprehend the whole scale of semitones from C to *c* exclusive. By this method the names of the sounds upon a harpsichord, or other keyed instruments, are invariable ; and the several combinations of the six syllables commonly used in solmisation, which, being calculated, amounted in ascending and descending to 137, are reduced to twelve immutable names.

This method is rendered respectable by the approbation of the celebrated composer Hasse, and by that of Signor Giambatista Mancini, singing-master to the Imperial family at Vienna, who, in his admirable *Practical Thoughts and Reflections upon Florid Song* (*d*), recommends it in the following manner:

" Upon conversing with the famous Signor Hasse, on the subject of solmisation, when he was called to Vienna, in order to set the opera of *Alcide al Bivio,* in 1761, he recommended a new method of naming the notes, which he had seen used with great success by the Canonico Doddi of Cortona; and upon my expressing a desire to acquire a full knowledge of this method, he was so obliging as to write to his friend at Cortona, who favoured me with a copy of it, under the following title: *Practical Instructions for Solmisation in all the Keys of Music, without Mutations.*" Signor Mancini then explains the method just described, without appearing to know that it had ever been printed; and concludes with acknowledging it to be easy and ingenious, and that he himself experienced its utility in practice.

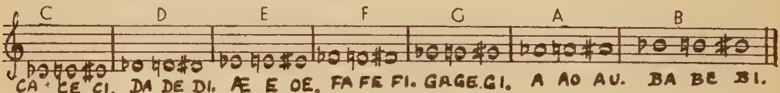
Guido Aretinus has been mistaken by Mersennus, Vossius, and others, for Guitmond, monk of St. Lufrid, in the diocese of Evreux in Normandy, afterwards bishop of Aversa, who wrote against the heresies of Berenger; he has been confounded by some Italians, likewise, with Guitton d'Arezzo, the poet, and one of the founders of the Italian language, who flourished about the time of Dante (*e*), by whom he is celebrated, as well as by Petrarca, Redi, and almost

(*d*) *Pensieri e Riflessioni pratiche Sopra il canto figurato*. p. 56, El Seq. in Vienna, 1774.

(*e*) *Alcuni han confuso* GUITTONE *con Guido Aretino Inventore delle sei note musicale. monace, ed abate dell'Avellana—Egli e certo che Guido Monaco fiori nel* 1030; *e particolarmente sotto il governo di Tedaldo Vescovo d'Arezzo, zio della' gran Contessa Matilda, a cui dedico l'opra sua; non e pero vero, ch'ei fosse lo stesso che il nostro autore* (*Fra Guittone*), *il quale viveva, nel* 1293. Dedicat. alle Lettere di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, Roma 1745.

all the poets of Italy (*f*). But Signor Serra (*g*) has thrown such doubts upon Guido's having been the author of the Micrologus, as Signor Eximeno, author of a musical treatise, which is written in a very masterly style (*h*), allows to be of difficult solution (*i*). For Signor Serra having found in the Vatican Library, among the Queen of Sweden's MSS. a musical treatise, entitled, *Tractatus Guidonis Augiensis,* which corresponds, in every particular, with the Micrologus; he imagines the author of that famous work to have been a native of *Auge* in Normandy, and not of Arezzo in Tuscany, as has been supposed for so many centuries. But as no such Guido appears in the annals of literature, either in biographical dictionaries, or other accounts of writers of the middle ages; and as the French have never yet laid claim to the Micrologus, or its author, it seems a frivolous reason for depriving Italy, and the Monk of Arezzo, of productions which they have so long possessed in quiet. But as many writings have been bestowed on Guido to which he was not entitled, it is not extraordinary that he should be robbed of one to which he has so just a claim. As no mention is made of the Solmisation and Hexachords in the Micrologus, Signor Serra supposes them to have been the invention of some younger writer than Guido Aretinus, and says, that " neither Gafurio, nor any other author, who attributes the Hexachords to Guido, has ever cited a single passage from his writings to confirm his title to them."

It would, indeed, answer a purpose to Signor Serra that Solmisation by the syllables *ut, re, mi, fa,* &c. should not be supported by such ancient and respectable authority as that of Guido, as he had a new method of his own to propose to public favour; which, with a few exceptions, was to name the notes in singing by the seven first letters of the alphabet, distinguishing the flat, natural and sharp notes, by the addition of the three first vowels to the seven letters, as *ca, c* flat, *ce, c* natural, and *ci* for *c* sharp, by which means the student is disembarrassed from all the mutations and every sound in the scale has a specific and invariable name appropriated to it.



(*f*) According to Crescembeni, he was inventor of the *Sonetto;* though it is the opinion of the critics, that the Sonnet was originally constructed by the Provencal poets. The notes to Fra Guittone's letters, and to Redi's *Bacco in Toscano,* furnish a considerable share of useful knowledge concerning the state of literature and the arts in Italy, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

(*g*) *Introduzzione Armonica* Sopra la nuova serie de'Suoni modulati oggidi. Roma 1768.

(*h*) See p. 423.

(*i*) *"Parlo di Guidone Aretino sul commum supposto, ch'egli sia l'autore delle opere, che gli vengono attribuite; lasciando nel lor vigore l'erudite prove, colle quale ha messo in dubbio quel supposto il Signor D. Paolo Serra, Cantore della Capella Pontificia nella sua Introduzzione Armonica."* Dubbio di D. Ant. Eximeno sopra il *Saggio di contrapunto* del Padre Martini, p. 88. In Roma, 1775.

This method had the approbation of several of the best masters in Rome, who have signed a certificate of its effect upon the studies of a young singer of the name of Benedetti, who was rendered capable by it, in less than a year, of singing at sight any vocal music that was put before him even without accompaniment. Benedetti has since sung the first man's part in the operas of several of the principal cities of Italy; and, perhaps, his genius may be such, as would have enabled him to have done the same by any other method, with equal study and practice. Instrumental performers, at present, are not plagued with the ancient names of the notes and mutations, but learn them by the simple letters of the alphabet; and yet I have never heard of one that has been able to play at sight in a year's time.

Upon the whole, the alphabetic names of the notes seem the most simple and useful for every purpose but that of exercising the voice, which is best done by the vowels; and it may be said that to *syllabize* in quick passages is little more than to speak, but to *vocalize* is to sing. However, I was told by a scholar of the famous Durante, that while he was in the Conservatorio of St. Onofrio, at Naples, when the boys used to be tormenting themselves about the mutations, and the names of notes in transposed keys with double flats and sharps, Durante cried out, *"Queste note intonatele, chiamatele poi anche diavole se volete, ma intonatele."* Meaning, that if they did but hit the intervals right, and in tune, he did not care what they were called. And, perhaps, what Pope says of different forms of government, may be more justly applied to these several methods of singing: "Whate'er is best administer'd is best." As in the use of any of them, whoever has the best master, and seconds his instructions with the greatest degree of intelligence and industry, will be the most likely to succeed. And when we recollect the great abilities and enchanting powers of many singers of past times, who have been obliged to articulate every note of their *solfeggi* in the most rapid movements, we may apply to the new systems what M. Rousseau said with respect to their own (*k*): "That the public has done very wisely to reject them, and to send their authors to the land of vain speculations." For innovators will always find, that a bad method, already known, will be preferred to a good method that is to learn.

After this minute, and, perhaps, too circumstantial history of the vocal alphabet, or solmisation, which was first suggested by Guido, it is time, when I have fairly summed up the account of debts due to him from posterity, to proceed in my enquiries concerning the further progress that was made in the art of music by his successors.

Though historical integrity has stripped Guido of some of the musical discoveries that careless enquirers had bestowed on him,

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(*k*) Dict. Art. *Caractere de Musique.*

and though his claims to others are rendered doubtful, yet his name should still remain respectable among musicians for the services he did their art, in the opinion of his cotemporaries, and others who have given testimonies of their approbation very soon after the period in which he lived. These must be far better judges of his merit than we can be now, who no longer want his assistance, and are scarcely able to understand what he intended to teach. But an obscure monk, whose merit could penetrate the sovereign pontiff's palace, without cabal of interested protectors; whose writings in less than a century should be quoted as authorities for musical doctrines in parts of Europe very remote from the place of his residence; at a time too when the intercourse between one nation and another was not facilitated by travelling, commerce, or the press, and during one of the darkest periods of the human mind, since it has been enlightened by religion and laws; such a one must have conferred benefits on society which cannot be esteemed inconsiderable, since, in spite of all these disadvantages, they could so suddenly extend their effects, and interest the most polished and intelligent part of mankind.

It now remains, under the several denominations of *Diaphonia*. *Organum*, *Discant*, and *Counterpoint*, to trace the origin and progress of modern harmony, which has been so long ranked among the inventions of Guido. However, by the few specimens of his compositions that have already been given from his Micrologus, it does not appear that practical harmony, such as is now understood by music in different parts, had made any considerable advances towards perfection when that tract was written. And yet such attempts at simultaneous harmony as he has exhibited, rude, feeble, and indigested as they appear, are to be found in treatises that have been preserved of much earlier writers.

Many ecclesiastical historians tell us that the organ was first admitted into the church at Rome by Pope Vitalian, 666, the same pontiff who two years after sent singers into Kent, to finish the work which Austin, the first Roman missionary, had begun. In 680, according to Bede, John, the præcentor of St. Peter's in Rome, was sent over by Pope Agatho to instruct the monks of Weremouth in the manner of performing the ritual, who opened schools for teaching music in other places of the kingdom of Northumberland. This may reconcile to probability some part of the following account, which Giraldus Cambrensis gives of the peculiar manner of singing that was practised by the Welch, and the inhabitants of the North of England, about the end of the twelfth century (*l*).

"The Britons," says he, "do not sing in unison, like the inhabitants of other countries; but in many different parts. So

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(*l*) Giraldus Cambrensis, archdeacon, and afterwards bishop of St. David's, was born about the middle of the 12th century, and died after the year 1220.

that when a company of singers among the common people meets to sing, as is usual in this country, as many different parts are heard as there are performers, who all at length unite in consonance, with organic sweetness. In the northern parts of Great Britain, beyond the Humber, on the borders of Yorkshire, the inhabitants use the same kind of symphonious harmony; except that they only sing in two parts, the one murmuring in the base, and the other warbling in the acute or treble. Nor do these two nations practise this kind of singing so much by art as habit, which has rendered it so natural to them, that neither in Wales, where they sing in many parts, nor in the North of England, where they sing in two parts, is a simple melody ever well sung. And, what is still more wonderful, their children, as soon as they attempt using their voices, sing in the same manner. But as not *all* the English sing in this manner, but those only of the North, I believe they had this art at first, like their language, from the Danes and Norwegians, who used frequently to invade and so occupy, for a long time together, those parts of the island (*m*)."

This extraordinary passage requires a comment. And first, it may be necessary, before we reason upon the circumstances it contains, to be certain of their authenticity. Giraldus Cambrensis is indeed an author who has been often supposed inaccurate and fabulous (*n*); and the glaring improbabilities in the above account with the manifest ignorance of the subject in question, by no means contribute to augment his credibility. For whoever is acquainted with the laws of counterpoint, or with the first difficulties attending the practice of singing in parts, can have no exalted idea of the harmony of an untaught crowd, *turba canentium*, or suppose it to be much better than the dissonant pæans of a good-humoured mob; in which the parts would be as various as the

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(*m*) *In musico modulamine non uniformiter ut alibi, sed multipliciter multisqae modis et modulis cantilenas emittuut, adeo ut in turba canentium, sicut huic genti mos est, quot videas capito, tot audias carmina discriminaque vocum varia, in unam denique sub B mollis dalcedine blanda consonantiam et organicam convenientia melodiam. In Borealibus quoque majoris Britanniæ partibus trans Humbrum, Eboracique finibus Anglorum populi qui partes illas inhabitant simili canendo symphoniaca utuntur harmonia: hinis tamen solummodo tonorum differentiis et vocum modulando varietatibus, una inferius sub murmurante, altera vero superni demulcente pariter et delectante. Nec arte tantum sed usu longævo et quasi in naturam mora diutina jam converso, hœc vel illa sibi gens hanc specialitatem comparavit: Qui adeo apud utramque invaluit et altas jam radices posuit, ut nihil hic simpliciter, ubi multipliciter ut apud priores, vel saltem dupliciter ut apud sequentes, mellite proferri consueverit. Pueris etiam (quod magis admirandum) et fere infantibus, (cum primum a fletibus in cantus erumpunt) eandem modulationem observantibus. Angli vero quoniam non generaliter omnes, sed boreales volum hujusmodi vocum utunter modulationibus, credo quod a Dacis*† *(al Danis) et Norwagiensibus qui portes illas insulæ frequentius occupare ac diutius obtinere solebant, sicut loquendi affinitatem, sic canendi proprietatem contraxerunt.*—Cambriæ Descriptio, cap. xiii.

(*n*) "Girald Cambrensis deserves no manner of regard or credit to be given him; and his Chronicle is the most partial representation of the Irish history that ever was imposed on any nation in the world. He has endeavoured to make the venerable antiquities of the island a mere fable; and given occasion to the historians that came after him, to abuse the world with the same fictitious relations."—*Keating,* part i. p. 13. *Dr. Nicholson, Bishop of Derry's Irish Historical Library,* 1*st* edit. *Dubl.* 1724.

† The word *Danis* must certainly have been changed for *Dacis,* by some careless or ignorant transcriber; for though the *Danes* so often invaded England, who ever heard of the *Dacians* visiting this country?

pitch of voices of which their chorus was composed. But how all these united at last in the consonance of *organic melody*, and the soft sweetness of *B mollis*, will long remain an impenetrable secret (*o*): "As true no meaning puzzles more than wit." With respect to what he asserts of the people in Northumberland singing in *two parts*, it is more reconcileable to probability, from the circumstances just mentioned, of the cultivation of music in that part of the world under Roman masters, who may probably have first brought over the art of *discant*, or *double singing*, which the newly invented organ had suggested, by the facility it afforded of sounding two or more notes at a time; which art, when practised by voices, was thence called *organum, organizare*. But as to what Giraldus says of children naturally singing in this manner as soon as they were out of the cradle, the reader will afford it what degree of weight he pleases; for my own part, I must own that it is not yet admitted into my musical creed.

If, however, incredulity could be vanquished with respect to the account which Giraldus Cambrensis gives of the state of music in Wales during the twelfth century, it would be by a Welch MS. in the possession of Richard Morris, Esq. of the Tower, which contains pieces for the harp that are in full *harmony* or *counterpoint*: they are written in a peculiar notation, and supposed to be as old as the year 1100; at least, such is the known antiquity of many of the songs mentioned in the collection. But whether the tunes and their notation are coeval with the words, cannot easily be proved; nor is the counterpoint, though far from correct or elegant, of so rude a kind as to fortify such an opinion.

Some parts of " This MS " according to a memorandum which I found in it, " was transcribed in the time of Charles the first, by Robert ap Huw, of Bodwigen, in the isle of Anglesea, from William Penllyn's Book (*p*)" The title given to these pieces, is MUSICA *neu* BERORIAETH: and a note, in English, informs us, that the manuscript contains " the music of the Britons, as settled by a congress, or meeting of masters of music, by order of Gryffydd ap Cynan, prince of Wales, about the year 1100, with some of the most ancient pieces of the Britons, supposed to have been handed down to us from the British bards."*

This music is written in a notation by letters of the alphabet,

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(*o*) If by *melodia organica* he meant *organized*, or *harmonized*, melody, we may suppose that the Cambro-Britons, in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, had acquired some knowledge in *diaphonics, or discant;* which, according to John of Salisbury, an elder writer, was practised to great excess in the 12th century.

(*p*) The name of William Penllyn is recorded among the successful candidates on the harp, at the *Eisteddfod*, or session of the bards and minstrels, appointed in the ninth year of Queen Elizabeth, at Caerwys in North Wales, where he was elected one of the *Chief Bards and Teachers of Instrumental Song*. Pennant's Tour in North Wales, 1773, printed 1778.

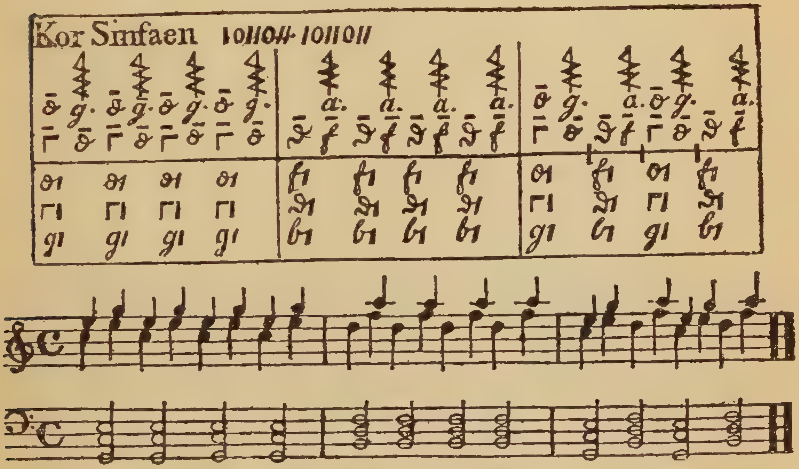
* This MS. is now in the B.M. (*Add. MSS.* 14905). It was probably written *circa* 1620 but was copied from an older MS.

somewhat resembling the tablature for the lute; but without lines, except a single line to separate the treble from the base (*q*).

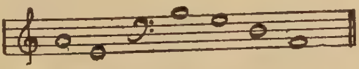
In the notation, double *ff* seems the lowest note; then the first seven letters of the alphabet are written thus, *gι, aι, bι, ſι, ϑι, ϑι, fi*; and the next septenary thus, with a dash over each letter, *f̄, ḡ, ā, b̄, c̄, d̄, ē*. If these letters represent the same sounds as at present, we find some such chords as are admitted in modern harmony; but others frequently occur that are mere jargon.

Many of the bases, or accompaniments to the melodies begin with the chord of C inverted: $\begin{matrix}\theta\iota\\ \Gamma\iota\\ g\iota\end{matrix}$ These chords and melodies are lessons for young practitioners on the harp; and are said to be the exercises and trial-pieces which were required to be performed by the candidates for musical degrees, and for the silver harp. Among the first twenty-four lessons of this kind, some few are easy to decypher, as No. XI. and XVII. which I shall give here as specimens of this notation, explained in modern musical characters.

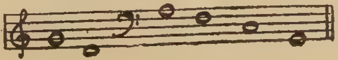
No. XI.



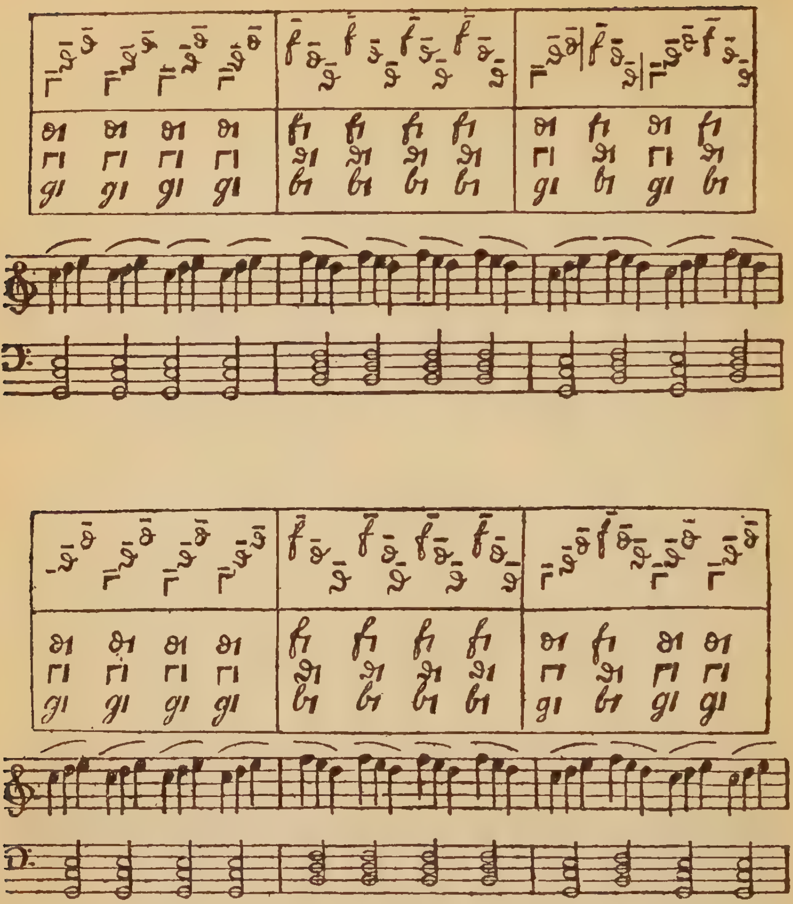
(*q*) The lines made use of in the tablature for the lute, and formerly for the guitar, the viol da braccia, and the viol da gamba, are representations of the strings of those instruments; the letters imply the frets which divide the finger-board into semitones; and the notes over the lines point out the time of each sound in the melody. The first, or highest string, is sometimes A, in unison with the second string of the violin, and sometimes G below it. If A be the pitch, the following is the *accordatura*, or tuning:



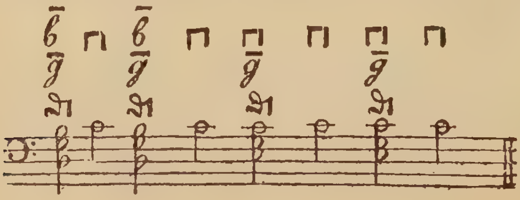
If G, the distance between the strings is the same: that is, 4th, 4th, 3d, 4th, and 4th, as thus:



No. XVII.



After twenty-four lessons, or measures, as they are called, of this kind, there follow twelve variations on a ground base.



This counterpoint, however artless it may seem, is too modern for such remote antiquity as is given to it. The false 5th, from B to F, in the first example, has not been long allowed in harmony; and the unprepared 7th, from B to A, in the second example, is a crudity that has been but very lately tolerated.

That the ancient inhabitants of Wales were great encouragers of poetry and music, cannot be disputed, as many specimens of Cambro-British versification of undoubted antiquity still subsist; and that these poems, as well as those of ancient Greece and Rome, were originally *sung* and accompanied with instruments, is very natural and reasonable to believe; but that a rude, and uncivilized people, driven into a mountainous and barren country, without commerce or communication with the rest of Europe, should *invent counterpoint,* and cultivate harmony, at a period when it was unknown to the most polished and refined inhabitants of the earth, still remains a problem of difficult solution.

I shall give a farther account of this curious MS. when I come to speak of *national music,* and the establishment of musical games or contests in Wales, before any other music seems to have been much cultivated in the rest of the island, except the Ecclesiastical or Gregorian chant, which the Britons, driven into the mountains of Wales by the Saxons, seem to have been very unwilling to receive from the Roman missionaries that were sent over to convert their conquerors (*r*).

It will be much easier to trace the art of counterpoint in France, than in Italy or England, as the French have preserved more monkish records than either of the other countries. For the Italians, who both speak and write less than the French on common and familiar subjects, have besides had their towns and monasteries more frequently pillaged and destroyed by invaders. And in England, at the time of the reformation, and during our civil wars in the last century, every thing which had the most minute connexion with Popery was devoted to the flames.

The first organ we hear of in France was of Greek construction, and sent thither in 757, as a present to King Pepin, father of Charlemagne, by the Emperor Constantine VIth, (*s*). This instrument seems to have been regarded in France as a very extraordinary enchanting piece of mechanism; for we are told by Notker, the monk of St. Gal, in Switzerland, a writer of the tenth century, that Charlemagne, in order to procure another, sent ambassadors to the Emperor Michael, at Constantinople, purposely to solicit so precious a gift. And this organ, after its

(*r*) The British annals and songs ascribe, with great resentment, the slaughter of the monks at Bangor, by Ethelbert, king of Kent, to the instigation of Austin the monk, on account of their having refused to submit to the jurisdiction of Pope Gregory, and the regulations he proposed.

(*s*) See p. 454. This fact may perhaps be rendered more worthy of credence, by the assertion of Walter Odington, of Evesham, a musical writer of the 13th century, who, in his tract *De Speculatione Musicæ,* says, that *Anno Domini* 757, *venit Organum primo in Franciam missum a potissimo Rege Græcorum Pipino imperatori.* Of this MS. which is in Bene't Coll. Camb. a more particular account will be given hereafter.

arrival, is described in such a manner as not to be mistaken. Indeed it seems to have had imitative powers equal to those produced by different stops in modern organs (*t*).

It is the opinion of Mabillon (*u*), that "this instrument contributed greatly to the perfecting the Gregorian chant in France, as it is certain that the use of the organ passed from the king's chapel, where that had been placed, which came from Constantinople, to different churches of the kingdom, before it was common in Italy, England, or Germany." However, the reception of this kind of instrument into the church at Verona, during the same reign, is recorded in some charters mentioned by *Ughello* (*x*).*

It may be supposed that this oriental organ was neither imitated in its construction, nor used with any great skill, immediately after its arrival; so that its effects in suggesting counterpoint could scarcely have appeared before the arrival of the musicians sent into France by Pope Adrian at the latter end of the eighth century. After which time, however, frequent attempts at a bagpipe-kind of harmony are preserved in ancient missals and musical tracts, of which I shall give some account.

The Abbé Le Beuf, who, in the year 1734, was appointed by the archbishop of Paris to correct and superintend the chants in the new edition of a breviary and missal for the use of his diocese, published, in the year 1741, an admirable *Historical Treatise on Ecclesiastical Chanting,* which he drew up while he was visiting different parts of the kingdom, in order to collate MSS. and restore purity to the corrupted melodies of the church. This writer has neither evaded nor slightly discussed points of difficult solution, but, on the contrary, has sedulously sought, and, with no less sagacity and learning than diligence, generally explained them to the satisfaction of his readers. Indeed, he is one of the few writers on the subject, whom I have examined, who has sought information at the source, and not contented himself with the muddy stream of second-hand science.

With the assistance of this diligent and judicious writer, it is not difficult to form a kind of genealogical chain, or series of ecclesiastical musicians, from the time of Charlemagne, when the Roman chant was first established in France, to that of Guido; that, from the eight to the eleventh century.

Remi of Auxerre, the most learned personage in the Latin church at the end of the ninth century, has left behind him a Commentary on the Musical Treatise of Martinus Capella, which is still subsisting among the MSS. in the king of France's library, No. 5304. He acquired his science from Heric. Heric was the

(*t*) *Addeuxerunt etiam iidem missi omne genus* organorum, *sed et variarum rerum secum* ——*et* præcipue illud musicorum organum præstantissimum, *quod doliis ex ære conflatis, follibusque taurinis, per fistulas æreas mire perflantibus, rugitu quidem, tonitrui boatum, garrulitatem vero lyræ vel cymbali, dulcedine coæquabat.* (De Carolo Magno, cap. 10).

(*u*) An. I. 23. n. 28, 29.

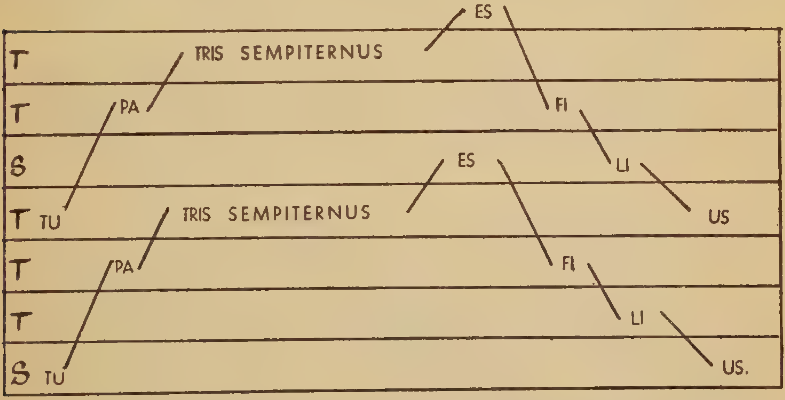
(*x*) Tom. v. p. 604, 610. *apud* Du Cangium, *Gloss. Lat.*

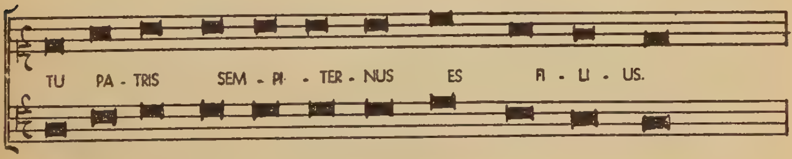
* Organs were known and being made in England early in the 8th cent. Aldhelm, who died in 709, tells us that the fronts of the pipes were ornamented with gilt.

disciple of Rabanus, and Hayman of Halberstadt, who had conversed with the Roman singers sent into France by Pope Adrian.

Hubald, Hucbald, or Hugbald,* a monk of St. Amand, in Flanders [*c.* 840-930], who preceded Guido more than one hundred years, was cotemporary with Remi, and author of a treatise on music, which is still subsisting in the king of France's library, under the title of *Enchiridion Musicæ,* No. 7202, transcribed in the eleventh century. In this work there is a kind of gammut, or expedient for delineating the several sounds of the scale, in a way wholly different from his predecessors (*y*); but the method of Guido not only superseded this, but, by degrees, effaced the knowledge and remembrance of every other that had been adopted in the different countries and convents of Europe. However, the aukward attempts at singing in consonance, which appear in this tract, are curious, and clearly prove that Guido neither invented, nor, rude as it was before his time, much contributed to the improvement of this art.

Hubald places the whole force of his *diaphonics,* or harmony, upon fourths and fifths. The following fragment of canto fermo has been already given, p. 432, as an example of *notation,* by Odo. I did not then suspect that the syllables, placed over each other between the lines, were meant as counterpoint, till I saw them given as such, and reduced to common notes by the prince abbot



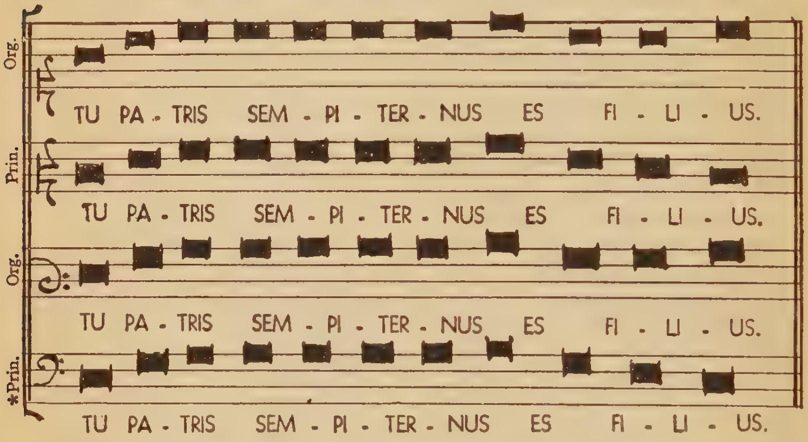


(*y*) See p. 433 of this vol.

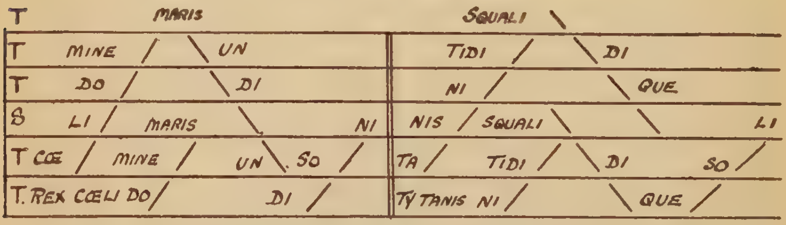
* See editor's notes pp. 432 and 433 with regard to this treatise. Probably the only work on music which is now considered to be the work of Hucbald is *De harmonica institutione.*

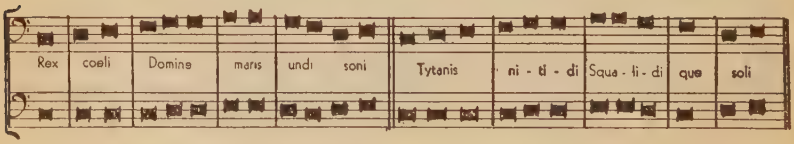
of St. Blaise (*z*), who truly observes, that it is such harmony as will not only offend the ear, but set our teeth on edge.

The good monk says, if to these two parts, two more are added in the octave, the harmony will be complete: and then writes, after his manner, the same fragment of melody over again, with a very small change at the end in the accompaniment, which he calls *organum*. Though it is easy for a professed musician to divine what a strange effect such a combination of sounds would have, yet I shall present it in score, for the satisfaction of others, who may have a greater reverence for antiquity.


Org.
TU PA - TRIS SEM - PI - TER - NUS ES FI - LI - US.
Prin.
TU PA - TRIS SEM - PI - TER - NUS ES FI - LI - US.
Org.
TU PA - TRIS SEM - PI - TER - NUS ES FI - LI - US.
*Prin.
TU PA - TRIS SEM - PI - TER - NUS ES FI - LI - US.

After giving this example, he grows bolder by degrees, and in chap. xv. ventures to make a transient use of a 2d and 3d; then, having feasted his ears with a succession of seven 4ths, he makes the principal voice part, and what he calls the *organum*, end in unison, as thus:

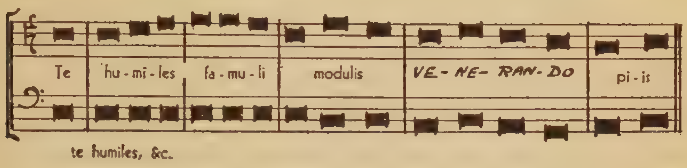

T MARIS SQUALI
T MINE UN TIDI DI
T DO DI NI QUE
S LI MARIS NI NIS SQUALI LI
T CŒ MINE UN SO TA TIDI DI SO
T. REX CŒLI DO DI TY TANIS NI QUE


Rex
coeli
Domine
maris
undi
soni
Tytanis
ni - ti - di
Squa - li - di
que
soli

(*z*) *De Musica* Eccl. tom. iii. p. 112.

* The clef in the lowest part of this example should be on the 4th line.

At length, growing still more daring, in the eighteenth chapter, the question is, "How much higher the principal melody may go than the *organum*?" And he determines the point, that while one voice remains in the same tone, the other may wander about at its pleasure. The succession of four thirds in the following example, renders it more like music of this world, in point of harmony, than any of the rest; and, indeed, a very few alterations in the under part would make the whole fragment supportable to modern ears.



(*a*)

These examples will sufficiently shew the infant state of counterpoint, previous to the time of Guido, and enable the reader to judge whether it was much improved by his discoveries.

No writer of eminence, on the subject of music, of whose works we have any remains, appears between the time of Hubald and Guido, except Odo, the abbot of Cluni, in Burgundy, whom Mabillon (*b*) ranks at the head of literature and the polite arts, at the beginning of the tenth century. He studied under Remi, at Paris, and, among other sciences, applied himself so successfully to music, that he was afterwards regarded as the most learned musician of his time. He made three several voyages to Rome, in 936, 938, and 942, where, it is natural to suppose, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Gregorian chant, and was initiated in all the refinements that were then practised in St. Peter's church and the pontifical chapel.

Some of his hymns, chants, and anthems, are still preserved in the Romish church (*c*); and there are two copies of a MS. tract upon music, of his writing, in the king of France's library at Paris (*d*). They are in separate volumes, and both bound up with many other ancient musical treatises. There is a tract of great antiquity in the library of Baliol College, Oxford, which by

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(*a*) Hubald, the respectable author of these curious specimens of crude harmony, was not only a musician, but a poet; and an idea may be formed of his patience and perseverance, if not of his genius, from a circumstance related by Sigebert, the author of his life, by which it appears that he vanquished a much greater difficulty in poetry than the Lippogrammatists of antiquity ever attempted: for they only excommunicated a single letter of the alphabet from a whole poem; but this determined monk composed three hundred verses in praise of *Baldness*, which he addressed to the emperor Charles the Bald, and in which he obliged the letter C to take the lead in every word, as the initial of his patron's name and infirmity: Carolus Calvus, as thus: *Carmina Clarisonæ Calvis Cantate Camœnæ.*

(*b*) *Acta Sanct. ord. S. Bened.* tom. vii. p. 126.

(*c*) *Hist. Litter. de Franco,* tom. vi. p. 235.

(*d*) *Dialogus de Musica,* No. 7211, with this memorandum: *Codex membranaceus, olim Colbertinus, partim duodecimo, partim decimo tertio sæculo, videtur exaratus.* And No. 7369, where it has another title: *Odonis Abbatis,* Enchiridion *de Musica.*

the initial sentence, *Quid est Musica*? I once imagined to have been written by Odo; but am now convinced that it is the work of Guido himself: for, upon carefully perusing, and collating it with the extracts I had made from the *Enchiridion* of Odo, in the libraries of the king of France, and elsewhere, as well as with the quotations from it in the Musical Histories of Padre Martini and the Abbot Gerbert, I find it to be totally a different work, agreeing in nothing but the initial question. It contains instructions for measuring musical intervals by the *Monochord,* and a Formulary of the Ecclesiastical Tones. It is given to Guido in the Vatican library (*e*); and in the Saville study, at Oxford, there is a printed copy of part of it, under the same name (*f*). It is cited by Franchinus, in his *Angelicum ac divinum opus,* tract ii. cap. 2, as " celebrated and followed by all musicians."

But the most beautiful and perfect copy which I have seen, and which perhaps can now be found, of the scarce and curious tracts upon music, by the venerable monk Hubald, of St. Amand, and St. Odo, abbot of Cluni, subsists in the library of Benet college, Cambridge, under a title which is not likely to discover the real author of these tracts, and to the knowledge of which nothing but the having seen them in other libraries on the continent could have led me. I had long since been told of a very ancient and valuable musical MS. in this curious library, but was unable to examine it till very lately, when I did with great care and satisfaction, as it contains the two most ancient treatises on modern music, in which any mention is made of singing in parts.

The number of this MS. in the excellent catalogue lately published, is CCLX (*g*), where it is entitled *Musica Hogeri, sive Excerptiones Hogeri Abbatis ex Autoribus Musicæ Artis*: " The Music of Hogerus, or Extracts from Writers on the Art of Music, by the Abbot Hogerus." Who this abbot was, or when he lived, will not now be easily discovered.* His name has long puzzled the learned: and I find, among the letters of Baptistia Doni (*h*), that this MS. was the subject of a correspondence between him and Dr. Thomas Rigel, of London in the year 1639 (*i*). Doni, who had emissaries at this time all over Europe, in search of musical curiosities, upon hearing of this extraordinary MS. in his letter to Dr. Rigel concerning it says, *De Hogerii abbatis excerptis* (*siquidem exstarent*) *brevia quædam specimina dumtaxat cuperem*: *quum enim autor sit mihi plane ignotus, affirmare non ausim, an talia*

(*e*) No. 1196. Guidonis Aretini *de Musica Dialogus. Quid est Musica?*

(*f*) *Musica sive* Guidonis Aretini, *de Usu et Constitutione Monochordi, Dialogus; jam denuo recognitus ab Andrea Reinhardo Nivemontano. Lipsiæ,* 1604. The tract, in Baliol college library, which is more than double the length of the printed copy, is transcribed in the same volume as the Micrologus of Guido: *Explicit Musica Domini Guidonis. Incipit Explanatio Artis Musicæ sub Dialogo.* D. *Quid est Musica*? M. *Veraciter canendi Scientia,* &c.

(*g*) *Codex Membranaceus in* 4to. *perantiquus, non gentis abhinc annis exaratus.*

(*h*) For an account of this writer, see p. 491.

(*i*) Jo. Bapt. Donii *Commercium Litterarium.* Florentiæ, 1754.

* Hogeri is one of the names of Otger the monk (see editor's note p. 432).

sint ejus scripta, ut totus scribi mereatur.—The Doctor, in his reply to Doni, the same year, tells him, that after making all possible enquiry in the library at Cambridge—*Nullum Hogerii scriptum in ea bibliotheca inveniri.*—Whether this was true, or only a short way of getting rid of the trouble incident to such enquiries, I know not; but I find the book entered in the catalogue that goes under the name of Dr. Gale (*k*), thus: *Excerptiones* Rogeri Baconi *ex auctoribus Musicæ Artis.* It is possible that this book may have been transcribed by, or for, this wonderful man; and it is the more possible, as he admitted music among his studies, and is said, by his biographers, to have written *De valore Musices,* pr. *Secundum Boetium et cœteros auctores.* However this may have been, the MS. which is beautifully written on vellum, and extremely well preserved, contains more than it promises; for the two musical treatises of Hubald and Odo, both written in the tenth century, are not given in fragments or abstracts, but entire, and unmixed with the writings of any other authors.

And as they are scarce, and frequently confounded by those who cite them, I shall be somewhat minute in describing their contents. The Enchiridion of Hubald, or, as it is sometimes called, his treatise *De Harmonica Institutione,** appears first in the volume, and begins, *Archytas vero cuncta ratione constituens non modo sensum aurium imprimis consonantiis observare neglexit. Verum et jam maxime intra Tetrachordorum divisionem rationem secutus est.* All is *à la Grec* in this treatise, and reduced to the tetrachords, as the titles of some of the chapters will shew.

> *De pthongorum figuris, et quare sint octodecim.*
> *Unde dicatur tetrachordum finalium et cæterorum.*
> *Quare unum solum tetrachordum sub finalibus et duo Supra.*
> *Quod distet inter authentos et minores tonos.*

But the chief peculiarities of this manuscript, are the specimens of counterpoint, such as have already been given under the title of Diaphonics, or Organizing ; and the strange notation, of which an example has been inserted, p. 431, from Padre Martini, who had taken it from a MS. which was erroneously ascribed to Odo.

It appears, upon a careful examination of this tract, that the uncommon characters used by Hubald, as signs of the ecclesiastical modes, are likewise the musical notes with which he writes his chants: and of these he has fifteen to express the double octave, all differing from each other by some slight peculiarity. See plate, p. 473, No. 3, where they are inserted, on account of their singular forms, with the correspondent literal notation in present use.

This notation, and the appellations given to the ecclesiastical modes, are so nearly what the modern Greeks still use, that their

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(*k*) *Catalogi Liborum Manuscriptorum Angliæ.* 1697. Fol. No. 1466. 189.

* Burney is here confusing two distinct works. See editor's note, p. 433.

origin seems clearly pointed out. In speaking of the four authentic modes or tones, he says:

Primus qui et gravissimus Græce Protos *dicitur vel* Archos.
Secundus Deuteros *tono distans a Protos.*
Tertius Tritos *semitono distans a Deutero.*
Quartus Tetardos *tono distans a Trito.*

These characters, which are frequently used for plain-chant without lines, have generally one of the two letters, T, S, at the side of each to indicate the tones and semitones.

He has a chapter *de Symphoniis,* which inculcates the same doctrine as Guido's chapter *De Diaphonia.* He says there are three kinds of symphony, in the 4th, 5th, and 8th ; and that as the combination of some letters and syllables is more pleasing to the ear than others, so it is with sounds in music. All mixtures are not equally sweet.

He then describes *Diatessaron Symphonia, Diapente Symphonia,* and *Diapason Symphonia* (*l*) ; and, after giving examples in his peculiar notation, of these three kinds of symphony, his next chapter has for title, *Quomodo ex Simplicibus Symphoniis aliæ Componuntur.*

This permission only extends to the diapason and diatessaron, diapason and diapente, disdiapason, &c. or symphony in the 11th, 12th, and 15th.

Then a circular diagram is given of their relations. Hubald, however, says, that the most pleasing of all symphonies is in the octave or diapason—*Maxima Symphonia Diapason dicitur, quod mea perfectior consonantia fiat* (*m*).

There are many curious passages in this treatise ; but as great use has been made of it already, in describing attempts at counterpoint, previous to the time of Guido, I shall only mention such circumstances, and give the titles of such chapters, as will best ascertain its identity with that in the king of France's possession, and establish its existence in one of our own libraries, where it may be consulted by diligent and curious enquiries into the state of the arts during this dark period.

In this work I found the same diagram, with the same lateral characters, as are already exhibited in this vol. p. 432. After which we have a diagram of transposition—*Modum unumquemque in alium transmutare, ita*—exactly the same as that which is printed from P. Martini, at the bottom of the same page.

In his next chapter, the title of which is *De proprietate Symphoniarum,* Hubald speaks of *diaphonia* and organum, as synonimous with *symphony* ; and this is a full confirmation of what

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(*l*) The singing in a succession of 4ths and 5ths was afterwards called in France, *Diatessaronare* and *Quintoier.*

(*m*) Symphony in the octave is still most pleasing to uncultivated ears; but how any ears could ever be pleased with symphony in 4ths or 5ths, is now difficult to imagine.

has been often advanced in the present chapter, " that neither Guido, nor any musical writers of the middle ages, by the word organum ever meant the instrument, or a part to be played on the instrument, which we now call an Organ (*n*)."

His next chapter is *De auctiore Diaphonia per Diatessaron ejusque descriptio* ; to illustrate which augmentation, he doubles each part in the octave ; that is, doubles the voice part and the organum (*o*).

Then follows a description of double diaphonics in the 5th—*Diaphonae Auctioris per Diapente ;* an example of which is given in four parts, to these words: *Sit gloria Domini in saecula laetabitur in operibus suis.*

The title of the next chapter excites curiosity: *Quod de his Ptholemaeum sensisse Boetius narrat.*—But this is only the old dispute, whether the 11th, or octave of the 4th, is a concord ; and Hubald determines it against those ancients who refused it a place among consonant intervals, asserting, that by doubling the parts in the octave, a series of elevenths has a very good effect.

It is in the next chapter that he hazards other intervals than 4ths, 5ths, or 8ths, and that he uses a transient 2d and 3d, both major and minor. The title of this chapter is, *Quo modo altiora, modo submissiora loca* Organum *petat.* The example of what he imagined to be such licentious counterpoint, has been already given, p. 491, to these words: *Te humiles,* &c.

In his last chapter, which is an Eloge upon Music, he tells the story of Orpheus's decent into hell to fetch his wife Eurydice ; but says, that the moderns, confining their music to the praise of God, pretend to no such powers. He therefore leaves to Boethius the relation of its marvellous effects in ancient times.

We come now to the celebrated Enchiridion of Odo,* which is written in dialogue, and mentioned with respect, even by Guido himself. *Incipit Scholium Enchiridij de arte Musica.* The dialogue is between a master and his disciple (*p*).

The diagrams and musical examples are all given in the same characters as those of Hubald: See plate p. 473. No. 3. His doctrine of the tones, or ecclesiastical modes, is illustrated by innumerable specimens in this kind of notation.

In this treatise, the barbarous and unmeaning words, in Gothic letters, occur, which the Greek church used during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, to characterize the modes or tones: Nonanoeane, Noeane, Noioeane, Anoais, &c. of which the

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(*n*) *Nunc id quo propriæ symphoniæ dicunter, et sunt, id est, qualiter eœdem voces sese in unum canendo habeant, prosequamur, Hæc namque est, quam diaphoniam cantilenam, vel assuete* Organum *nuncupamus. Dicta autem Diaphonia, quod non uniformi canore constet, sed concentu* concorditer dissono; *quod licet omnium est symphoniarum commune, in Diatessaron Organici meli ponatur exemplum. Utpote si ad subjunctam descriptiomen duobus sonis interpositas quarto loco in unum canendo vox voci respondeat.*

(*o*) See p. 490.

(*p*) Pr. D. *Musica quid est?* M. *Bene modulandi scientia.* B. *Bene modulari, quid est?* M. *Melos suavi sono moderari,*—By the title of this tract, *Scholium Enchiridii,* as well as by the notation and counterpoint it contains, it seems as if it had been intended by Odo as a Commentary upon the Enchiridion of Hubald.

* See editor's note, p. 433.

abbreviations or signs are given on the left side of the specimen of this species of notation, p. 432.

Terms like these are still retained by the modern Greeks in their ecclesiastical music, as I find by Leo Allatius, and by the Abate Martini's papers ; the intonations of the eight ecclesiastical modes, for instance, are sung to the following words , Ananes, Neanes, Nana, Agia ; Aneanes, Neanes, Aanes, Neagie: each beginning upon one of the following sounds of our scale: A, B, C, D, E, F, G.

The entablature, or notation of Hubald and Odo, very much resemble each other, as does their counterpoint ; indeed, these ecclesiastics were not only cotemporaries and friends, but disciples of Remi, monk of St. German d'Auxerre ; and Odo, the youngest of the two, survived Hubald but twelve years (*q*).

The first part of this tract ends thus: *Præterea et grata Symproniarum commixtio maximam suavitatem cantilenis adjicet.*

And in the second part he proceeds to the explanation of this extraordinary symphonic sweetness; which, he tells his disciple, consists in the pleasing mixture of certain sounds, such as the octave, 5th, 4th, &c. (*r*).

Then follow examples of organizing in all its six concords, which are only those of the ancients, 4th, 5th, 8th, 11th, 12th, and 15th; and in giving an example in four parts, where he doubles the Organum and principal part to these words, *Nos qui vivimus,* they move constantly in these intervals, unison, 4th, 8th, and 11th.

The author next proceeds to give the ratio of sounds, and to shew the alliance between music and mathematics, calling arithmetic the mother of musical tones (*s*).

He afterwards treats of the proportions of flutes, or musical pipes, to which he applies his harmonics.

The last chapter is a summary of the tones or modes of canto fermo (*t*); and here, as elsewhere, his examples are always in the same hieroglyphic notation; NOɟA ƗNO *If*E*F* A*If*NE—&c.

This last chapter is not quite perfect; the transcriber having omitted some of the musical examples and diagrams. Only six of the eight modes are finished. The seventh, however, is begun, and not more than one, or two pages, at most, can be wanting to complete these two scarce and valuable relics of the first essays at modern harmony; which, however rude, uncouth, and barbarous, continued in the church, without offending Christian ears, for more than three centuries: for the monk Englebert, who, in the latter

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(*q*) Hubald died in 930, at near 90 years of age; and Odo in 942, aged 64.

(*r*) *D. Symphonia quæ est?* M. *Dulcis quarundam vocum commixtio, quarum tres sunt simplices: Diapason, Diapente, Diatessaron, &c.*

(*s*) *Ita pthongi in musica cujus mater est arithmetica*—D. *Quæ sunt mathesis disciplinæ?* M. *Arithmetica, geometrica, musica, astronomia.*

(*t*) *Incipit commemoratio brevis de tonis et de salmis modulandis.*

end of the thirteenth century, at the instigation of his friends (*u*), wrote a treatise on music, tells us, that all regular discant consists of the union of 4ths, 5ths, and 8ths.

It has already been shewn that this kind of harmony, miserable and nauseous as it would be to our palates, did not offend Guido; on the contrary, he recommends the regular succession of fourths above all other concords (*x*), to excite and express pleasure and jubilation. Nor do any advances or attempts at variety seem to have been made in counterpoint from the time of Hubald to that of Guido; a period of more than a hundred years.

Indeed, it is hardly possible to examine the last specimen of Hubald's counterpoint, without being astonished that no advances had been made in the art for a whole century; for, with all its faults and crudities, it is at least equal to the best combinations of Guido. But perhaps Hubald's inventions or improvements never escaped the confines of his convent, or, at most, were only published in his own diocese; and, like the proposals of other ingenious men, whose views are extensive, and who anticipate future discoveries, they were not adopted or reduced to practice in his life-time. His idea that one voice might wander at pleasure through the scale, while the other remains fixed, shews him to have been a man of genius and enlarged views, who, disregarding rules, could penetrate beyond the miserable practice of his time into our *Points d'orgue, Pedalè,* and multifarious harmony upon a holding note or single base, and suggest the *principle,* at least, of the boldest modern harmony. Odo is the only one of his cotemporaries, or successors, whose writings have come to my knowledge, that has imitated his notation.

In the Rawlinson collection of manuscripts at Oxford, of which no catalogue has yet been published,* there is a didactic poem, entitled *Ars Musica,* which though anonymous, contains internal evidence of having been written by Gerbert Scholasticus, elected pope in the year 999, by the name of Sylvester II. It is composed in Latin monkish rhyme, except where such technical terms or rules occurred, as could not possibly be reduced to meter.

It begins:

Ars est jam utilissima,
A philosophis composita;
Ars est vocata musica,
Cantûs totius domina;
Sine quâ nec differentia
Est vocum, vel concordia.

(*u*) According to Pez. tom. i. *Anecd.* the musical tract of Engelbertus Abbas Admontensis begins thus: *Propter amicorum instantiam.* The passage alluded to in this tract, is given by the abbot of St. Blaise, in the second volume of his History of Church Music, p. 117: *"Quoniam (inquit) omnes discantus bene ordinati taliter se habent, quod cantui directo respondent consonando, vel in diapason, vel ad medium diapason, scilicet ubi diatessaron et diapente conjugunter in una voce."*

(*x*) *Semitonium et diapente non admittimus;* tonum *vero et ditonum et semiditonum cum diatessaron recipimus: sed semiditonum in his infimatum,* diatessaron *vero optinet* principatum. Microl. cap. xviii.

* The catalogue of the Rawlinson Collection has since been published. The MS. referred to is Raw. 270.

At the distance of a page from this exordium, we have the following proof that Guido was not the first who characterised the lowest sound of the musical scale by the Greek gamma, and that the author of this addition to the Roman literal notation was unknown, even in the tenth century.

Gamma in primis posita
Quibusdam est incognita
Nam Γ. Græcum nomine
Non invenitur in A. B. C.

The following are the titles of some of the chapters: *De Symphonia facienda, De Organis, De Tintinnabulis,* &c. The first of these chapters concerns *organizing,* or diaphonia; the second *musical instruments;* and the third relates to *bells.* One of the succeeding chapters has this title, which points out the author of the work: "*Constantino suo Gerbertus Scholasticus.*" Now it appears, that before Gerbert's exaltation to the papal chair, or even to the see of Rheims, or Ravenna, of both which places he was successively archbishop, he was in strict friendship with Constantine, monk of Fleuri, afterwards abbot of Mici, to whom one of his letters is still extant (*y*).

What is placed as the last chapter of this little work is a separate treatise, of a very few pages, under the title of *Rhythmomachia,* or the Battle of Numbers or Figures, which is wholly unconnected with music, but which is universally allowed to have been written by Gerbert. It was composed as a kind of Game, soon after the arrival of the Arabian figures or ciphers in Europe, for which the author gives rules resembling those for chess. It is mentioned by John of Salisbury [1120-80], in his letters (*z*).

Gerbert, who cultivated music very assiduously, regarding it as the second in rank among the liberal arts, must have acquired a considerable degree of reputation in it, as the authors of the twelfth century give him the title of Gerbert the *Musician* (*a*). He is said to have been as well skilled in the construction of musical instruments as the use of them, particularly the hydraulic Organ. William of Malmsbury speaks with wonder of the perfection to which he had brought this instrument, by means of blowing it with *warm* water (*b*).

We shall now return to the ORGAN, with the improvements in which, Counterpoint, under the name of *Organizing,* seems to have kept pace.

(*y*) *Epistola ad Constantinum.* Fabric. Bibl. Med. et inf. Latinit. tom. iii. p. 128.

(*z*) John Sarisb. *Epist.* Par. 1611. 4to. No. 235.

(*a*) Bern Pez. *Anec. Thes.* tom i. par. 2. p. 330.

(*b*) Malm. *de Reg. Ang.* l. ii. c. 10. p. 65. The application of *warm* water, for the purpose of furnishing the instrument with wind, may have been the invention of Gerbert, though, in all probability, he had followed the principles of Vitruvius in constructing the instrument; and we may imagine that the invention of bellows soon took place of this contrivance; for we hear no more of hydraulic organs after this period, except the wretched contrivances so called in the grottos of Italy.

Pope Sylvester II. whose life is written by the authors of *l'Histoire Litteraire de la France,* who celebrate his virtues and abilities in almost every species of science, died 1003, after filling the papal throne four years.

Muratori (*c*) says, that the construction of this instrument, in the West, was wholly taken from the Greeks, who tried to keep it a secret; and, according to some French annalists, George, a Venetian priest, in 826, having stolen the model, carried it to the Emperor Lewis the Pious. But it has already been related, p. 454 of this volume, that the organ was first brought into France from Greece, in 757; and there seems to have been no necessity for stealing the model of an instrument for those who were already in possession of the instrument itself. The Romans probably had it from Greece much sooner; for, during the long intercourse between the Greeks and Romans, it is hardly credible but that they must have obtained from them the *pneumatic organ,* as they had the hydraulicon long before.

Cardinal Bona (*d*) says, that though organs were thought by some writers to have had admission into the church in the fourth century, during the Pontificate of Pope Damasus, yet the most true and common opinion is, that this honour was first conferred on those noble instruments by Pope Vitalian, about the year 660.* But this good cardinal, whose work is much celebrated and quoted by musical writers, constantly disappointed me whenever I had recourse to him for information, he never mounts to the origin of any use that has been made of music in the church, or acquaints us in what it consisted. He takes his scanty information upon trust from common authors, and seems to have compiled his book in an easy chair, with the true dignity of a cardinal. I know that he is much praised for the simplicity and sanctity of his life and manners, in spite of the grandeur and luxury which surrounded him; but either his knowledge of sacred antiquities must have been very superficial, or his indolence unpardonable: for, in the midst of ecclesiastical treasures, and at the source of information, it was natural, from the title of his work, to expect that he would have had recourse to edited manuscripts, or, at least, oral tradition, in order to throw a little light upon those dark corners of sacred history which comprise the establishment of music in churches, and its progress in them since that time; upon the first use of organs and other instruments; the different *notation* of chants; extemporary discant, and written counterpoint; the state of the Roman college, or school of singers, at the time he wrote; the origin and progress of the sacred drama or *oratoria* in music, and the permission of the eunuchs to sing in the pope's chapel, and the churches in general throughout Italy. But of all these particulars, interesting to a musical enquirer, the existence is scarcely discoverable in a treatise, which he himself tells us, in the title, is *historical, symbolical,* and *learned*; new, curious, and full of erudition; and lastly, dedicated to the virgin Mary!

(*c*) *Dissert. sopra le Antich. Ital.* Nap. 1752. tom i. p. 277.

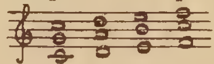
(*d*) *De divina Psalmodia.* Romæ, 1653.

* See editor's note, p. 454.

About the time that the organ was received in churches and convents, the Gregorian chant began to be *organized* by voices, in the manner which was afterwards called *Discant*; and the simultaneous correspondence of that harmonical series which constitutes *concert*, or music *in different parts*, has been variously expressed by writers on the subject, since it was first suggested. The most ancient names given to it by Hubald, Odo, and Guido, are *Diaphonia*, and *Organum*; and *Discantus, Triplum, Quadruplum, Diatessaronare, Quintoier, Motetus, Medius*, and *Tenore*, are all words that preceded the term *Counterpoint*. As those implied singing upon a plain song, *extempore; contrapunctum, written* harmony.

It is of such importance to the history of an art, that the origin, etymology, and primitive acceptation of its terms should be minutely traced, that I hope the curious reader will excuse me if I am somewhat prolix in my endeavours to execute this part of my work with clearness and accuracy.

The Greeks, so late as the time of Bryennius, the youngest of their musical writers, who flourished about the year 1320, made use of the word *διαφωνος, διαφωνια, Dissonus, Discordia,* for dissonance and disagreement of sound. The Latin writers upon music of the middle ages, however, such as Hubald, Odo, and Guido, to whom perhaps the Greek language was but imperfectly known, applied the same term to a very different purpose; expressing by it nearly what the Greeks meant by *συμφωνος, Symphonia, consonance, concord*, and *agreement of sounds.* With these writers Diaphonia and Organum were synonimous. The use which the ancient Greeks made of the term Diaphonia, was to express two sounds, which, when heard together, were discordant and disagreeable to the ear; and the Latin musical writers applied the same term to two concordant sounds, whose constant or frequent coincidence rendered them pleasing to the ear. We must except St. Isidore of Seville, who flourished in the seventh century; for his definition agrees with that of the Greeks (*e*).

With respect to the term Organum, as used by musical writers of the middle ages for a voice part, if we could imagine, when the first organs were erected in churches and convents, that each of them was furnished with such a stop as is now called the *Sesquialter*, or any other compound stop, consisting of 4ths, 5ths, and 8ths, thus:  &c. it might not

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(*e*) Diaphonia, *id est, voces discrepantes, vel dissonæ. Nam Diaphonia semper contraria est symphoniæ, cum Symphonia fit conjunctio, et Diaphonia disjunctio.* Originum, sive Etymologiarum. A passage from the Enchiridion of Hubald, cap. 13. *De proprietate Symphoniarum,* will, however, shew in what a different sense he applied the word. *Nunc id,* says he, *quo propriæ Symphoniæ dicuntur, et sunt, id est, qualiter eædem voces sese in unum canendo habeant, prosequamur. Hæc namque est quam Diaphoniam cantilenam, vel assuete Organum nuncupamus. Dicta autem Diaphonia, quod non uniformi canore constet, sed concentu concorditer dissono: quod licet omnium Symphoniarum sit commune, in diatessaron tamen, ac diapente hic nomen obtinuet.* Odo and Guido use the same words: Diaphonia *vocum disjunctionem sonat, quam nos Organum vocamus cum disjunctæ ab invicem voces concorditer dissonant, et dissonanter concordant* "Diaphonia is the uniting different sounds, which we call *Organum*, and which different sounds, though they agree, are distinctly heard."

only help to account for the introduction of such strange harmony into the church as that of Hubald, Odo, and Guido, but even give a probable reason for the name by which it was called: for, whether we suppose singers to have imitated such sounds as every single key produced, or such as were produced by the fingers from different keys of the organ, it was natural to call the part which was added to the plain-song, *Organum,* and the art of producing it, *Organizare* (*f*).

The most ancient authority which Du Cange gives for the use of the word *Discantus, Discantare,* is from Hugotio of Vercelli, bishop of Ferrara, and the first definer of Decretals, who died 1212 (*g*). But a still higher and greater authority is that of Franco of Cologne, who, in a manuscript tract, which I have now before me, and of which I shall give an account in the next chapter, defines and applies the word in such a manner, as to leave no doubt of its having been in common use about the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, for singing extempore on a plain-song. The subject of the fifth chapter of Franco's tract on music, which is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, 842, f. 49, is *Discant,* and the agreement of different voices. Here he defines concords and discords, and gives examples in notes of the use of both in discant. I am not without my doubts concerning the antiquity of Franco's tract, but have an indisputable proof that it was written before the year 1283, at which time his definition of Discantus was quoted by Marchetto da Padua, in a musical treatise called *Pomerium in Arte Musicæ Mensuratæ*; where the author says, *Discantus secundum magistrum Franconem est* diversorum cantuum consonantia—the agreement of different melodies.

"The Roman chanters," says the Abbé Lebeuf (*h*), "that were sent into France in the time of Charlemagne, had taught the French this secret, who afterwards turned it to account." The authors who had before treated the subject of plain-song the most judiciously, were Hubald and Odo, the disciples of Remi; and these, as well as Guido, speak frequently, in their treatises of organizing. Hubald is very full on the subject in his Enchiridion; and, by the long description he gives of it, there can be no doubt but that some instrument had been used in the singing schools to teach this organization; a name it must have acquired from the assistance the voice had received from the keys of some small organ, which had been found more proper than any other instrument to keep voices steady in sustaining two different sounds.

(*f*) *Organizare,* according to Du Cange, is *canere in modum organi;* and, among his authorities, he gives the following definition from the *Catholicon* or *Lexicon* of John de Janua, written in 1286: Organizare, *Organo cantare; Joer ou chanter en orgres, organiser*: "to play or sing *like* the organ."

(*g*) This author says, *Decantare est valde cantare, discantare et excantare, id est, discantare.* An ancient manuscript Greek and Latin Glossary, in the king of France's library, defines it Τερετιξω, *biscanto, facio tenorem.*

(*h*) *Traite Historique sur le Chant. Eccles.* p. 73.

Hubald speaks of many consonances, and gives rules for their use; but it does not appear, from any thing he says, that these concords were as yet used in the performance of the church service (*i*).

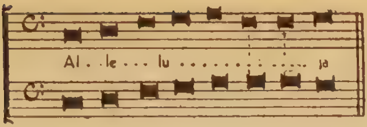
The most ancient proof which the Abbé Lebeuf could find of this organization having been admitted in the public service of the ritual, is a decree of Eudal de Sully, bishop of Paris, in the year 1198; which ordains the responses of the first vespers on the feast of Circumcision, and the *Benedicamus*, to be sung in *triplo*, vel *quadruplo*, vel *organo*; the third and sixth responses of the second vespers in *organo*, vel *in triplo*, vel *quadruplo*; and the mass, the responses of the Gradual, and the Alleluja, to be sung in *triplo*, vel *quadruplo* (*k*).

Nearly the same expressions are found in two places of the *Necrologium*, or burial register of the church of Paris, quoted by Du Cange, in one of which an order appears for the clerks who shall sing *Alleluja* in *organo*, *triplo*, or *quadruplo*, that is, in two, three, or four parts, to be rewarded with sixpence: in the other it is said, that whatever four clerks shall organize Alleluja, on the new festival of St. Thomas of Canterbury, shall receive six *deniers*. The word Organum has been supposed, by father Dubois, in his History of the Church of Paris, to imply a part composed on purpose for the instrument called an organ; but Organum, as has been sufficiently proved, was a general term for a single part, or second voice, added to the melody of a chant, and synonimous with *duplo*; and such is its import in the following passage from the same manuscript *Necrologium*, written in the thirteenth century, which has been just quoted, where, speaking of the establishment of a new festival, it is ordained the clerks or priests, who assist in the performance of the mass, shall have two pence, and the four Organists of the Alleluja, if they organize, two pence each. The four singers of the Alleluja, are called Organists of the Alleluja, because they organize the melody of it.

Now, to enable the reader to judge of the difficulty of the task for which the singers were to be so magnificently paid, I shall insert here two or three short examples of simple organizing by two voices.

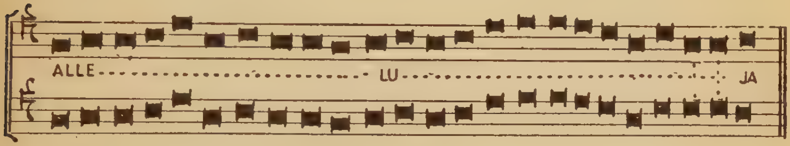
(*i*) Guy, a Cestercian abbot of the twelfth century, in explaining the rules of this kind of organization, says, *Si cantus ascendit duas voces et organum incipit in duplici voce, descenderit tres voces et erit in quinta, vel descenderit septem voces et erit cum cantu.* These are plainly the concords of 5th and 8th.

(*k*) The words *Diaphonia*, *Organum*, and *Discantus*, at first implied, strictly, singing in two parts: *Organum triplum*, three; and *Organum quadruplum*, four parts. These parts were afterwards denominated and disposed in the following manner: If the plain-song, or principal part, was sung by boys or women, it was always called *Cantus*; if by men, *Tenor*; if only one part was added to the plain-song, in *discant*, it was called *Organum*, during several centuries after the time of Guido: the third part was called *Triplum*, *Medius*, or *Motetus;* and the fourth part, *Quadruplum*. In the sixteenth century these were generally called *Cantus*, *Medius* or *Altus*, *Tenor*, and *Bassus*. If more parts were added to the harmony, they were denominated *Quintus* and *Sextus*.



In this example the first five notes are in unison, the next two in major 3ds, and the last note in unison.

The following is another Alleluja, from an ancient Gradual, in which only the two last notes before the final are organized in 3ds, which was all that the term *Organum* implied in France, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.



If at that time a chant was to be in *triplo,* or *organo triplo,* a counter-tenor voice sung an octave above the first tenor; and if in *quadruplo,* another counter-tenor sung an octave above the second tenor, in the manner already mentioned, p. 489, from Hubald; and this is what was meant by the *four Organists of the Alleluja.*

This manner of terminating certain chants still continues, on festivals, in the provincial cathedrals of France; where, after singing the chief part of the melody in unison, the penultima, or last note but one, is sustained much longer than the rest in a third. I have frequently heard it myself in that kingdom, but imagined it to be done by way of flourish, or embellishment, by some of the priests, not then knowing it was a practice of such high antiquity (*l*).

The fear of this being thought a frivolous enquiry by many of my readers, prevents my pursuing it more minutely; otherwise it would be easy to prove, with the assistance of the Abbé Lebeuf, that in some French churches, where the *organizing* the plain chant at a close has ceased, the *organic,* or additional part, has frequently been retained in the melody instead of the original notes; and

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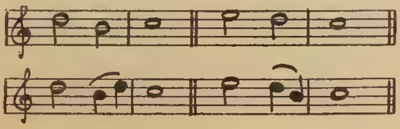
(*l*) The vulgar fashion, which has long prevailed in popular singing throughout Europe, of making a kind of flourish at a close, even among ballad singers in our own streets, produces harmony without intention, or being heard by the performers; which is the case when two are singing together, and one holds on the real note, while the other gives us a touch of his taste in the way of *riffioramenti,* as thus:



this accounts for several changes, and, as the enemies of innovation call them, corruptions, in the Gregorian chant. Others have been frequently made in later times by Contrapuntists, who, in adding harmony to the *Canto Fermo,* found the modulation either too difficult, or too uncouth for their purpose.

The *organizing* chants in this manner, continued long in France as a regale on festivals. Episcopal decrees for its use on such occasions, are found in the ecclesiastical archives till the middle of the thirteenth century, where, after the invention of a time-table, a better kind of counterpoint was introduced. But before this important period, it was discovered that the singing in thirds might be successfully practised on other occasions than as an embellishment at a close; and that even a whole chant might be sung in this manner by two voices. An instance of this was shewn to me at Sens, in a manuscript of the thirteenth century. It is a *Credo* of the mass, in which the lowest part is the Gregorian chant, and the upper part in thirds, fifths, octaves or unisons. At this time fourths seem to have been out of favour. No name is given to this species of harmony in the MS. but it is entirely of the same kind as that which, by Eudal de Sully, was said to be in *organo*, and by others of the same period, *in duplo*.

But, in after-times, this embellishment, or method of harmonizing the plain-chant, was called *Discantus* in Latin, and *Dechant* in French, on account of its being for two voices, a *double chant*. The rules for it seem to have been settled in the thirteenth century[*]: they begin thus, in a MS. of St. Victor, of Paris. "Whoever would understand *discant,* should know what it is to double (a melody) when it is in the 5th, and when in the 8th ; and ought to know what to do when the chant rises or falls. If it rise, he should give the unison, if it fall, the 5th, &c. (*m*)." And this was the infancy of what has since been called *Counterpoint,* or, in old English, *Faburden.* If this species of harmony had its admirers, it had likewise its enemies, when it was introduced independent of the Gregorian chant, or when this chant was corrupted by it ; and if many statutes remain for celebrating festivals *cum cantu, et discantu, à haute voix, à chant et à dechant,* there are others to censure the art, and keep it within certain bounds. It was thought so licentious at the beginning of the fourteenth century, that the use of it was prohibited in the mass by a bull of Pope John the XXII. 1322. However, there is at the end of it this favourable clause: "It is not our intention wholly to prevent the use of concords in the sacred service, particularly on great festivals. provided the ecclesiastical chant of plainsong be carefully

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(*m*) *"Quisquis veut dechanter, il doit premier scavoir qu'est quant est double, quant est la quinte note et double est la witisme; et doit regarder se li chant monte ou avale. Se il monte, nous devons prendre le double note. Se il avale, nous devons prendre le quinte note,"* &c.

[*] There is, however, an anonymous work *Discantus positio Vulgaris,* which is supposed to date from the middle of the 12th century, and in which the rules for Descant are laid down. Amongst the progressions used are passing notes. Coussemaker reprinted this tract (*Scriptures* Vol. i. 94 b.).

preserved." The Abbé Lebeuf observes, that those who drew up this bull, which is inserted in the body of canon laws, erroneously confined discant to fourths, fifths, and eighths, from the perusal of ancient authors on the subject of music, particularly Cassiodorus, where they had found the following definition: *Symphonia est temperamentum sonitus gravis ad acutum, vel acuti ad gravem, modulamen efficiens, sive in vove, sive in percussione, sive in flatu. Symphoniæ sunt sex: prima, diatessaron: secunda, diapente: tertia, diapason. Quarta, diapason et diatesseron: quinta, diapason et diapente: sexta, diapason et diapason.* "Symphony, or music in consonance, is the mixing grave sounds with acute, or acute with grave, either in singing or playing upon stringed or wind instruments. Symphonic concords are six ; the fourth, fifth, and eighth, with their octaves (*n*)."

There are several curious particulars concerning *Discant* in the writings of the celebrated Gerson, chancellor of the church and university of Paris at the beginning of the fifteenth century. According to him, the ground-work of all *Discant* was the plain-chants ; and, in his Treatise upon the Education of Children for the Choir of *Notre Dame,* he enjoins a particular attention to *chanting, counterpoint,* and *discant* as the three most essential branches of their instruction and study (*o*). He likewise tells us, that in this cathedral, during his time, the choristers were only allowed *by the statutes,* to practise discant till their voices broke (*p*). The indefatigable Abbé Lebeuf found, in the king of France's library, the statutes here alluded to, which had been framed in the 13th century, and from which the chancellor had been ordered to make extracts in 1408. He concludes the fourth article of his tract, which relates to psalmody, by informing us that no written discant was allowed in church missals or graduals, except for the exercise and improvement of the singing boys (*q*).

Denis, the Carthusian, an old writer upon the duty of chanters or canons, calls discant *fraction de voix ; frittering the voice.* This definition seems to have been translated by the inhabitants of North Britain ; for, in speaking of the improvements made by a person who has learned to sing, they would say that the voice was *finely broken.*

The same Denis, who was called the *Extatic Doctor,* gives a pleasant idea of discant from an ancient life of St. Sebastian, in manuscript, where it is compared to the curls, folds, and

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(*n*) It is hardly possible to read this passage, and not give up the contest concerning ancient counterpoint; or, at least, reduce it to that meagre kind, of which an example has been given on p. 127 of this volume.

(*o*) *Magister cantus statutis horis doceat pueros planum cantum principaliter, et* contrapunctum, et aliquos discantus honestos—decent and sober melodies.

(*p*) *—Nec faciat eos tantum insistere in talibus, quod perdant in grammatica profectum; attento maxime quod in ecclesia nostra discantus non est in usu, sed per statuta prohibitus saltem quoad voces quæ mutatæ dicunter.* The Abbé Lebeuf understands these last words as I have translated them: *Le dechant n'etoit point en usage dans l'Eglise de Paris, et qu'au contraire il etoit defendu par les statuts, au moins a l'egard des voix qui avoient passe le tems de la* mutation.
Traite Hist. sur le Chant Eccles. p. 92.

(*q*) *—Nec debet in cantu notulato regulariter immisceri discantus, pueris exceptis propter exercitationem suam.* Gerson, tom. iv. ultimæ edit. p. 717.

flounces in a female dress. It hides the meaning of the words, as false ornaments conceal the shape and natural beauty of a human figure. St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, in the fifteenth century, distinguishes this kind of singing entirely from the Ambrosian and Gregorian chant ; and says that he was unable to discover how it gained admission into divine service, for which it was very unfit, as it rather served to flatter the ear than cherish piety and devotion (*r*). But if breaking the notes of the plain-chant into melody in this manner with *one voice,* or in one part, while the rest were singing the slow and simple notes of the original chant, was so offensive to the enemies of novelty and innovation, how much more would they have been disturbed in after-times, when Fugues, Inversions, Points, Imitations, and Divisions, were carried on by a great number of dissimilar parts, all singing different words, from which no more sense could be extracted than from a pack of hounds in full cry?

The definition of an art at one period of time does not prove what it was at another, of much more remote antiquity ; nor can any idea of modern harmony be formed from what has been said by Greek and Roman writers upon that of the ancients, or even by what Guido, in his Micrologus, has said or done concerning the counterpoint of the middle ages.

Discant by the Italians is called Contrappunto *alla mente* or, *all' improviso.* Padre Martini (*s*) heard this kind of harmony *a quattro voci* produced in great perfection at the church of St. John Lateran in Rome, 1747. It is called by the French, *Chant sur le livre.* " To compose a part upon seeing only the chant upon which it is to be built is very difficult, and requires," says Rousseau, " great knowledge, habit, and quickness of ear in those who practise it ; and the more so, as the key is not always so easily found as in modern music. However, there are musicians in the church so well versed in this kind of singing, that they lead off, and even carry on, fugues extempore, when the subject will allow it, without confounding or encroaching upon the other parts, or committing a single fault in the harmony (*t*)."

An ancient manuscript, written by John Cotton,* has frequently been quoted in this volume: and as it is the most ample, and complete treatise, as well as one of the most ancient on the subject of music that has been preserved between the time of Guido and Franchinus, it seems here intitled to particular notice.

(*r*) *Summæ,* tom. iii. tit. 8. parte 12.

(*s*) *Saggio di Contrappunto,* p. 57, No. (1).

(*t*) After this kind of discant ceased to be practised in our church, it was common for musical students to exercise themselves in singing upon a plain-song; and to play upon a *ground* was frequently practised at the beginning of this century, which perhaps was not an unprofitable study for young musicians, as it facilitated extempore playing. But then, as it allowed no time for selecting notes or correcting errors, it obliged the student to accommodate himself to imperfection of design and inaccuracy of execution.

* There are six known copies of Cotton's Work *De Musica* (Paris; the Vatican; Leipzig; Antwerp, and two copies at Vienna). A seventh copy was destroyed in the fire at St. Blaise in 1768.

De Musica was probably written in the late 11th or early 12th cent.

Padre Martini, who supposed that there were only two copies of this manuscript subsisting when he wrote the first volume of his history, gives the following account of it (*u*): Two ancient manuscripts of the same musical treatise are found in the Pauline library at Leipsic (*x*), which, in the printed catalogue, is attributed to Pope John: *Joannis Papæ Musica ad Fulgentium Antistitem;* and the other in the Jesuits library at Antwerp, which, in the printed list of manuscripts in that collection, is ascribed, with, perhaps, more reason, to John Cotton: Joannis Cottonis *ad Fulgentium Episc. Anglorum de Musica*: and this manuscript having been collated with that at Leipsic, appears to be exactly the same treatise. Padre Martini quotes a long passage from the eleventh chapter (*y*), to prove that the predominant and characteristic note of a chant used to be called *Tenor*, from *teneo*, I hold, or dwell upon. Guido uses the same term (*z*). In speaking of the high antiquity of the intonations of the Psalms, which the good Padre Martini believes to have come down to the Romish church by tradition from King David, he says, " after all possible diligence, and the most minute enquiry, I have not been able to discover any author who has given the intonations in notes anterior to John Cotton, who, probably, flourished in the twelfth century."

Another copy of this treatise has been lately found in the Vatican, No. 1196, amongst the manuscripts of the queen of Sweden —*Incipit Tractatus Joannis de Arte Musica*—dedicated to the English prelate Fulgentius. Signor Serra (*a*), in speaking of this manuscript, supposes the author was of no very high rank, as he only gives himself the title of *Servus Servorum Dei,* and says, that " as not only the saints and martyrs Ignatius, Ambrose, and Gregory, have condescended to modulate the chants of the holy church, but as others less ancient have been composers of music, he saw no reason why he might not assume that character (*b*)." Indeed, by the humble title which he gives himself of *Servant of the Servants of God,* I should have supposed him to have been a Pope; for this is the title that all the sovereign pontiffs have affected since the time of the first Gregory; which has not escaped the ridicule of Swift in the Tale of a Tub. Indeed, Signor Serra's argument seems to invalidate his conclusion. As to an English bishop of the name of his patron Fulgentius, no one is to be found among all the prelates of the several dioceses of the kingdom. Perhaps he was one that had been irregularly elected during the contentions between the pope and the emperor, or the disgrace

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(*u*) P. 183.

(*x*) *Repositor. Theolog.* I. Series 3 in fol. No. 10.

(*y*) *Ubi supra,* p. 377.

(*z*) *Microl.* cap. 15. Butler, in speaking of *tenor* being derived from *teneo,* adds, that it was so called after the invention of discant, "from the ditty or plain-song in motes and anthems being usually given to that part." *Principles of Musick,* p. 41.

(*a*) *Introduz* p. 113, 116.

(*b*) *Cap. 17. Verum quia non solum præfati sancti* (*Ignatius, Ambrosius, Gregorius*), *cantus officiales in sancta ecclesia modulati sunt; sicut et alli non longe ante nostra tempora cantuum compositores extitere; quid nos quoque cantum vetet contexere non video.*

of one of our kings. As it appears by Dr. Smith's Life of Sir Robert Cotton, collector of the manuscripts which go under his name, that his family was distinguished and respectable so early as the eleventh century, it has suggested an idea to Signor Serra, that it was our John Cotton of whom Pope Alexander III. speaks in one of his letters (*c*), issuing a mandate to the canons of his convent, not to advance a certain person of the same name to the dignity of abbot, on account of his having once embraced and fomented the schism; "for though he was returned to obedience and united to the church, yet if he were to relapse, as head of an order, he might have it in his power to occasion greater disturbance." But however that may have been, it is certain that his manuscript is of higher antiquity than the time of Pope John the XXII. by whom it has been imagined to be written, by some who have quoted, and seen it quoted, as the production of John Pontifex; for the author makes use of no other musical characters in his Diagram than those that were used in the church soon after the time of Guido, with sometimes a red, and sometimes a yellow line; and with these ecclesiastical notes he writes the *Neumæ,* the invention of which he ascribes, erroneously, to Guido (*d*).

His treatise consists of twenty-seven chapters, of which I found the first twelve complete in a manuscript at the Museum, among many other tracts, No. 1297. Vespasian A 2. In his fourth chapter, *Quot sint Instrumenta Musici Soni,* he seems to mention the harpsichord and organ: In *sambuca, in fidibus, in cimbalis atque in organis,* &c. But though *cimbalo* or *cembalo* is Italian for a harpsichord, the author is here neither treating of that instrument, nor the *cymbalum* or cymbal, which has been described, on p. 405, of this volume, among the instruments of the ancients, but of Bells. It seems, however, as if the first bells, which were metaline vases, had been named *cymbala,* from their resemblance to the instrument of percussion, so called in high antiquity.

In chapter VIII. he explains a difficulty in Guido, not only by specifying in a particular manner the intervals which were then allowed in melody, and the concords used in harmony; but ascertaining both by the syllables taken from the hymn of Paul Diaconus, which are here applied to the first six notes of the scale, at a period much nearer the time of Guido, than in any other musical treatise that has come to my hands. John says, that the means of materials for making melody are nine: The unison, semitone, tone, semiditone, ditone, diatessaron, diapente, semitone with the diapente (or flat sixth), and the tone and diapente (or major sixth).

(*c*) Martene, vol. ii. *Registro Epist. Alexandri* III. No. 384. *Canonic. Remonstrat.*

(*d*) *Neuma* is a division or series of many notes sung without words at the end of an *Euouae,* i.e., *Sæculorum amen,* an anthem, or Alleluja, as a recapitulation of the whole melody. The word is frequently written *pneuma,* and is supposed of Greek origin, πνευμα, *flatus.* It is defined by Gaffurius. *Mus. Pract.* lib. i. cap. 8.—*Vocum seu notularum unica respiratione congrue pronunciandarum aggregatio*: the aggregate of as many sounds or notes as can conveniently be sung in one breath. *Neumæ,* however, were not of Guido's invention, as both Hubald and Odo speak of them long before his time.

Of these, six are called concords, and are often used together in singing.* Then he gives examples of these intervals in solmization, as *Ut ut, unis, mi fa, fa mi*: *ut re, re ut*: *ut mi, mi ut*: &c. But this twenty-third chapter is of most importance to the present enquiries: its title is *De Diaphonia, id est Organo*. In this chapter the word *dissonantia* literally means sounding twice, or a double sound, not *discord*, as at present—*Diaphonia, inquit, congrua vocum dissonantia*—Diaphonia is the agreement of different sounds. The whole is curious—After this definition is finished he adds: *Qui canendi modus vulgabitur* (f. *vulgariter*) ORGANUM *dicitur, eo quod vox humana aptè dissonans similitudinem exprimat instrumenti quod organum vocatur.* "This kind of singing is commonly termed *Organum*, because the human voice in *sounding double* notes resembles the effect produced by the instrument which is called an *Organ*." This is a very ancient definition of the word, and puts its meaning wholly out of dispute; and yet, in the title to this chapter, as he makes *diaphonia* and *organum* synonymous terms, he must be allowed to speak still more decisively further on, when he says, *Interpretatur autum diaphonia dualis vox sive* DISSONANTIA—"Diaphonia may be defined a *double voice*, or *sounding twice*."

Several other ancient writers, and Franchinus among the rest, agree to this definition (*e*).

When, and by whom the term *Counterpoint* was first used, it is not easy to discover. Du Cange gives no more ancient authority for the use of the word *Contrapunctus*, than what he finds in the fourth vol. *Concil. Hisp. An.* 1585. But Franchinus Gafurius, who wrote in Latin at least a century before that period, would have furnished him not only with the word, but its use (*f*). The term *Contrapunctum*, or deliberate and regular *written harmony*, has already been explained (*ff*), and we have just given an instance of its having been used by the Chancellor Gerson, at least a century before Franchinus.

(*e*) The late Abbé Lebeuf, who was so profoundly skilled in ecclesiastical antiquities, but particularly such as concerned sacred music, quotes the following passage from the records of the convent of St. Martin de Tours of the year 1241: *Et debent* organizare *invitatorium, versiculi responsorium et prosæ*. In the orders for celebrating a festival in the thirteenth century at Sens, he likewise found in the cathedral book these words, *Responsorium cum Organo*. "If books were not decisive upon this question," says he, "it is certain that the reception of the organ in churches was not sufficiently ancient for it to have been constantly used in the service during the thirteenth century; and even since its general admission, it has never been the custom to play upon it in the responses, the graduals, and Allelujahs, which are sung without accompaniment by choirmen appointed expressly for that purpose."
Traite Hist. sur le Chant Eccles. p. 82.

(*f*) It was a considerable disappointment to me not to find the name of John Tinctor, an excellent writer on Music, whose works are difficult to find, except in MS., or of Gafurius, or Franchinus, for he is called by both these titles in musical books, either in Du Cange or Fabricius. An authority so good and so ancient of the use of musical terms in the Latin language would have been more satisfactory to the readers of Du Cange, than that of many obscure monks which he is obliged to cite: and Fabricius, who so frequently speaks of musical tracts and of their authors, might have furnished his work and his readers with a useful and interesting article, in giving an account of Gafurius and his writings, which, being chiefly composed in Latin, had a claim to his notice. I shall, however, try to supply this deficiency when I am arrived at the period in which he flourished.

(*ff*) See p. 435, note (*q*).

*** Whilst allowing similar motion between the parts, Cotton declares a preference for contrary motion. It also appears from *De Musica* that the crossing of the parts was a common part of the technique of the period.**

Among the Vatican MSS. there is a treatise on Counterpoint, by Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, written in 1412, of which farther notice will be taken hereafter;* and one attributed to John de Muris, on the same subject, much earlier, for he is allowed by Fabricius and others to have flourished in 1330. This brings the term *Counterpoint* nearer the time of Guido than any other writer on the subject that I have been able to find.

It has been already observed, in the preceding chapter, that music in the half-barbarous ages was in such great estimation, that whoever cultivated letters thought it likewise necessary to apply closely to music; and it seems to have been as disgraceful then for learned men to be ignorant of it, as for persons of birth and fortune now not to be able to write or read. We have already seen, p. 452, that Alfred thought it necessary to enjoin and encourage the study of music among liberal arts in his new university, where it was ranked as the second branch of mathematics. The monks and clergy in general cultivated it as necessary to their profession; but it does not appear that either the practice or theory of the art was much advanced by all this study and application, at least till after the *Time-table* was settled; for whatever trouble they gave themselves in cultivating it, or whatever pleasure the practice of it in their daily duty, as well as recreation afforded them, it is certain that its progress was very inconsiderable; and however barbarous and wretched may have been the melody and harmony of secular songs of the same period, yet both seem always superior to those of the church (*g*). The abbot of St. Blasius has given several specimens of hymns in *Biscantu* of the fourteenth century, which sufficiently evince the truth of this assertion; for at this period the laws of counterpoint began to be settled, and thirds and sixths to have admission preferably to other concords in a regular series; but in the examples of counterpoint which monasteries and other religious houses afford, we scarce meet with any harmony but that of fourths, fifths, unisons, and eighths, used in that *regular succession,* which has been since prohibited (*h*).

That *Melody* received no great improvement from the monks is not to be wondered at, as change and addition were alike forbidden in many of their houses; but not to have improved *Harmony* more than they did for many centuries after its use was allowed, is a just matter of surprise, when it is recollected that there were several orders of friars whose vow and employment was *Laus perpetua,* " perennial praise, incessant song "; and that others, besides the canonical hours of chanting in concert during the public

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(*g*) Music has, however, at all times made an important part of a priest's profession in the church of Rome; and most of the treatises on the subject have been the productions of ecclesiastics. In our church, indeed, its culture and encouragement have long been alike circumscribed: for the choral part of the service in many of our cathedrals being generally consigned to laymen of no very high rank in the community, who from the scantiness of their stipend are obliged to exercise other professions, it has not only impeded their improvement, but thrown music itself into contempt and ignominy.

(*h*) See Gerb. vol. i. p. 456 *et alibi.*

* Born at Padua and became a professor at the university there. (*c.* 1400). He wrote several musical treatises which were published between 1404-13.

celebration of their religious rites, were allowed to sing in their cells (*i*): and yet to the present time, even in the churches and convents of Italy, whenever it is thought necessary to attract a secular crowd, by a *Gran Funzione,* recourse is constantly had to the talents of the laity.

Indeed the first essays we meet with in Simultaneous Harmony in ancient missals and in the writings of Guido, are such as do but little honour to the inventor; for there is no melody so simple or uncouth that would not be more injured than embellished by such an accompaniment.

Much time was spent in the beginning of this work (*k*) to furnish proofs of the ancients having being utterly ignorant of counterpoint; but none then occurred equally cogent with those which the rude essays in that art by Guido, and succeeding musicians of the middle ages have left us. In these we not only see unisons, octaves, fourths, and fifths, in succession, which were interdicted by subsequent harmonical laws, but the first introduction of thirds as concords. The learned Abbot Gerbert, who examined all the manuscript missals, graduals, rituals, and liturgies of the principal libraries, monasteries, and religious houses cf Europe, has been able to find in them no examples of more early or better essays of Simultaneous Harmony. These were censured at first as innovations, and while the new art of Counterpoint was extending its limits and forming its code from new combinations of sounds, great scandal was given to piety, simplicity, and ancient usages: and complaints having been made to Pope John XXII. that " by the abuse of *Discant,* the principals of the Antiphonary and Gradual were so much contemned as to render it impossible for the singers to know upon what foundation their melodies were constructed; and that they manifest such ignorance in the tones or modes of the church as to neglect all distinction and exceed the bounds that had been prescribed to each "; a Bull was issued at Avignon by the advice of the Conclave, about the year 1322, to suppress these licences under very severe penalties (*l*).

(*i*) The ecclesiastics among our Saxon ancestors, as Junius informs us (*Glossar. Goth.* Edit. Amstel, p. 366. v. *Underminat.*), had a particular song, psalm, or hymn, for each of the canonical hours: as *Daybreak Song; Matins Song, third Song,* or Song for the third hour of the day; *Mid-day Song; Song for the ninth hour*: *Even Song,* or *Vespers;* and *Midnight Song.* (This is confirmed by Bede, lib. v. c. 2.)

(*k*) See Dissert, p. 105 et seq.

(*l*) The original is curious, as it furnishes an example of the use of several musical terms of the middle ages which are now difficult to comprehend. I shall therefore insert the whole passage from the body of Canon Laws. (*Doctor Sanctorum* Extravag. commun. lib. iii.) *Nounulli novellæ scholæ discipuli, dum temporibus mensurandis invigilant, novis notis intendunt, fingere suas, quam antiquas cantare malunt, in semibreves et minimas ecclesiastica cantantur, notulis percutiuntur; nam melodias hoquetis intersecant,* DISCANTIBUS *lubricant, triplis et motetis vulgaribus nonnunquam inculcant, adeo ut interdum Antiphonarii et Gradualis fundamento despiciant, ignorent super quo ædificant; tonos nesciant; quos non discernunt, imo confundunt: cum ex earum multitudine notarum, ascensiones pudicæ, descensionesque temperatæ plani-cantus, quibus toni ipsi secernuntur, ad invicem obfuscentur.*

In this passage, though Discanters are accused of using such rapid notes as *semibreves* and *minims,* which are here called *new notes of their own invention,* yet it appears that they were in common use before 1333, when it was imagined by some writers that they had been invented by John de Muris. The term *Hoquetus, Hochetus, vel Hocetus,* used likewise in the tract falsely ascribed to Bede, seems here to imply a fantastical division, which by the sudden leaps, and breaks, or discontinuity of voice, resembled a *hiccup* in French *hoquet.* "They intersect the melodies with *hoquets,* slide about in discant, and sometimes even crowd and load the chants with vile third and fourth parts, *Triplis et motetis vulgaribus.*"

Indeed this irreverend kind of singing in the church had been severely reprehended by John of Salisbury more than 150 years before. " The rites of religion," says he, " are now profaned by music: and it seems as if no other use were made of it than to corrupt the mind by wanton modulations, effeminate inflexions, and frittered notes and periods, even in the *Penetralia,* or awful sanctuary itself. The stupid crowd, delighted with all these vagaries, imagine they hear a concert of Sirens, in which the performers strive to imitate the notes of nightingales and parrots, not those of men; sometimes descending to the bottom of the scale, sometimes mounting to the summit; now softening and now enforcing the tones, repeating passages, mixing in such a manner the grave sounds with the more grave, and the acute with the most acute, that the astonished and bewildered ear is unable to distinguish one voice from another (*m*)."

It appears from these passages, that *Discant* was used at the time they were written, not only to imply *Harmony in duplo,* or singing in *two parts,* according to its strict and original sense, but for the *graces, broderies,* and flourishes of florid song. And after varying the plain-song a little, in order to produce a few different concords, the chanters, probably, proceeded to more licentious alterations ; and it seems as if *Discant* at length suggested the idea of florid melody, yet such as was at first thought consistent with the solemnity and simplicity of church music.

But to what excess this afterwards grew appears by a small book which I brought from Italy, that was published at Rome, 1615, by Fran. Severi Perugino, a singer in the Pope's chapel, and dedicated to Cardinal Borghese. It is very neatly engraved upon copperplates, and contains such fashionable graces and embellishments for every kind of voice as were then allowed to be used even in the pontifical chapel, when the ecclesiastical tones were sung in parts (*n*). This book contains passages in notes tied twice, and often three times, that would be too rapid and difficult for many opera singers now of the first abilities, and such as musical methodists, from their absurdity and impropriety, would with good reason call *Lenocinia* of the church of Rome (*o*).

There is no sense so liable to prejudice in favour of habitual feelings as the ear ; and yet the favourite musical phrases of one

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(*m*) *Musica cultum religionis incestat, quod ante conspectum Domini, in ipsis penetralibus sanctuarii, lascivientis vocis luxu, quadam ostentatione sui, muliebribus modis notularum articulorumque cæsuris, stupentes animulas emollire nituntur. Cum præcinentium, et succinentium, canentium, et decinentium, intercinentium, et occinentium, præmolles modulationes audieris, Sirenarum concentus credas esse, non hominum, et de vocum facilitate miraberius, quibus philomela vel psittacus, aut si quid sonorius est, modos suos nequeunt coæquare. Ea siquidem est ascendendi descendendique facilitas; ea sectio vel geminatio notularum, ea replicatio articulorum, singulorumque consolidatio; sic acuta vel acutissima, gravibus et subgravibus temperantur, ut auribus sui indicii fere subtrahatur autoritas.* Policraticus, five de Nugis Curialium, lib. i. c. 6.

(*n*) *Salmi passaggiati per tutte le voci, nella maniera che si cantano in Roma sopra i falsi bordoni di tutti i tuoni ecclesiastici; da cantarsi ne i vespri della Domenica e delli giorni festivi di tutto l' anno, con alcuni versi di miserere sopra il falso bordone del Dentice. Canposti da* Francesco Severi Perugino *Cantore nella Cappella di* N. S. Papa Paolo V. In Roma, M. D. C. XV.

(*o*) Writing down graces is like recording the nonsence and impertinence of conversation, which, bad at first, is rendered more and more insipid and absurd as the times, manners, and occasions which produced it, become more distant.

age are detestable to another. But it is only the refinements of cultivated music that are fluctuating and evanescent; for the people of every country are partial to their national music, be it ever so wild, uncouth, and barbarous: and it has never been found that European refinements in melody, or learning in harmony, have, *at first*, pleased the inhabitants of other parts of the globe.

FRANCO of Cologn, so early as the eleventh century, according to the authors of *L'Hist. Litt. de la France* (*p*), made considerable advances in the art of *Discant*: and in a small tract, written expressly on the subject (*q*), which is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford (*r*), and of which I have now a transcript before me, enlarged its code by the introduction of new concords, and the addition of new precepts for their use. That the curious reader may be enabled to judge of the state of harmony at this early period, so soon after the time of Guido, I shall give an abstract of his rules.

Franco uses the word *Organum* in the same sense as Guido, though the term *Diaphonia* never occurs in his writings. Every theorist in these early periods of *Discant* seems to have had his peculiar prejudices for and against certain concords and discords which appear now to be very whimsical and capricious. Guido, for instance (*s*) forbids the use of the 5th in harmony equally with the semitone or flat 2d ; but recommends the admission of the major and minor 3ds, and frequently uses the major 2d and the 4th. Franco, on the contrary, admits the 5th among the concords, but ranks the two 6ths, major and minor, among the discords. He divides concords into three classes ; *perfect imperfect mean*: of this last kind are the 4th and 5th, which, though less perfect than the unison and octave, are more pleasing to the ear than the two 3ds, which he is the first author of my acquaintance who calls *imperfect*. He likewise divides discords into perfect and imperfect. Of the first class are the flat 2d, sharp 4th, sharp 5th, and sharp 7th, which, says he, the ear is unable to tolerate. Of the second class are the tone with the diapente, or major 6th, and the semitone with the diapente, or minor 6th: these, says he, though displeasing to the ear, may be borne in discant.*

His division of concords into *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *middle*, is curious. But his *mediæ consonantiæ* seem evidently the *paraphoni* of the Greek musicians, which he might have found either in Boethius, whom he mentions *cap*. i, or other Latin compilers from the Greek theorists. Franco's definitions of concord

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(*p*) *Tome* viii. par. 1747.

(*q*) *Compendium de Discantu, tribus capitibus*. I have met with the term *Discantus* in no other author of equal antiquity with Franco.

(*r*) 2575. 60. 4 [MS. Bod. 842, f. 60]. (*s*) *Microl.* cap. xviii.

* The correct classification of the discords is:
Perfect: Semitone, augmented 4th, diminished 5th, minor 6th, and major 7th.
Imperfect: Tone, major 6th and minor 7th.

Franco writes that the descant may start at the interval of a 4th, or major or minor 3rd from the principal part. It could also begin at the unison, octave or 5th. A concord should always be taken on the accented notes (i.e., the first of the bar in modern notation). He also expresses a preference for contrary motion.

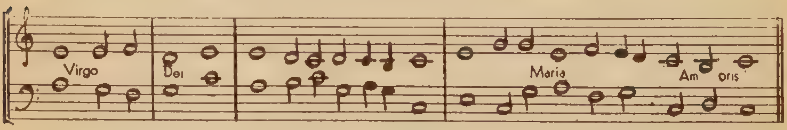
Similar rules are to be found in most of the theoretical writers of the time.

and discord likewise savour of Greek origin (*t*). He recommends, however, the mixture of *imperfect* concords with the perfect (*u*), which was afterwards formed into an invariable rule against the succession of *two* 5*ths* or *two* 8*ths* in a regular series. He informs us which intervals are *discordant*, without giving examples of their use ; and indeed the science of plain and pure harmony was long known before rules were framed for the *Preparation* and *Resolution of Discords*.

As Franco is the next Harmonist in point of time to Guido, we may regard his deviations from the Micrologus as discoveries. And besides his improvements in counterpoint, the *notation* of his examples, had it not suffered so much by transcribers, would have astonished us by its method and clearness ; for no improvements seem to have been made in it for several centuries after.

When he writes in four parts he in general allows a *staff* of twenty lines for them ; of which, under the fifth from the top is written the word *Quadruplum* ; under the tenth *Triplum discantus* ; and under the fifteenth *Medius*. So that the remaining five lines must have been for the *Tenor*, or plain-song. Each of these parts has a *clef* allotted to it ; and this notation, by means of four or five lines and spaces for each part, was a great improvement of the Tablature of Guido, consisting only of *one red*, or *one yellow* line for the clefs of F or C, leaving the rest of the notes to be divined by their station above or below these *claves signatæ*. Whatever changes have been made in the form of musical notes since the time of Franco, the lines and spaces used as their receptacles continue still the same, without augmentation or diminution ; four in the missals of the Romish church, and five for secular music.

Most of the examples, however, of written discant, in Franco's first tract, by which he intended to convey his meaning to musical students, are so miserably dislocated and erroneous in the Oxford manuscript, as to be utterly irrecoverable ; and in the second tract, though the lines have been prepared for the reception of examples to illustrate his *Nine Rules of Discant*, yet they have been all omitted by the transcriber. So that we have no other way of judging what progress he had made in practical harmony but by his precepts. I tried, with all the penetration and critical sagacity I could muster, to decipher one of his specimens of counterpoint, in order to shew the musical reader how superior his manner of interweaving *imperfect* concords with the *perfect* was to that of his predecessors, and do firmly believe it to be nearly the following:



(*t*) Vide Gaudent. Acc. of ηαραφωνοι, p. 11 Euclid's Defin. of Concord and Discord, &c. Zarlino, *Istit Harm*. part iii. cap. 7, p. 189, talks of the 5th and 4th as being *Mezane* tra le consonanze perfette et le imperfette, &c.

(*u*) *—Debet tamen semiditonum atque ditonum commiscere quando unisonus vel diapente convenientissime possit subsequi.*

Though this fragment may neither please nor instruct the modern Contrapuntist, yet, whoever compares it with the compositions of Hubald, Odo, and Guido, must regard it with wonder.

Thus far Melody and Harmony, since the establishment of the Christian religion, had been cultivated for the use of the church: for though Franco has left a treatise on *Measured Music,* and *Florid Counterpoint,* yet his examples of Discant are all in diatonic intervals; and the words which he has placed under his melodies are wholly fragments of Psalms or ecclesiastical Hymns. Indeed, *cap.* 5, he just mentions, *Discantum in cantilenis Rondellis,* "Discant to airs called *Roundelays,*" which continued long in favour, and gave birth to the present Rondeaux (*x*).

But concerning the obligations which music had to Franco, as I shall have occasion to speak more fully in the next chapter, I shall take my leave of him for the present, and introduce to the acquaintance of my readers an Englishman, of whose writing a treatise is preserved in the library of Benet college, Cambridge, that is so copious and complete, with respect to every part of music which was known when it was written, that if all other musical tracts hitherto mentioned, from the time of Boethius to Franco and John Cotton, were lost, our knowledge would not be much diminished, provided this manuscript were accessible.

WALTER ODINGTON, monk of Evesham in Worcestershire, the author of this work, was eminent in the early part of the thirteenth century, during the reign of Henry the Third, not only for his profound knowledge in music, but astronomy, and mathematics in general.* The translator and continuator of Dugdale's Monasticon, speaks of him among learned Englishmen of the order of St. Benedict in the following manner:

"Walter, monk of Evesham, a man of a facetious wit, who applying himself to literature, lest he should sink under the labour of the day, the watching at night, and continual observance of regular discipline, used at spare hours to divert himself with the decent and commendable diversion of music, to render himself the more cheerful for other duties." This apology, however, for the time he bestowed on music, was needless; for it was, and is still, so much the business of a Romish priest, that to be ignorant of it disqualifies him for his profession. And at all times, where an ecclesiastic thought it necessary to trace the whole circle of the

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(*x*) The French poets call an orbicular rhythm in poetry a *Rondeau,* and the Spaniards confine the term *Rondelet* to a circular air or melody, of which the first strain is repeated after the 2d and 3d; and indeed after every excursion into new melodies and modulations.

* Burney, in confusing Walter Odington of Evesham with Walter de Einesham, whose claim to the See of Canterbury was disallowed by the Pope in 1228, assigns too early a date for him. He could hardly have been born before the middle of the 13th cent., as in 1316 his name is included in a list of mathematicians who were living at Oxford in that year. He is known to have been alive in 1330, when he was at Merton College, Oxford.

The only known copy of *De Speculatione Musicæ* is at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It is said that at one time there was another copy in the Cotton MSS., the relics of which are now in the B.M.

De Speculatione Musicæ was reprinted by Coussemaker in 1864 (*Scriptores,* Vol. i). The minim appears to be mentioned for the first time in this treatise—*"Ita Semibrevem primo divido in tres partes quos Minimas voco, Figuras retinens Semibrevis, ne ab allis musicis videar, discedere."*

sciences, music having the second or third rank, could not be neglected. But what this author adds farther concerning Odington is still less defensible: "Whether," says he, "this application to music drew him off from other studies I know not, but there appears no other work of his than a piece entitled Of the Speculation of Musick." Yet we are told by Pits, Bale, Tanner, Moreri, and all his biographers, that he wrote *De Motibus Planetarum, et de Mutatione Aëris*, as well as on other learned subjects.

As Walter Evesham lived in a period which furnishes but few records concerning the state of music in England, and as I am unacquainted with any other copy of his manuscript than that which subsists in Cambridge, I shall be somewhat the more minute in describing its contents, and pointing out its peculiarities (*y*).

The first page, only, has been injured by time, and some vacuities have been left by the scribe, which seem intended to have been filled up with red ink. The work is divided into six parts, or books.

The first, *De Inequalitate Numerorum et eorum habitudine*, contains ten chapters, on the division of the scale, and harmonical proportions.

The second part consists of eighteen chapters. In the introduction to this part he calls the concords *Symphonies* (*z*), which is frequently the language of Hubald, Odo, and Guido. The first chapter is a Eulogium upon Music, in which he enumerates the nine Muses and their attributes; speaks of David's power over the evil spirit of Saul, by means of his harp; quotes Clemens Alexandrinus, but not in Greek; and after giving the invention of instruments to Tubal, relates the manner in which Pythagoras discovered harmonical proportions by the weights of a blacksmith's hammers. Speaks of major and minor semitones, and of the *Comma*. He has a long chapter on the proportions of the major and minor thirds: here he takes occasion to describe the different kinds of human voices, from the shrill cries of the infant to the deep and dying groans of an old man; but mentions not those of the *evirati*. Accounts for the thirds having been regarded as discords by the ancients who adhered to the proportions of Pythagoras; and says, that to please in harmony they must necessarily be altered, or, as it was afterwards called, *tempered*. In his seventeenth chapter he gives a list of Concordant *Discords, Concordes Discordiæ*, or the less perfect double sounds; and these, he says, are six: the minor and major third; the *diapente cum tono*, or major sixth; the two tenths, or octaves of the thirds; and the diapason and diatessaron, or eleventh.

(*y*) Its number and title in the folio printed catalogue of 1697 are: 1460. 183. *Walterus Monachus Evashamiæ de Speculatione Musicæ;* and in the 4to catalogue of 1777—410. 25. N. *Codex membranaceus in 4to Seculo* XV. *Scriptus, in quo continetur "Summus fratris Walteri (Odingtoni) Monachi Eveshamiæ Musici Speculatione Musicæ."* Pr. *Plura quam digna de Musicæ Speculatoribus perutilia—*

(*z*) *In qua proportione sint ditonus et semiditonus et an sint Symphoniæ. An diapason cum diatessaron sit Symphonia. An diapente cum diapason sit symphonia, &c.*

The third part is chiefly speculative, and confined to harmonics: forming the scale, and dividing the monochord, by numbers, and giving rules for the proportions of organ pipes, and the casting of bells. He speaks of the three kinds of melody, *De tribus generibus Cantilenæ*; and after describing the Diatonic, Chromatic, and Enarmonics of the ancients, he supports his opinions by the authority of Nicomachus. Greek musical authors, or at least their doctrines and technical terms, seem familiar to Odington, who quoted the first book of Euclid at the beginning of his work, and in this third part he gives the characters and names of the notes in the Greek scale, and translates them into the same language as Martianus Capella and Boethius (*a*). In his chapter *De Organis componendi*, he gives a diagram of numbers and intervals, in naming which by the letters of the alphabet, he begins with the Greek Γ, and goes on from A to S. At the side of the diagram he mentions the Greek names of the several tetrachords and consonances; with the numbers, tones, and semitones. All this is manifestly for the proportions of pipes in the instrument called an Organ, not the Organum, or second voice part in discant, of which he treats in his last book, as will appear farther on. This, and his chapter *De Cymbalis faciendis*, or casting of bells, are curious, and the first instructions of the kind that I had ever seen in the manuscripts of the middle ages. The last chapter in this book is *De Tropis*, by which he means the ecclesiastical modes, which he gives with their Greek names of *Lydian, Dorian, Phrygian,* &c. and their *Formula,* in a literal notation.

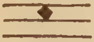
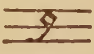
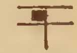
The fourth part concerns poetical feet and rhythms more than music (*b*).

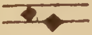
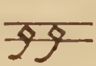
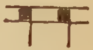
Part the fifth contains eighteen chapters, which are in general very curious and uncommon. In that which is entitled *De Signis Vocum*, he says that "in *our days* musical tones are expressed by the first seven letters of the alphabet; great, small, and double." Then, in speaking of notes or characters, he says, "in the preceding part I have shewn the use of *Longs* and *Breves*, or two kinds of notes and syllables, I shall now proceed to give a table of their proportions and their figures." By this he does not mean the characters used in *figurative music*, or *Cantus Mensurabilis*, but such as were used during his time in chanting, or plain-song, the names and figures of which, as but few of them occur in any other author, I shall insert here for the satisfaction of the curious reader.

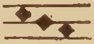
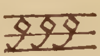
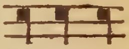
(*a*) It is submitted to the learned, whether the Greek language and writers were not better known in England at this time (about 1230) than is generally imagined by those who suppose that the Western world was utterly ignorant of both till after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, 1453, when the fugitive Greeks, who were received by the Medici family at Florence, taught their language to the Italians, and disseminated their literature throughout Europe.

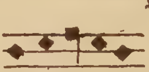
(*b*) Here the manuscript is continued in a different and more difficult handwriting, in which the abbreviations are utterly unlike the former part, where the i was distinguished by a fine oblique stroke over it, instead of the point, which only came into use with printing. But in this latter part of the tract no notice is taken of the i, except when it is doubled, as in the word *alii;* and it is observable that the first points that were used to the i, were to distinguish that letter when it was doubled, from the u to the n, which in old manuscripts are exactly similar.

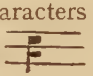
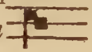
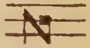
The names and figures of such notes as were in use in the Western church before the invention of *lines* have been given p. 440 and 441, and others used in the Greek church, p. 444; and as many of these were not merely characters to express the elevation or depression of single sounds, but entire intervals, and short passages, so those of Walter Odington describe inflexions of the voice in almost every species of interval by a single character, and groops of notes by a single term of art.

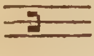
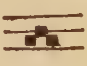
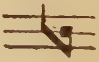
Punctum  *Apostropha*  *Virga* 

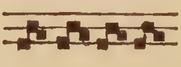
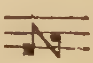
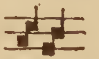
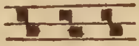
Bispunctum  *Bistropha*  *Bivirgia* 

Tripunctum  *Tristropha*  *Trivergia* 

Virga Biconpunctis  *Virga Triconpunctis—condiatessaries, condiapentis*—&c., &c. He gives examples of all these in similar characters; that is, in breves with a long, as far as six notes, or a hexachord ascending and descending, but without calling them by those names.

The following are characters to express wider intervals, and short passages: *Sinuosa*  *Flexa*  *Resupina* 

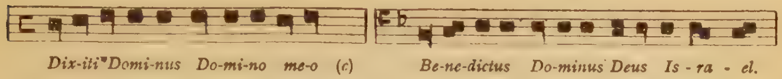
Pes  *Pes flexus*  *Pes quassus* 

Pes sinuosus  *Pes resupinus*  *Pes gutturalis*  *Quilissimi* 

He has many more which seem never to have been adopted by succeeding writers.

After explaining these characters, he speaks of the modern expedient of naming the sounds from the syllables of the hymn *Ut queant laxis*, &c., but without mentioning Guido. Then gives the great system or scale in septenaries, after Guido's manner, in capital, small, and double letters. Here he speaks of *Voces Mobiles* in the ancient manner, and of F *quadrata*, as used in *Musica falsa*, or transpositions, not, says he, *per dissonem, sed extranea et apud antiquos inusitata*. Then he has a chapter *De Mutationibus*, in which he explains the change of names in Solmisation in the same manner as was done by succeeding writers long after his time.

The rest of this book is employed in describing different kinds of ecclesiastical chants, and in giving rules for composing them. Then dividing the modes into authentic and plagal, he gives examples of canto fermo, which seem more florid than appear in missals of the same period. The two following intonations, which he gives upon five lines, will serve as specimens:


Dix-iti Domi-nus Do-mi-no me-o (c)
Be-ne-dictus Do-minus Deus Is - ra - el.

The EUOUAE, initials, and finals of all the modes are given in this kind of notation very amply, and always on five lines, and spaces. At the beginning of the last chapter of this book, the words Ananes, Neanes, Nana, &c., used by Odo and the modern Greeks in their intonations, occur. This seems the most complete description and notation of the ecclesiastical chant that I have found in any author of equal antiquity.

In the sixth and last part, besides the *Cantus Mensurabilis*, which will be explained in the next chapter, he treats *De Generibus Cantuum Organorum, et de Compositione Cantuum Organorum,* of organizing chants, or the composition of *organic* or second parts to chants : and first, *De Organo Puro*. Here we meet with all the *Technica* of later times, as *Tenor, Motetus, Corolatus, Cantilena,* and *Rondellus*. The musical examples, however, as usual in old manuscripts, are incorrect, and frequently inexplicable, owing to the ignorance of music in the transcribers ; but if this tract were corrected, and such of the examples as are recoverable, regulated and restored, it would be the most ample, satisfactory, and valuable, which the middle ages can boast. As the curious enquirer into the state of music at this early period may discover in it not only what progress our countrymen had made in the art themselves, but the chief part of what was then known elsewhere.

In the thirteenth century, *secular* music began to be cultivated in Italy, as appears by the writings of Marchetto da Padova, which are preserved in the Vatican library at Rome. Of this author, I found there two inedited manuscripts, No. 5322. The first is entitled *Lucidarium Artis Musicæ planæ,* beginning, *Cum inquit,* &c.; and the second *Pomerium Artis Musicæ Mensurabilis*: *Quatuor sunt Causæ*—&c.* The Lucidarium is frequently mentioned by Franchinus, Pietro Aaron, and other old musical writers of Italy (*d*). There is a copy of this last mentioned tract of Marchetto in the Ambrosian library at Milan, D.5 in folio, where it is said to have

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(*c*) Here we have *Appoggiaturas*. It was perhaps during the use of all the preceding quirks and refinements in canto fermo, that such offence was given to John of Salisbury, Pope John the XXII. and other grave personages of those times.

(*d*) Of Franchinus, a short account has already been given, p. 106 of this volume. Pietro Aaron was a voluminous writer upon music in the beginning of the sixteenth century. He had been in the service of Leo X. and was one of the first writers on the subject of music in the *Italian language*, for which, and for not writing in Latin, like his predecessors, he makes frequent apologies. But of P. Aaron and Franchinus Gaforius, a more ample account will be given hereafter.

* Both these works were reprinted by Gerbert (*Scriptores, Vol.* 3). In the *Lucidarium* he advocates the division of the tone into three-fifths and two-fifths, or into four-fifths and one-fifth.

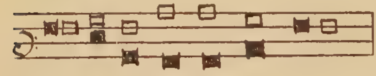
His ideas drew upon himself the censure of many of his contemporaries. De Beldemardis wrote a tract against his suggestions (1410).

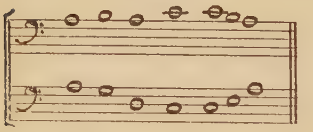
In the *Pomerium* he endeavours to give a fluctuating value to the semibreve, so that any number between 2 and 12 semibreves would equal a breve.

been begun at Cesena, and finished at Verona, 1274 (*e*). The copy of his works in the Vatican was dedicated to Charles, king of Sicily, about the year 1283 (*f*). I had large extracts made from this manuscript, as it contains the most ancient writings that I have been able to consult, in which mention has been made of the Diesis, or accidental sharp ; of Chromatic Counterpoint ; Discords ; and the proportions of such Concords and Discords as are used in practical Harmony.

In this author there are many attempts at new combinations, some of which have been since received, and some rejected. He has written upon Harmonics and Temperament, but his ideas concerning the Chromatic Semitone, and Enharmonic Diesis, neither correspond with those of the ancients nor the moderns ; and as none of his divisions of the scale would be either intelligible to the reader, or practicable in Harmony, I shall not enter here upon the useless and disagreeable subject of *Tone-splitting,* but confine my enquiries to the subject of Counterpoint, in which the experiments and *Tatonnemens* of Marchetto, compared with those of his predecessors, have the appearance of great licentiousness, though he endeavours to give them a scientific air by subtle divisions and sub-divisions of the scale. His examples of counterpoint in the manuscript whence my extracts were made, like those of Franco, are written upon only one staff of four, five, six, or more lines, according to the distance of the intervals, with two clefs, one for the base, and one for the tenor or upper part, with this peculiarity of notation, that the notes of the upper part are written in *red* ink, and the lower in *black;* which, to avoid the inconvenience of double printing, I shall insert in black and white notes.

Diatonic Counterpoint.





Though this specimen is far from elegant, it contains nothing which the modern rules of Counterpoint would not allow.

In the next examples we have not only the most ancient use of the *Diesis,* or *Sharp,* that I have been able to discover, but the earliest attempts, perhaps, that can be found of what the moderns call *Chromatic,* which, as something curious, I shall present to the reader in Marchetto's notation upon five lines, and in two different clefs, the tenor upon the fourth line, and the base upon the second ; and then, for the convenience of the *Dilettanti,* by whom tenor clefs

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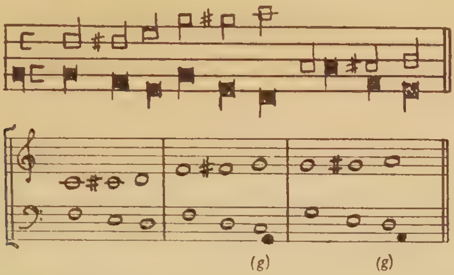
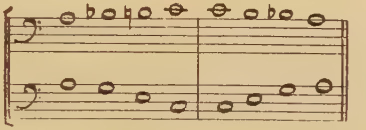
(*e*) *Lucidarium in Arte Musicæ planæ, inchoatum Cesene, perfectumque Verone* 1274.

(*f*) Marchettus Paduanus, *qui suum opus Karolo Regi Siciliæ dicavit circa annum* 1283.

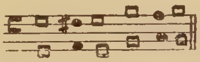
are now but seldom wanted, I shall transfer these fragments of infant harmony into modern notes and common clefs.



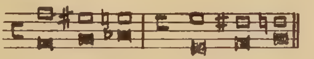
If the merit of an invention be its use, Marchetto deserves the thanks of innumerable composers for this passage, as well as for the following specimens of Chromatic Modulation, ascending and descending, which are still allowable in music of many parts.



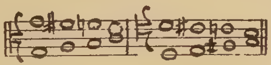
He allows the major 6th ascending into the 8th to be an imperfect *Concord ;*



calls it, like Franco, a *Discord,* resolving it in the half note below, with a 5th for its base:

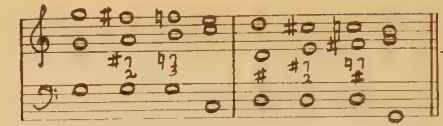


This passage, with a small change in the accompaniment, in process of time, was adopted by all the composers of Europe.



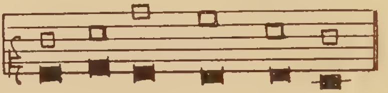
And lately to a *Pedale,* or Stationary Base, it has been in universal favour, under the denomination of the *Diminished 7th, Settima Sminuita.*

(g) The modulation from D major to C is rarely found in modern music, though it frequently occurs in compositions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, from E with a sharp third to D minor is not uncommon, at present.



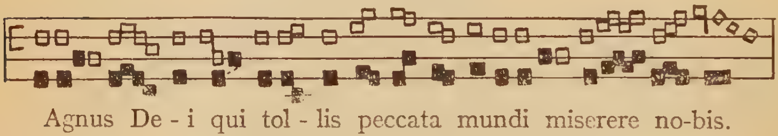
Modern Base (*h*).

Marchetto is the first who speaks of *Discords* and their resolution ; and lays it down as a rule, that no two sevenths, or fourths, used as discords, should succeed each other, and that after a discord, the part which has offended the ear should make it amends by becoming a concord, while the other stands still: indeed he never mentions the *Preparation* of Discords, but gives in black and red notes the following example of the unwarrantable succession of them:



Padre Martini favoured me with a fragment of Counterpoint from a missal of the thirteenth century, written in the manner of that age with black and red notes, which he then imagined was the most ancient specimen of Harmony that could be found. The old French writers expressed this kind of Discant by the term *Quintoier.* It chiefly consists of fifths, and is of a less refined and artful texture than the *organizing* of Guido Aretinus, two hundred years before.

Ex Cod. Sæc. XIII.



So that it appears as if the laity, as usual, had alone been guilty of the sin of innovation ; and had wickedly deviated from the true and simple path of Diaphonics prescribed by the venerable saints and fathers Hubald, Odo, and Guido, and amidst contempt and persecution had brought Harmony under regular laws, and united science with the pleasures of the ear (*i*).

(*h*) It is a matter of musical controversy in Italy, whether the honour of having first dared to use the *Settima Diminutia,* or diminished 7th, is due to Jomelli or Galluppi; as both these eminent masters hazarded this piquant passage so near the same time in different places, the one in a song composed at Venice, and the other in a song composed at Turin, that it is easier to imagine the invention due to both, than that either should arrogate to himself the merit of another. Jomelli, however, first carried it into Germany, where the elder Stamitz and the symphonists of the Manheim school, and after them the contrapuntists of every other school, introduced it in almost every movement, without always waiting for a favourable opportunity.

(*i*) It seems as if ecclesiastical music was always inferior to secular at any given period; and that the mutilated and imperfect scales of the eight modes in Canto Fermo had not only injured Melody, but that bad Harmony had continued in the church long after it ceased to be tolerated elsewhere.

I shall now close this long chapter, being arrived at a period when the laws of Harmony seem to have been tolerably settled, as far as concerned *Simple Counterpoint*, or note against note ; and to want only a Time-table to perfect written Discant, or *Musica Mensurabilis*, which constituted Florid Counterpoint, and of which the origin and progress will be traced in the next chapter.

Chapter III

Of the formation of the Time-table, and State of Music from that discovery till about the middle of the fourteenth century

IN the wild attempts at extemporary Discant, though some pleasing Harmonies had been found, yet but little use could be made of them, without a TIME-TABLE ; and when these Harmonies were first written down, in Counterpoint, unless the Organum, or additional part, moved in notes of the same length as the plain-song, the composer had no means of expressing it, till a kind of Algebra, or System of Musical Signs and Characters to imply different Portions of Time, was invented.

The ancients have left us no rules for Rhythm, Time, or Accent, in Music, but what concerned the words or verses that were to be sung ; and we are not certain that in high antiquity they had any melody purely instrumental, which never had been set to words, or was not formed upon poetical feet and the metrical laws of versification.

Before the invention, therefore, of characters for Time, written Music in parts must have consisted of *Simple Counterpoint,* such as is still practised in our parochial Psalmody, consisting of note against note, or sounds of equal length ; which at first was the case even in extemporary discant, as the rules given for it by Hubald, Odo, and Guido, speak of no other.

It has been already shewn, in the Dissertation (*a*), that the ancients had no other resources for Time and Movement in their Music, than what were derived from the different arrangements and combinations of two kinds of notes, ▪ ◡, equivalent to a long and short syllable. And before the use of lines there were no characters or signs for more than two kinds of notes in the church ; nor, since ecclesiastical chants have been written upon four lines and four spaces, have any but the square and lozenge characters, commonly called *Gregorian Notes,* been used in Canto Fermo.

There are some stories in musical mythology, which make instrumental music of higher antiquity than vocal, such is that of the contention between Marsyas and Apollo, and of Minerva throwing away her flute (*b*); but which ever had the primogeniture, as both

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(*a*) Sect. *Rhythm.*

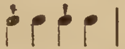
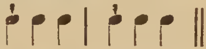
(*b*) Vol. i. p. 229 and 232.

were long regulated by syllables, there could have been no occasion for a Time-table, as the structure of the verse determined the measure of the music, and the accents of speech must have been those of the melody to which it was sung: so that a long syllable would of course require a long note, and a short syllable a note of short duration. Prosody therefore has been very justly defined, by Sig. Eximeno (*c*), the *Guide of Song*: and the origin of the word confirms his opinion, that Prosody among the ancients included the seeds of music.

However, when vocal and instrumental music were separated, or rather, when instrumental, wholly emancipated from syllables, was invented, a guide and regulator of the duration of sounds, even in simple Melody, became necessary; but in written Discant, and florid Counterpoint, indispensable.

The most affecting Melody consists in such an arrangement and expression of musical tones, as constitute the accents and language of passion. A single sound, unconnected, or a number of sounds, of an indeterminate length, express nothing; and almost all the meaning, beauty, and energy of a series of sounds depend on the manner in which they are measured and accented. If all notes were equal in length and unmarked by any superior degree of force or spirit, they could have no other effect on the hearer than to excite drowsiness. Innumerable passages, however, of a different character and expression might be produced by a small number of notes; and by a series of such small portions of melody as these, diversified by measure and motion, an air, or composition might be produced, which in many particulars would resemble a discourse. Each passage, regarded as a phrase, might at least awaken in the hearer an idea of tranquillity or disquietude, of vivacity or languor.

Indeed *Time* is of such importance in music, that it can give meaning and energy to the repetition of the same sound; whereas, without it, a variety of tones, with respect to gravity and acuteness, has no effect. Upon this principle it is that a drum seems to express different tunes, when it only changes the accents and measure of a single sound. And it is on this account that any instrument which marks the time with force and accuracy, is more useful in regulating the steps of a dance, or the march of an army, than one with sweet and refined tones.

In repetitions of the same sound, in notes of equal duration, Time is made sensible to the hearer by accents; without which he would have no means of discovering the different portions into which it is divided. If, therefore, we have a succession of notes of equal length and intonation, the ear may be impressed with an idea of some certain rhythm or measure, by marking the first of every two or three notes thus:  ; or thus: . In the first example the accents being on the first and third sounds, imply Common Time of four equal members or portions; and in

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(*c*) *Orig. della Musica*, lib. ii. c. 4.

the second, the repetitions of the same sound having an accent on the first of every three sounds, an idea is impressed of Triple Time. By this means the mind is employed in a kind of perpetual calculation, and a uniformity of sensation is impressed on the ear.

Dr. Plott (*d*), giving an account of the harmonics, or natural division and vibration of strings into aliquot parts, upon a kindred sound being produced near them, calls Music "an Arithmetic, embellished with sounds." And Leibnitz applying the same idea to measure as had been applied to Sympathetic Consonance, says that Music is in many respects "an occult Arithmetic, or calculation which the mind insensibly makes (*e*)."

Music, before the invention of counterpoint, consisted, as far as we are able to discover, in Canto Fermo, or melodies equally simple; on this inelegant and insipid treble harmony was grafted, and practised in the church, in the same manner as has been shewn in the preceding chapter ; but the discovery which was afterwards made in the invention of characters for time, was much more important, as it constitutes the true æra of musical independence; for till then, if melody subsisted, it was entirely subservient to all syllabic laws.

Soon after this epoch music became free and independent, perhaps to a licentious degree, with respect to vocal music ; but instrumental in parts, and in florid counterpoint, certainly could not subsist without a well-regulated measure, and a more minute and subtle division of time than could be derived from that of long and short syllables.

I know that many of the learned think the liberty music acquired at this memorable revolution has often been abused by her sons, who are frequently *enfans gatés*, riotous, capricious, ignorant, licentious, and enthusiastic ; and that whenever poetry is at their mercy they are more in want of instruction and restraint than the most wild and ignorant school-boys: this perhaps is true. as far as concerns grave and sublime poetry in the hands of injudicious composers ; but that poetry, truly lyric, is constantly injured by melody, none, but those who are both unable and unwilling to feel its effects, will aver. I could instance innumerable scenes of the admirable Metastasio, which, however beautiful in themselves, have been rendered far more affecting and impassioned, both by the musical composer and performer. To these I could add many English accompanied-recitatives, and airs. in Handel's Oratorios, where even prose has received additional dignity and energy from lengthened tones: and none who ever heard the late Mrs. Cibber sing "Return, O God of Hosts," or "He was despised and rejected," whose ears could vibrate, or whose hearts could feel, would dispute the point. And still, to go a little farther back, I would rest the decision upon the productions

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(*d*) Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire, 1708, p. 293.

(*e*) *Musica est exercitium Arithmeticæ occultum nescientis se numerare animi.* In Epist. 154. This ingenious thought is equally applicable to harmony itself. as far as the number and ratio of vibrations are concerned in the pleasure which the ear receives from Concords.

of a composer of our own country, in our own language, who seldom was so fortunate as to have words to set that were either elegant, sublime, or truly lyric; I mean Henry Purcell, whose style is now unfashionable, and whose melodies are uncouth and ungraceful; yet few can hear his *Mad-Bess* well sung, without being infinitely more affected than by merely reading that melancholy monologue as a poem.

Indeed music, considered abstractedly, without the assistance, or rather the shackles of speech, and abandoned to its own powers, is now become a rich, expressive, and picturesque language in itself; having its forms, proportions, contrasts, punctuations, members, phrases, and periods.

Many writers on music, however, who have a veneration for the ancients, are of opinion that measure was not only more varied, but observed with more precision by the Greeks and Romans than the moderns. According to the late Rousseau, " it was after the victories obtained by the Barbarians, that languages changed their character, and lost their harmony. Then metre, which used to express the measure of poetry, was neglected, and prose was more frequently sung than verse. Scarce any other amusement was then known than the ceremonies of the church, nor music than that in which its service was performed; and as this music required not the regularity of rhythm, it was at length wholly lost (*f*)."

But as this music was not set to the jargon spoken by Barbarians, but to Latin words, in which accent could not have been wholly disused and unknown at the time of which Rousseau speaks, and in which quantity has never been lost; and as the hymns of the church were written in ancient metres, it is not easy to fix the neglect and extirpation of measure upon the church, unless its relaxation be owing to the Neuma, or recapitulation of a chant at the end of an anthem, which seems to have been the origin of divisions, and in which it was first allowed to sing as many notes to one syllable, and, often, to sing without words, as many as could be executed during one respiration (*g*).

Divisions were unknown to the ancients, who never allowed more than two notes to a syllable; but with them, as has already been observed, music was a slave to language, and at present it is become a free agent. When the words of an air are divided, repeated, and transposed at the pleasure of the composer, though they stop the narration, they either paint an idea in different colours, or enforce a sentiment upon which the mind wishes to

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(*f*) Dict. de Mus. Art. *Mesure.*

(*g*) See this vol., chap. ii. p. 438. In singing, many sounds applied to one syllable constitute a division, *Volee, Roulade, Volata, Passaggio;* and in playing upon an instrument, a rapid succession of sounds without a rest, or slow note, has generally the same appellation. Such as are chiefly pleased with grave and sober music censure those flights, as capricious, unmeaning, and trivial. Others are however captivated by them, when executed with precision, and regard them as proofs of the composer's invention, and the performer's abilities. And it is perhaps a popular prejudice to imagine that all such inflexions are absurd, and ill placed, even in a slow and plaintive melody. On the contrary, when the heart is much moved and affected, the voice can more easily find sounds to express passion, than the mind can furnish words; and hence came the use of interjections and exclamations in all languages. It is no less a prejudice to assert, that a division is always proper on a favourable word or syllable, without considering the situation of the singer, or the sentiment he has to express.

linger. And the different phrases of an air are only reiterated strokes of passion; for it is by these repetitions and redoubled efforts that an expression, which at first is heard with tranquillity, disturbs, agitates, and transports the hearers. But whether this reasoning be allowed or no, Divisions were certainly first practised in the church, even in Canto Fermo, where the *Perielesis* and the *Neuma* have long been admitted, and where their use is still allowed (*h*).

Roman Catholics authorise this custom by a passage in St. Augustine, which says, that when we are unable to find words worthy of the Divinity, we do well to address him with confused sounds of joy and thanksgiving: "For to whom are such extatic sounds due, unless to the Supreme Being? And how can we celebrate his ineffable goodness, when we are equally unable to adore him in silence, and to find any other expressions for our transports than inarticulate sounds (*i*)?"

This licence prevailed even in the time of Guido, to whom some attribute the invention of the *Neuma* for which he gives rules in his Micrologus (*k*). But it seems as if the perfection of *figurative Counterpoint,* and the invention of Fugues, had utterly diverted the attention of the composer, performer, and public, from poetry, propriety, and syllabic laws; to this may be added the use of the Organ in accompanying the service of the church, which, according to Dante, rendered the words that were sung difficult to be understood (*l*). Indeed when Harmony was first cultivated, and began to charm the ears of mankind, verse was so rude in the new and unpolished languages, that it wanted some such sauce as Harmony to make it palatable. And at the revival of letters, when poetry began again to flourish, Melody was so Gothic and devoid of grace, that good poets disdained its company or assistance; and we find that verses of Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso, supported themselves without the aid of music, as musical compositions in counterpoint seem to have done without poetry. It was the cultivation of the musical drama that once more reconciled the two sisters; however, their leagues of friendship are but of short duration, and like a froward couple whose dispositions too rarely coincide, it is

> Sometimes my plague, sometimes my darling,
> Kissing to-day, to-morrow snarling.

But as I shall hereafter have frequent occasions to speak of the abuse of Harmony to the injury of Melody, and of both to the

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(*h*) The *Perielesis,* or circumvolution, is the interposition of one or many notes at the close of a chant, to ascertain its termination, and as a signal to the choir to pursue it. And the *Neuma* is a kind of short recapitulation of the chant of a mode, consisting of a number of sounds *without words. Lebeuf. Traite sur le Chant Ecclesiastique,* p. 227 & 239.

(*i*) In the Melodies that are set to the Provencal songs, which are the most ancient secular *Airs* that are extant, never more than *two notes,* or three in the time of two, now called a *triplet,* are allowed to one syllable.

(*k*) Cap xvi.

(*l*) *Quando a Cantar con Organo si stia*
Ch'or si, or no, s'intendon le parole.
Purg. Canto ix.

utter ruin of Lyric Poetry, I shall now proceed to trace the invention of musical characters for Time.

The benefit conferred on music by the invention of a Time-table, which extended the limits of ingenuity and contrivance to the utmost verge of imagination, must long have remained unknown to the generality of musicians and musical writers, or more care would have been taken to record some few memorials concerning its author. But when the age or cotemporaries of a man of letters or science are known, the curiosity of most readers is satisfied; for a life spent in the perusal and composition of books, in quiet and obscurity, furnishes but few circumstances that can interest the busy part of mankind. The efforts of the mind in retirement, however great may be the objects with which it is occupied, admit of no description; while an active life, ostensibly employed in the service of a state or any order of society, supplies the biographer with materials of easy use, and, if well arranged, and interwoven, such as are welcome to all readers.

We find that *Marchetto da Padua,* so early as the year 1283, in the Vatican manuscript (*m*) already cited, speaks of *Cantibus Mensuratis*. The invention of *characters for time* has, however, been given by almost all the writers on music of the last and present century, to John de Muris, who flourished about the year 1330,* and whom many English writers seem ambitious of claiming as an Englishman; probably with the hopes of honouring this country with his invention of the Time-table; yet, however patriotic may be their design, I am in possession of such a stubborn proof of that discovery not being the property of John de Muris, as he would be unable to refute if he were himself to rise from the tomb and claim it.

Among the manuscripts which were bequeathed to the Vatican library by the queen of Sweden, there is a *Compendium of Practical Music,* by John de Muris, in which he treats of musical characters for Time ; but introduces the subject with a short chronological list of anterior musicians who had merited the title of *Inventors*: beginning, as usual, with Tubal; and after naming Pythagoras, and Boethius, he proceeds to Guido the monk, "who constructed the gammut, or scale for the monochord, and placed notes upon lines and spaces; after whom came MAGISTER FRANCO, *who invented the figures,* or notes, *of the Cantus Mensurabilis* (*n*)."

All farther enquiries concerning the right which John de Muris may have to this important invention seem useless, as it is so

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(*m*) No. 1146.

(*n*)—*Deinde Guido monachus qui compositor erat gammatis qui monochordum dicitur, voces* lineis, et spaciis *dividebat. Post hunc* Magister Franco, qui invenit in Cantu Mensuram figurarum—MS. Reginæ Sveciæ in Vatic. No. 1146. *Compendium Joannis de Muribus.*

* There appears to have been at least two writers bearing this name:—

(i) Johannes (or Juliannus) who was made Rector of the Sorbonne, Paris, in 1350.

(ii) Johannes, believed by some to have been a Norman and who is known to have lived for some time in Paris.

Attempts have been made to establish his nationality as English, but there does not seem to be any evidence to support this theory.

Probably the only authentic work by de Muris is the *Speculum musice,* now in the Bib. Nat. at Paris (Nos. 7207 and 7207A). A portion of this work was published by Coussemaker (Scriptores, Vol. 2).

fully and clearly renounced in favour of another, by the only person who was thought to have a fair claim to it. I shall therefore quit John de Muris for the present, in order to try whether his predecessor Franco's right to this invention be wholly indisputable, notwithstanding it has been ceded to him so formally.

The same fatality seems to attend the first founders of arts as of empires, whose history must ever be short, unless conjecture and fable are called into the assistance of the writer.

MAGISTER FRANCO* is by some called a native, or at least an inhabitant of Paris ; by others a scholastic of Liege ; but, if we may believe Franco himself, he was of Cologn: for, seeming to foresee the disputes which would arise concerning his locality, he begins his *Compendium de Discantu,* one of his musical tracts which has been preserved, in the following manner: *Ego Franco de Colonia,* &c., which, if the authors of the *Histoire Litteraire de la France* had seen, they doubtless would not have fixed him at Liege, nor would those who have implicitly followed them, have been led into this mistake.

Sigebert (*o*) tells us that Franco supported the functions of his office of scholastic, or preceptor, by a great fund of religion and knowledge ; and acquired as much celebrity by his virtue as science: *Scientia literarum et morum probitate clarus.* He ventured, say the Benedictines (*p*), to study profane science as well as ecclesiastic, and had courage to attempt *squaring the circle.* Christian philosophers generally regard a man for lost who addicts himself to such pursuits as the *squaring the circle,* the *multiplication of the cube, perpetual motion,* the *philosopher's stone, judicial astrology,* or *magic.* But Franco is said to have exercised his faculties in these studies with such discretion, that he never neglected his more important concerns.

By the testimony of Sigebert, his cotemporary (*q*), he had acquired great reputation for his learning in 1047. At least it is certain that he had written concerning the *square of the circle* before the month of February, 1055, at which time Heriman, archbishop of Cologn, to whom he dedicated his work, died (*r*).

Franco lived at least till August 1083, for he at that time filled the charge of scholastic of the Cathedral at Liege.

Among many works which Franco is said to have produced upon religious and mathematical subjects, we are told by the authors of the *Histoire Litteraire de la France,* that he wrote upon Music and

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(*o*) *De Script, Eccles,* c. 164.

(*p*) *Hist. Litt. de la France,* tome viii. p. 122.

(*q*) *Chron. an* 1047.

(*r*) His dedicating a book to this prelate seems a natural consequence of his residence at Cologn.

* The identity of the writer of the works attributed to Magister Franco is much disputed, but it seems probable that he flourished about 1060, and most likely at Cologne. There was another writer who was a contemporary of Franco of Cologne who is known as Franco of Paris and who is the author of a tract. *De Arte Discantandi,* and which is extensively quoted by Hamboys in *Summa super musicum,* etc.

Besides the Bodleian copy of the *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* referred to in the text, there is a very fine 15th cent. copy of the work, the existence of which was unknown to Burney (*B.M. Add. MSS.* 8866). Other copies are to be found at Milan and Paris.

Plain-chant; and that in the abbey of Lire [Vire] in Normandy, there is a manuscript in folio, which contains *Ars Magistri Franconis de Musica Mensurabili*. These writers add, that there can be no doubt of this Magister Franco being the same as the Scholastic of that name ; or that another tract on Music, in six chapters, entitled *Magistri Franconis Musica,* and preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford [Bod. MSS. 842, f. 49], is by the same author, as well as the *Compendium de Discantu, tribus Capitibus,* in the same library [Bod. MSS. 842, f. 60].

These authors, who indeed pretend not to have seen the musical tracts of Franco, have imagined, contrary to their usual accuracy, that the treatise *De Musica Mensurabili,* in the library at Lire, and *Musica* Magistri Franconis, in the Bodleian library, were different works; but there remains not the least doubt of their being duplicates of the same tract, in every respect, but their titles.

Trithemius (*s*), who calls him Franco *Scholasticus Leodiensis Ecclesiæ,* of the church of Liege, *natione Theutonicus,* and a German, tells us, that "he was very learned in the holy scriptures ; a great philosopher, astronomer, arithmetician, (*computista*); and that he dedicated several of his works to the archbishop of Cologn: such as his tract *De Quadratura Circuli; De Computo Ecclesiastico; et alia plura;*" but he specifies none of the musical writings of Franco, who, according to this biographer, flourished under the emperor Henry III. 1060.

The first mention, however, which I can find of Franco as a writer on music, in any treatise on the subject, is by Marchetto da Padova, of whose manuscript tracts an account has already been given (*t*). In his *Lucidarium in Arte Musicæ Planæ,* written in the year 1274, he says, "that the agreement of different melodies, *according to Magister Franco,* constitutes discant (*u*)." He likewise cites him in his *Pomœrium, de Musica Mensurata,* as *Inventor* of the four first musical characters (*x*); and this would have been sufficiently early to strip John de Muris of the honour of their invention, had he chosen to invest himself with it.

He is next, in point of time, mentioned by John de Muris himself, as is already related. And, in a manuscript of the Bodleian library (*y*), ascribed to Thomas, or John, of Teukesbury, which, it is said at the end, was finished at the university of Oxford, 1351, there is a chapter expressly on the Musical Characters for Time, invented by Franco: *De Figuris inventis a Francone.*

Franchinus Gaforius (*z*) quotes him twice as author of the Time-table; and ascribes to him (*a*) the completion of Counterpoint, by his contrivance of moving in different melodies at the same time: meaning his invention of musical characters for measure.

(*s*) *De Script. Eccles.* Paris, 1512.

(*t*) See page 519 of this volume.

(*u*) *Discantus, secundum* Magistrum Franconem, est diversorum cantuum consonantia. Ex Cod. Vatic. Num. 5322.

(*x*) Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Ævi.* Dissert. 24. tome ii. P. Martini, tome i, page 189. Gerb. tome ii. page 124.

(*y*) Digby, 90.

(*z*) *Pract. Musicæ,* lib. ii. c. 6.

(*a*) Ib lib. iii. c. 1.

Our countryman Morley (*b*) says, that "*Francho* was the most ancient of all those whose works on practical music had come to his hands." But he seems only to have seen a Commentary on his Treatise by Robert de Handlo, and to know nothing of his age and country (*c*). And Ravenscroft (*d*), who appears indeed to have been no better acquainted with the original than Morley, quoting him only through John Dunstable, an Englishman (*e*), tells us boldly that he was the inventor of the four first simple notes of *Mensurable Music ;* but, unluckily, calls him *Franchinus de Coloniâ,* confounding him with Franchinus Gafurius.

Critical exactness, with respect to dates, names, or facts, was not yet much practised in writing upon the arts; and Morley, the best author who had written expressly on Music, in our language, since the invention of printing, took many things upon trust; and though he gave a long list of practical musicians, whose works he had consulted, he never had seen the writings of Guido, nor does he quote a single manuscript treatise throughout his Introduction, which indeed is professedly more didactic than historical.

Having collected the evidence of respectable and unsuspected authors in favour of the musical writings of Franco, it will be necessary to give the reader an account of the particular tract which chiefly concerns this chapter, entitled *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*: and this I shall do from the work itself, of which I obtained a copy from the Bodleian library at Oxford (*f*).

This short, but celebrated tract, contains six chapters:

1. Prologue, and Definitions of the Terms used in the Treatise.
2. Of the Figures, or Representations of single Sounds.
3. Of Ligatures, or compound Notes.
4. Of Rests or Pauses.
5. Of the different Concords used in Discant.
6. Of the Organum, and of other Combinations of Sounds (*g*).

In speaking of former musical writers, he says, that " both the theory and practice of *Plain Music,* or *Chanting,* had been sufficiently explained by several philosophers; particularly the theory by Boethius, and the practice by Guido," whom he exalts into a philosopher. " The ecclesiastical tropes or modes, he adds, had

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(*b*) Annotations to his Introduction, p. 7.

(*c*) Robert de Handlo wrote a Commentary on the *Musica Mensurabilis* of Franco, 1326. See Tanner, p. 376. And this is even an earlier period than was assigned to the invention by those who had given it to John de Muris.

(*d*) Briefe Discourse of the true Use of Charactering the Degrees in *Measurable Musicke,* 1614, page 1.

(*e*) Id. page 3.

(*f*) 842. f. 49.

(*g*) *Insipit Musica Magistri Franconis, continens 6 capitula.*
Capitulum primum continet Prologum et Diffinitiones Terminorum ad istum Tractatum pertinentium.
Cap. 2. *De Figuris Vocis simplicis, sive de Notis non Ligatis.*
Cap. 3. *De Ligatis, sive de Figuris compositis.*
Cap. 4. *Est de Pausis, et earum diversitate.*
Cap. 5. *Est de diversarum Vocum debita Concordantia et Discantu.*
Cap. 6. *Diffinit Copulam et Organum, et eorum Species.*

been settled by St. Gregory." Franco, therefore, only intends to treat of *Measured Music,* of which, he piously observes, plain-chant has the precedence, as the principal of the subaltern (*h*). " Nor let any one say, continues he, that I have undertaken this work through arrogance, or for my own convenience, but merely for the sake of its evident truth, the ease with which it may be comprehended by the student, and its containing the most perfect method of teaching all the modes of *Measured Music,* and their *Notation.* For as there are several authors, as well modern as ancient, who in their treatises give many good rules concerning *Measured Music,* and on the contrary are deficient and erroneous in other particulars, especially in the appendages of the science, we think their doctrines require some correction and improvement, lest the science itself should suffer from their errors and defects. We therefore propose giving a compendious explanation of *Measured Music,* in which we shall not scruple to insert, *what others have said well on the subject,* to correct their errors, and to support by good reasons *whatever we ourselves may have newly invented* (*i*)."

It seems evident from this passage, particularly those parts of it which are printed in capitals, that the invention of musical notes for Time, is more ancient than Franco, and that he had only the merit of improvement. It likewise informs us, that there were, in his time, treatises *de Mensurabili Musicâ,* or, at least, that doctrines had been proposed and laid down concerning musical notes, and the different duration of sounds, by writers who were ***antiqui,*** with respect to him; and proves very strongly that this manuscript contains only a mixture of his own rules with those of his predecesssors (*k*). And indeed, upon a careful analysis of this whole tract, it does not appear that Franco was the Inventor of musical notes, or characters for Time, though they have lately been given him in such very positive terms, by those who, without seeing his manuscript, have taken it for granted that it was wholly his property, because no other writer of equal antiquity was found to have treated of *Cantus Mensurabilis.* Indeed, besides the passages already cited, we find him speaking of former writers, and former opinions concerning the notes and modes; particularly, chapter second, the words *quemadmodum quidam posuerunt,* acknowledge other writers upon the subject of Measured Music besides himself; and, chapter the fourth, he speaks of the great error which some

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(*h*)—*De* MENSURABILI MUSICA, *quam ipsa* PLANA PRÆCEDIT *tanquam* principalis subalternam.

(*i*) *Nec dicat aliquis nos hoc opus propter arrogantiam vel forte etiam propter propriam commoditatem incepisse, sed vere propter evidentem veritatem et auditorum facillimam apprehensionem, nec non et omnium* Modorum Notarum (of all the moods as expressed by characters or notes) *ipsius* Mensurabilis Musicæ *perfectissimam institutionem. Nam cum videmus* multos tam novos quam antiquos in artibus suis *de Mensurabili Musica* (alluding perhaps to the usual titles of musical treatises: *Ars Musices; Ars Mensurabilis Musicæ,* &c.) *multa bona dicere, et e contrario in multis et maxime in accidentibus ipsius scientiœ deficere et errare, opinioni eorum fore existimamus succurrendum, ne forte propter defectum et errorem prœdictorum dicta scientia detrimentum patiatur. Proponimus igitur ipsam Mensurabilem Musicam sub compendio declarare, benedictaque aliorum non recusabimus interponere, errores quoque distruere et fugare, et* si quid novi a nobis inventum fuerit, bonis rationibus sustinere et probare.

(*k*) *Si quid novi*—The expression is strong, and even when deduction is made for modesty, implies, perhaps, that his inventions were but few and inconsiderable.

have committed by tying together three Longs in Tenor parts; and of the still greater blunder which others have made in tying a Long between two Breves (*l*). And the author of a Latin treatise, which was among the Cotton musical manuscripts, seems to determine with great precision the degree of merit that is due to Franco, with respect to the Time-table; for speaking of the Canto Fermo of an earlier period, he says: " Though music was at that time not measured, it was approaching towards measure, when Franco appeared, who was the first Approved author, or writer, on Measured Music (*m*)."

After this introduction definitions are given, in which I shall mention whatever seems singular or curious.

Measured Music, he says, is regulated by long and short Times, or portions of Measure; and Measure he defines, the regulated motion of any series of Sounds, whether quick or slow, different from plain-song, in which no such regularity of movement is observed. A Time is the stated proportion of a lengthened tone, or of a rest of equal duration. " I speak of a Rest," says he, " as measured by Time, because otherwise the performers of two different parts, one of which should have a rest, and the other not, would be unable to proceed together in exact time (*n*)."

This seems to be the purport of the original, which, however, I shall constantly throw into the notes for the consideration of the curious and learned reader, who may, perhaps, discover meanings that have escaped my penetration. Indeed, this passage gives an idea of more than Simple Counterpoint, of note for note, and syllable for syllable, being practised in Franco's time, who is believed to have written his tract within fifty years of Guido.

" Measured Music," continues he, " is of two kinds: wholly, and partly measured. Music wholly measured is discant, which is measured throughout; and that which is partly measured is the simple chant or plain-song, which, though measured by Time in some degree, is neither *Organum* nor Discant, as it is commonly called by those who sing the Ecclesiastical Chants (*o*)."

(*l*)—*Ex quo sequitur quod vehementer errant* qui *tres Longas aliqua occasione ut in Tenoribus ad invicem ligant; sed adhuc plus* illi qui *inter duas breves longam ligant.*

(*m*)—*Non enim erat musica tunc mensurata, sed paulatim crescebat ad mensuram, usque ad tempus Franconis, qui erat Musicæ Mensurabilii* primus auctor APPROBATUS.

(*n*) *Dico autem* pausam *tempore mensurari, quia aliter duo Cantus diversi quorum* (*si*) *unus cum pausa et alius sine sumeretur, non possent proportionaliter adinvicem bene coæquari.*

(*o*) *Dividitur autem* Mensurabilis Musica *in mensurabilem simpliciter et partim. Mensurabilis simpliciter est discantus, eo quod in omni parte sua mensuratur. Mensurabilis partim est cantus simplex et tempore mensuratus, sed Organum non est, neque Discantus* (Organum) *communiter vero dicitur quibus Cantus Ecclesiasticus* tempore mensuratur.

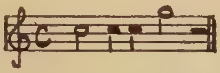
It seems, by this passage, as if organizing, or singing in harmony, had first brought the plain-chant to strict time; and that, then, when only a *single* part or melody was sung in time, it was customary to call it Organum, because measured like the Organum. And perhaps, in singing upon a plain-song, the principal melody, while it continued to be chanted nearly in the same manner as it used to be before parts were added to it, was said to be partly measured; and the Organum or Discant, moving in proportionate notes of different lengths, was regarded as wholly measured. In our cathedrals, where the Psalms are chanted in four parts, Time is neither absolutely kept, nor wholly disregarded: it is kept with respect to the harmony, as all the parts move together; yet the melody of each part being governed by the length of the verses, cannot be said to be regularly measured. In accompanied recitation the instruments move sometimes *a tempo*, while the voice part seems *ad libitum*.

He next defines *Discant*; and as the reader may be curious to know the acceptation of this term, so near the time of its invention, I shall insert the whole passage.

"*Discant* is the consonance of different melodies, in which those different melodies move in sounds of various lengths, as *Longs, Breves,* and *Semibreves,* proportioned to each other, and expressed in writing by adequate notes or characters (*p*)."

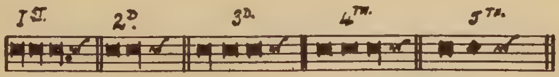
He then divides Discant into three kinds; "Notes of equal length, Ligatures, or binding Notes, and Notes that are deficient in Time (*q*)." Of these he proposes to treat separately; but as all Discant moves in some particular Measure, Mode, or Mood, he first defines a Mood, and its characters, or signs.

"A Mood is the representation of the time of measured sounds, expressed by Longs or Breves, or long and short notes. As Modes are of different kinds, their number and arrangement are made different by different musicians. Some multiply them to six, and some to seven; but *we* (says Franco) allow only of five, because to this number all others may be referred. The first consists wholly of Longs* —The second of a Breve, a Long, &c. The third of a Long and two Breves," &c.—In Handlo's commentary on this passage it is observed, that in this mood, a pause equal to a long is placed after the second long; which reduces it to what the moderns would call Common Time, and express thus:



" The fourth Mood consists of two Breves and a Long, &c. And the fifth is wholly composed of Breves and Semibreves (*r*)."

If these five Modes of Franco were expressed in ancient notes they would have the following appearance:



(*p*) *Discantus est aliquorum diversorum cantuum consonantia, in qua illi diversi cantus per voces Longas et Breves et Semibreves proportionaliter adequantur, et in scripto per debitas figuras proportionati adinvicem designantur.*

(*q*)—*Alius simpliciter prolatus, alius copulatus, alius truncatus.*

(*r*) *Modus est representatio soni Longis Brevibusque temporibus mensurati. Modi autem diversis diversimode enumerantur et etiam ordinantur. Quidam vero ponunt* 6, *alii 7tem,* nos *autem quinque tantum ponimus, quoniam ad hos quinque omnes alii reducunter. Primus vero procedit ex omnibus Longis.—Secundus procedit ex Brevi et Longa et Brevi. Tercius vero ex Longa et duabus Brevibus et Longa. Quartus est ex duabus Brevibus et Longa et duabus Brevibus. Quintus autem ex omnibus Brevibus et Semibrevibus.*

* The following is the more generally accepted order of the moods:
1st mood. All Longs (*Molossic*);
2nd mood. A Long and a Breve (*Trochaic*);
3rd mood. A Breve and two Longs (*Iambic*);
4th mood. A Long and two Breves (*Dactylic*);
5th mood. Two breves and a Long (*Anapæstic*);
6th mood. All Breves (*Tribrachic*).
De Handlo's commentary is not upon the work of Franco of Cologne but upon that by Franco of Paris.

Morley, in his Annotations, p. 8, seems to explain them in the same manner: "If a plaine song consisted al of Longes, it was called the first Mood: if of a Long and a Briefe successively, it was called the second Mood," &c. For when Franco says that the second Mood consisted of "a Breve and Long and Breve," *et cætera* seems necessarily understood. And this conjecture is confirmed by the fragment of a very ancient manuscript musical treatise in the British Museum (*s*), where six Moods are described in the following manner: "The first consists of a succession of Longs and Breves; the second of Breves and Longs; the third of a Breve and two Longs; the fourth of two Longs and a Breve; the fifth of three Longs; and the sixth of three Breves (*t*)." These are all reducible to the five Modes of Franco: for the fifth is the first Mood of Franco, and the sixth, in reality, only the same measure of time, accelerated; as it is indifferent at present whether a Minuet be written in $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{8}$. The second, third, and fourth Moods in the anonymous tract are precisely the same as those of Franco, in longer specimens; as the author says, *Secundus constat Brevi Longa Brevi Longa Brevi Longa,* which is only thrice repeating the same measure. The fifth Mood of Franco corresponds with the first of this author; for a Long and a Breve, or a Breve and a Semibreve, differ no more in their effect on the ear, than a Minim and Crotchet, and Crotchet and Quaver, which equally represent Triple Time (*u*).

The five Modes, as Franco has described them, afford no great variety of measures. Indeed, the ancients had been long in possession of a far greater number of combinations in their poetical feet (*x*); to some one of which every Mood in Franco's list is reducible; as the first, consisting wholly of Longs, or slow notes, wants nothing either in Common or Triple Time, but what the *Spondee* or *Molossus* would supply. The second, having a Breve followed by a Long, would be represented by the *Iambus*. The third, consisting of a Long and two Breves, by the *Dactyl*. The fourth of two Breves and a Long, by the *Anapæst*. And the fifth, composed of Breves and Semibreves, by the *Trochaic* foot. But it was not so much the business of Franco to invent new measures, as to unite the old.

In his second chapter he treats of simple notes or characters, of which he enumerates only three kinds; the Long, the Breve, and Semibreve; making no mention of the Large, or of the Minim. These, he tells us, are either perfect or imperfect. The perfect

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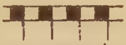
(*s*) Bib. Reg. 12. c. vi. 5. *Tractatus Musici* 3.

(*t*) *Modus vel maneries vel temporis consideratio est cognitio Longitudinis, et Brevitatis meli sonique. Modi generales sunt* VI. *Primus constat ex Longa Brevi, Longa Brevi, Longa Brevi. Et secundus constat Brevi Longa Brevi Longa Brevi Longa. Et tertius constat ex Longa et duabus Brevibus, Longa et duabus Brevibus. Quartus constat ex duabus Brevibus et Longa, &c.* This tract is the last of the three fragments that are bound up in the same volume, the initial sentence of which is—*Cognita Modulacione melorum secundum viam octo Tonorum.*

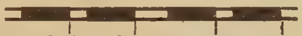
(*u*) As the Minim is not mentioned in this tract it must be more ancient than the time of its invention, about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

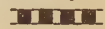
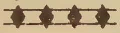
(*x*) See Book I. p. 75 et seq.

Long he calls the first and principal of all the notes, for in that all others are included. "The perfect note is that which is measured by three times, or portions; the *Ternary* division being the most perfect of all, as it had its name from the Holy Trinity, which is true and pure perfection (*y*)."

The perfect Long is represented by a square note with a tail on the right hand, descending as thus:  This is equal to three Breves. The imperfect Long, represented by the same figure, is equal only to *two*. "It is imperfect for the reason already assigned," says Franco, "and can only acquire its full length by the addition of a Breve before or after it. "Whence it follows," continues he, " that those err who call it perfect; as that only is entire and complete which can stand by itself (*z*)."

It seems, by this passage, as if there had been a controversy even in Franco's time, about the greater degree of perfection of Triple, or Common Time; in after ages, however, the *Binary* number acquired the pre-eminence, and was called *perfect*, while the triple proportion was degraded into *imperfect*.

Though Franco mentions not the Maxima or Large, he tells us that the double Long is made thus, and consists of the union of two longs:  to which it is equal: "Nor, when used in the tenor parts of a plain-song, can it be broken or divided (*a*)."

The Breve, which is a square note without a tail, may, however, be divided, being either perfect or imperfect:  The Semibreve, which is either major or minor, is constantly written in the form of a lozenge, thus: 

The length of the notes, that is the perfection or imperfection, triple or double power, depended on their arrangement ; and it seems as if when two or more notes of the same kind followed each other, they were always perfect, that is, equal to three notes of the next inferior degree. But when a shorter note either preceded or followed a longer, then the long note was imperfect, that is, equal only to the next two of a shorter kind; and the deficiency was made up by a preceding or succeeding short note.

But all this perplexity was removed when the Point came into general use. Franco speaks of the *Tractulus* as a sign of perfection, in the same manner as we should now speak of the Point, which, indeed, he uses in some of his examples, for the same purpose as it is used at present: for he tells us that it makes the Long perfect,

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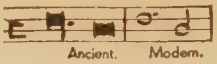
(*y*) *Perfecta autem dicitur eo quod tribus temporibus mensuratur. Est vero trinarius inter omnes numeros perfectissimus pro eo quia a summa Trinitate, quæ vera est et pura perfectio, nomen sumpsit.*

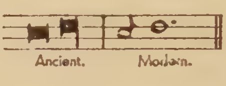
(*z*) *Ex quo sequitur quod illi peccant qui eam rectam appellant, cum illud quod est rectum possit per se stare.*

(*a*) *Ne series plani cantus sumpti in tenoribus disrumpatur.* John de Muris, in his *Speculum Muzicæ*, quotes Aristotle to prove that this note cannot be admitted in plain-song.

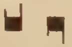
or equal to three Times or Breves, which, without it, would have been imperfect, or equal only to two (*b*):

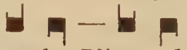


What he calls *Recta Brevis* is only equal to one Time, or fourth part of a measure; so that whether it precede or follow a perfect Long, the times of both amount to four:



These rules, however, are too numerous, complex, and useless, to merit the reader's attention, or an attempt at explaining them. Indeed, if they would help to decipher other music, composed after the time of Franco, the curious enquirer's trouble, and my own, might be repaired ; but there was at first so much confusion in the Moods, and so many and so dark were the exceptions to their rules, so numerous and jarring the opinions and decisions concerning them, and so little agreed were musicians about the different Prolations, Points of perfection and imperfection, of increase and diminution, division and translation, even in Morley's time, as gave occasion to his saying, that " no two men told the same tale."

Few of the musical terms in the tract of Franco, are more difficult to comprehend or define than the word *Plica,* which he calls " a note of division of the same sound, ascending or descending." It seems however to have been rather a note of *prolation* than division, and, like the point, to have augmented the length of the sound to which it was applied. All we can be sure of now is its form, which by adding a stroke to a note, shorter than its usual tail, gave it the appearance of a plait, wrinkle, or fold, as the Latin word *Plica* implies: .

Of these *Plicæ*, he tells us, some are added to Longs, and some to Breves ; but seldom to Semibreves, unless in Ligatures (*c*). This little stroke, which seems to have been equivalent to a short note, tied to a longer, was added to the Long on the left side, and to the Breve on the right, thus: . It is difficult to discover any other difference between the *Plica* and the *Point,* which he seems to describe under the title of *Tractulus,* than that the Point was used to a *single note,* and the Plica to one in a ligatured group.

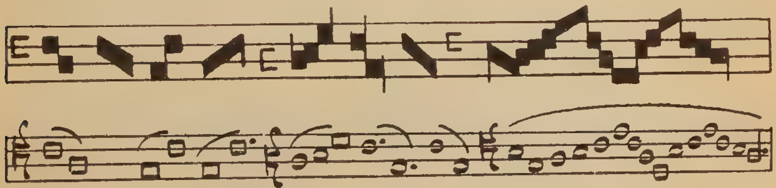
(*b*) "A Long," says he, "followed by a Breve, is rendered imperfect, *nisi inter illas duas;* sc. *Longam et Brevem, ponatur* quidam Tractulus *qui* signum perfectionis *dicitur,* qui et alio nomine divisio modi appellatur.

(*c*) *Plicarum alia Langa, alia Brevis, alia Semibrevis: sed de Semibrevibus nihil ad præsens intendimus, cum non in simplicibus figuris possit Plica Semibrevis inveniri. In Ligaturis tamen et ordinationibus Semibrevium Plica possibilis est accipi, ut postea apparebit. Item Plicarum alia ascendens, alia descendens. Plica longa ascendens habet duos tractus, quorum dexter longior est sinistro. Plica longa vero descendens similiter habet duos tractus sed descendentes, dexterum ut prius longiorem sinistro. Plica vero brevis ascendens est, quia habet duos tractus ascendentes, sinistrum tamen longiorem dextero, &c.*

Authors who have treated of the ancient Time-table and Cantus Mensurabilis, are very reserved in speaking of the *Plica*, and afford but scanty information concerning its properties. Some have defined it "the perpendicular stroke which is the termination of such characters as the Long." But according to the original import of the word, as there must be two strokes or tails to form a *Plica* or plait, this explanation is equally false and devoid of meaning. The musical use of this word is unnoticed by Du Cange, nor does it once occur in Morley. It has had admission into no musical dictionary but that of Rousseau, who describes, but does not define it. "The *Plica*," says he, "is a kind of ligature in our ancient music. It was a sign of augmentation or increase of a note's length, *Signum Morositatis*, according to John de Muris. The *Plicà*, like the Ligature, was used in any group of notes from the semi-tone to the 5th, ascending or descending. There were four kinds of *Plicæ*: 1. An additional small stroke to a Long on the left side, 2. An additional stroke to the same note inverted, 3. A Breve with two strokes or tails added to the top of the note, of which that on the left hand is the longest, . And 4. Two strokes added to the same kind of note descending ."*

In chapter the third Franco treats of *Ligatures*, or compound notes. A Ligature, as the word implies, is a band or link by which simple notes are connected and tied together. Of these some are ascending and some descending. At present we only tie the *tails* of quavers and notes of a shorter duration; but the old masters tied or linked together the *heads* of *square notes*. The ascending Ligature is when the end of the note, or, as Franco calls it, the second point of it, is higher than the beginning or first part of the character.

In Canto Fermo, Ligatures are still used in all the Roman missals and breviaries, to connect as many notes together as are to be sung to one syllable, but without altering their lengths; *sine proprietate*, as Franco says. Of these, instances may be seen in this volume (*d*). In the ancient *Cantus Mensuratus*, however, the laws and *properties* of Ligatures were innumerable. Of these I shall give a few examples from Franco himself, as the most ancient that have been preserved, if not the first in use.



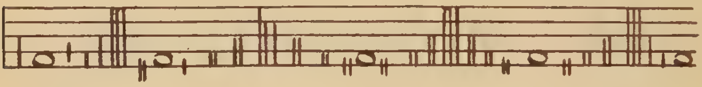
(*d*) P. 431, 434 and 471.

* The information given about the Plica is incorrect. Lack of space forbids an explanation of this *Grace-note*, but the reader is referred to *Grove's Vol.* 3, *Art.* Notation, p. 653, for a simple outline of the subject.

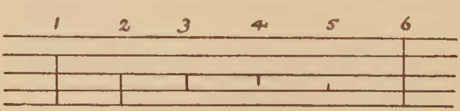
"The value of notes in ligatures," says Rousseau, "depended very much upon their ascending and descending, upon the manner in which they were tied, upon their being with or without tails, and upon those tails being placed on the left or right side of the notes; in short, they were under the regulation of so many laws, which are wholly obsolete at present, that perhaps there is not one musician in Europe able to decipher music of any considerable antiquity (*e*)."

However when we are arrived at compositions *worth* deciphering, such of the primitive characters as occur in them shall be explained.*

Franco's fourth chapter concerns *Rests* and *Pauses*, or discontinuity of sound. "As the sounds in each Mood are expressed by different notes or figures, and as Discant itself is as much regulated by *silence* as by sound, it will be necessary to treat not only of the signs or representatives of sounds, but of their equivalent rests, or pauses (*f*)." Of these characters for measuring silence, which, he says, are subject to the same laws of perfection and imperfection as their equivalent notes, he gives the following example, in which the Semibreves or Ciphers seem only placed as double Bars, to separate the different species of Rests:



There appears but little order or design in this arrangement of the Rests, which are said in the text to be of six kinds: 1. that of the *perfect Long*, equal to three Breves; 2. the *imperfect Long*, equal to two Breves; 3. the *Breve;* 4. the *Major Semibreve;* 5. the *Minor Semibreve;* 6. the *Final Pause*, or, as he calls it, *Finis Punctorum;* all which he characterises in the following manner:



But the most curious part of this chapter is that which seems to point out the origin of *Bars*, which are placed, in the musical

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(*e*) Dict. Art. *Ligature.*

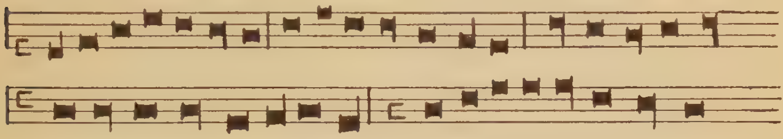
(*f*) *Cum autem istorum Modorum voces sint causa et principium et earum vocum sint notæ manifestum est, id circo de notis vel figuris, quod idem est, est tractandum. Sed cum ipse Discantus tam voce recta quam ejus contrario, hoc est voce obmissa, reguletur, et ista sint diversa, horum erunt diversa signa, quia diversorum signa sunt diversa.*

* Here again lack of space prohibits any summary of the Franconian notation with reference to ligatures. Explanation of many forms of ligatures will be found in the Oxford History of Music, Vol. I (1st edition), and in *Grove's Art.* Notation, *Vol.* 3, p. 659, will be found a table of rules as to the correct interpretation of the ligatures, Burney's interpretation of the example is incorrect.

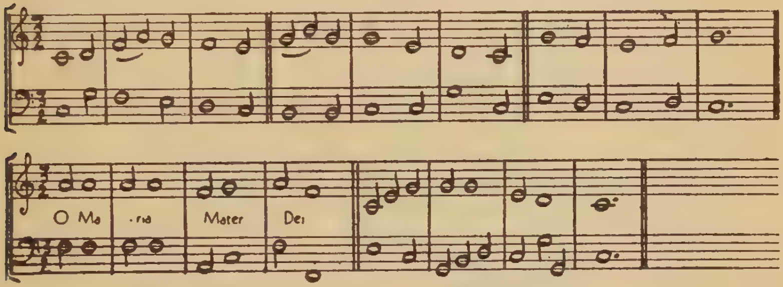
** These forms were used to indicate a rest of considerable length. Towards the end of this resting period a colon (:) was written, and after that the exact notation for rests (given in the next diagram) had to be used.

examples, as pauses for the singers to take breath at the end of a sentence, verse, or melody (*g*). And this is the only use that is made of Bars, at present in Canto Fermo.

The following fragments I shall give as specimens of Franco's melody, and his method of dividing it into phrases, by lines drawn through the staff, in the manner of Bars.



The first of these fragments consists chiefly of *Trochees*, and the second of *Iambics*. They are both regularly phrased, and, when expressed by modern characters, have not a very barbarous appearance.



These melodies seem to belong to his second and fifth moods.

Whoever compares the notation of Franco with that of Guido, or any writer of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, must be greatly astonished at its method, simplicity, and clearness. For though he uses but three characters, or distinct forms of notes, yet those, with their several properties of prolation and diminution, furnished a great variety of measures and proportions. And if, with improvements in notation and harmony, he be allowed to have suggested the *Bar*, and the *Point* of augmentation, the benefits he has conferred upon practical music will entitle him to a very conspicuous and honourable place among the founders and legislators of the art. Indeed, I have been able to find no considerable improvements in the Time-table between the eleventh and the fourteenth century; when the chief merit of several authors in the Cantus Mensurabilis, whose names and writings are come down to us, was to dilute the discoveries of Franco, and pour water on his leaves.

(*g*) *Finis* Punctorum *omnes lineas attingens quatuor spacia comprehendit.* It appears from this passage, that notes, after they ceased to be round, continued to be called *Points*, an appellation which gave birth to the term *Contrapunctum*, at a time when notes had affirmed a square and lozenge form.

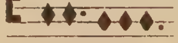
The earliest use I have been able to find of the word *Contrapunctum*, is in a manuscript tract on that subject, by John de Muris, see p. 510.

The next author on the *Cantus Mensurabilis,* or Measured-Song, whose writings have been preserved, is our countryman Walter Odington, monk of Evesham, of whose valuable treatise, in Benet, college, Cambridge, an ample account has been already given in the preceding chapter, as far as it concerned plain-song, and organizing, or simple harmony; but an account of his rules for *measure,* which are contained in the sixth and last part of his work, *De Speculatione Musicæ,* was reserved for this place, where it will fill up a chasm in the history of that important part of music, which has been left void by all other treatises that I have been able to consult.

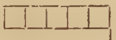
It has been hastily determined by some who have seen no part of this work but the mere titles of the books it contains, in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica,* that not one of them professes to treat of the Cantus Mensurabilis; yet, on the contrary, in the sixth part, where he not only gives rules for organizing, or music in parts, but for the composition of *figurative* music, *De Compositione et Figuratione,* we have chapters on the following subjects: *De Longis, Brevibus, et Semibrevibus; De Plicis; Quot Modis Longa perfecta et imperfecta dicitur; De Pausis; De Ligaturis, &c.* The fourth book, *De Inequalitate Temporum in Pedibus, quibus Metra et Rhythmi decurrunt,* contains indeed terms that ceased to be made use of after the invention of the Cantus Mensurabilis. However, these terms have not yet ceased to be applied to poetical numbers, concerning which this book of Odington only treats.

In the former part of his work the author, treating chiefly of *Canto Plano,* or ecclesiastical chanting, in a way somewhat different from his predecessors, particularly in his *Notation,* never mentions *Organizing,* or *Measured Music;* but in this last part, he treats of both in a very ample manner, and so much in the order and terms of Franco, as would have been impossible, had he not seen his tract, or, at least, his doctrines, in some other writer.

In one of the chapters of this last part, which treats of the perfect and imperfect Moods, and their Mutations, he compares musical *Times* to poetical Feet, in a more full, clear, and ingenious manner than has been done since by any other writer.

The author declares in his last chapter, that he has nothing to fear from the severity of fastidious critics; as his intention was not so much to invent rules of his own, as to collect the precepts and opinions of his predecessors. However, he seems to have been the first that suggested a shorter note than the Semibreve, though he did not give it a form: for, cap. i. part vi. we have the following passage:—*Ita Semibrevem* primò *divido in tres partes quas* Minimas *voco, Figuras retinens Semibrevis,* ne ab aliis Musicis videar discedere; verum cum Brevis, divisa in duas Semibreves, sequitur divisam in tres partes, ut in tres partes et duas divisiones pono—sic  —*quæ* MINIMÆ *seu velocissimæ, et sic de aliis.* Where he seems to say, " I divide the Semibreve into three parts—still retaining the figure of the semibreve—lest I should seem to depart from the doctrine of others.''—The text is much abbreviated here, and very difficult to decipher; however, he certainly speaks of smaller portions of time than the Semibreve, and calls these portions *Minimæ Partes;* which seems to entitle him to the invention of the name of *Minim,* though not of the note by which it is characterised; at least, this is the first time that I have met with the mention of a quicker note than the Semibreve.

A Commentary upon Franco's Tract, *De Musica Mensurabili,* written by Robert de Handlo near a hundred years after the treatise by Odington, affords no new information or precepts different from his original;* nor could it ever have been rendered valuable but by its scarcity, or rather by the difficulty of meeting with the writings of Franco.

The ancient copy of Handlo's tract, dated 1326, was destroyed by the fire which happened at Ashburnham House, Westminster [1731], while it was the repository of the Cotton manuscripts. However, as the modern transcript, which was made for the late Dr. Pepusch, is lodged in the British Museum [B.M. ADD. MSS. 4909], and accessible, there seems no necessity for giving a particular account of it. I shall only observe, that which he says of Ligatures and their several properties is literally copied from Franco. The Plica is much better defined and explained in the original text than in Handlo's annotations, in which, though the title promises additional discoveries of other musicians, *Regulæ cum maximis Magistri Franconis, cum additionibus aliorum Musicorum,* we find no new modes or notes except a strange kind of Long, divided into quadrangles  to augment its length, which has never been used in any music that I have seen; and the thirteen *Rubrics* into which this tract is divided, concern nothing but Time, or musical Measures, and are only a commentary upon the four first chapters of Franco's tract; the two last, which treat of Discant, being never mentioned.

Many whimsical and fantastical forms of notes were proposed by different musical writers between the time of Franco and the invention of printing; but none were received into general use except those already mentioned, if the addition of the Minim and Crotchet be excepted, of which notice will be given hereafter. Musical characters remained full, or black,** for several centuries after this invention ; nor do I find any white, or open notes, in old manuscripts, before the fifteenth century. Those of Guillaume

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* See editor's notes, p. 535, with regard to this and p. 515 as to the date of Odington. The full title of Handlo's tract is *Regulae cum maximis magistri Franconis, cum additionibus aliorum musicorum.*

** Red notes were also employed, but the laws governing their use are not altogether clear. One use of the red note was to indicate a change of mood. According to Philip de Vitry (d. 1361) they changed Perfect to Imperfect and *vice versa.* In other cases they indicate singing the passage an octave higher than written. One writer, Philip of Caserta, says that an open white note had the same significance as a red note and could be used by the composer if he had no red ink.

Machault [*c.* 1300—1377], a French musician, who lived about 1350, and whose compositions are preserved, have no open notes (*h*).

It is the opinion of P. Martini (*i*), and the prince abbot of St. Blaise (*k*), two diligent enquirers, who seldom build conjectures upon a weak foundation, that *Accents* and *Points*, enlarged, disfigured, and lengthened, became musical characters for Time as well as Tune. At first, when lines and spaces were used, from their being chiefly employed in a square form for writing the chants established by St. Gregory, they acquired the name of *Gregorian Notes, Quadrata,* and in barbarous Latin, *Quadriquarta*. As the church is slow in receiving new doctrines, and generally a century later in admitting those improvements or corruptions in music (the reader may call them which he pleases) that are adopted by the laity as the fortunate efforts of cultivated genius, the notation of chants was at first censured and prohibited by several councils (*l*); and it has already been shewn, that *figurative Harmony* being regarded as a *crying sin* by Pope John XXII, was formally excommunicated by a Bull from the Conclave, 1322 (*m*).

With respect to the various forms of the first notes that were used for Time, it is not difficult to deduce them wholly from the black square note, called a *Breve,* the first and almost only note used in Canto Fermo ; which, with a foot or tail to it, is a *Long,* and if doubled in breadth, a *Large*. The square note also placed on one of its angles, differs very little from the Rhombus or Lozenge, and with a tail placed at its lowest angle, when open, becomes a *Minim,* and, when full, a *Crotchet*.

Vicentino (*n*), and Kircher (*o*), with more ingenuity than truth, imagined all the notes to have been derived from the Natural and Flat ♮ b, or square and round B, as they appear in Gothic manuscripts ; because, say they, the square ♮, which is itself a *Long,* if the tail be taken away, becomes a *Breve,* and the round b, which represents a *Minim,* by removing the tail is made a *Semibreve,* as, when filled up with ink, it is a *Crotchet*. But these authors, of whose writings we shall have further occasion to speak hereafter, forgot, or where wholly ignorant, that the Long and Breve were entirely black for several ages after their invention; and that the open Semibreve and Minim were unknown till the fourteenth century.

Neither Franco, nor his Commentator, formed the several notes which they described into a *Table,* in the manner which it was the custom to do immediately after the time of Handlo; though an elaborate and complicated diagram, in appearance, might have been

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(*h*) *Notice Sommaire de deux Volumes de Poesies Francoises et Latinis, conservees dans la Bibl. des Carmes-dechaux de Paris; avec une Indication dn genre de Musique qui s'y trouve. Par l'Abbe Lebeuf.* Mem. de Litt. tom. xxxiv. 8vo. p. 120. An account of these manuscripts will be given hereafter.

(*i*) *Storia della Mus.* tom. i. p. 185.

(*k*) *De Cantu et Mus. Sacra,* tomus ii. p. 63.

(*l*) *De Cantu et Mus. Sacra,* tomus ii. p. 62, *et seq.*

(*m*) See p. 511.

(*n*) *L'Antica Musica Ridotta alla Moderna Prattica.* Roma, 1555.

(*o*) *Mursurg.* p. 556.

constructed out of the seeming scant materials of three notes, if their perfect, and imperfect, or triple and double powers, had been taken into the account. Nor do these signs of prolation and the relative value of notes, O Θ Є ₵, which were afterwards prefixed to every melody, occur in the writings of Franco ; but it will be time enough to supply these omissions, when the metrical part of music shall be furnished with more characters.

More pains have been taken to point out and explain the musical doctrines of Guido and Franco than of any other theorists of the middle ages; their tracts having been regarded as original institutes, which succeeding writers have done little more than copy or comment. John Cotton is the commentator of Guido, as Robert de Handlo is of Franco; and John de Muris, in his *Speculum Musicæ,* is little more. However, in the succeeding century, Prosdocimus de Beldemandis wrote an exposition of the doctrines contained in the *Practica Mensurabilis Cantus* of John de Muris: and thus we go on from age to age, reviving old opinions, and adding little to the common and limited stock of human knowledge! It is humiliating to reflect, that the discoveries of one age barely serve to repair the losses of another; and that while we imagine ourselves advancing towards perfection, we seem, like muffled horses in a mill, but pursuing the same circle!

John de Muris is by some stiled a doctor and canon of the Sorbonne (*p*), by some a mathematician and philosopher (*q*), and by others a chanter of the church of Notre-Dame at Paris (*r*). His country is likewise disputed: for though the general opinion be that he was born at Meurs in Normandy, whence he had his name, yet, by a typographical error, he is called *Parmigiano* in Bontempi, instead of *Parigino,* which makes him a native of Parma instead of Paris (*s*). But though he has no title to the first invention of the Time-table, he must certainly have been a great benefactor to practical music by his numerous writings on the subject, which doubtless threw new lights upon the art, as may be better imagined now from the gratitude of his successors, by whom he so frequently quoted and commended, than from the writings themselves, which *Time,* to whom he was supposed to be so great a friend, has rendered totally useless, and almost unintelligible.

But though he is intitled to an honourable place among musical worthies ; yet, as both his country and profession have been disputed, all that can be done to gratify the reader's curiosity concerning him, is to give a complete list of his works that are still preserved in the several libraries of Europe ; and from their titles and contents to deduce at least a probable opinion of other circumstances concerning him.

(*p*) Rousseau, *Dict. de Mus. Docteur et Chanoine de Paris.*

(*q*) Walther, *Musicalisches* Lexicon. Fabricius, *Bib. Lat. Med. et Inf. Ætat.*

(*r*) Mersenne, *Harm. Univ. Liv. des Consonances,* p. 84.

(*s*) I call it a *typographical* error, in order to acquit Bontempi of making J. de Muris an Italian, either from ignorance or want of integrity; as I am in possession of a proof-copy of his *Storia della Musica,* in which, among other corrections made in his own hand, the word *Parmigiano* is changed to *Parigino.*

Besides the tract in the Vatican library, which has been already specified p. 529, I found there three others by de Muris, on the subject of music: of the two first, which are in the same volume (No. 5321) one is "a Treatise on Time, or Measured Music": Joannis de Muris *Practica Cantus Mensurabilis*, pr. *Quilibet in Arte* (*t*); and the other "a Compendium of Counterpoint": Joannis de Muris *Ars Summaria Contrapuncti*—pr. *Volentibus introduci*. The third, which is among the Queen of Sweden's manuscripts (1728), consists of "Musical Theorems explained in Verse": Joan. de Muris *Theoremata Musica Versibus explicata*.*

In the king of France's library at Paris there are two copies of his *Speculum Musicæ*, or *Mirror of Music*, in seven books (*u*), which is the principal and most ample of all his musical writings. This is the work mentioned by Mersennus, Du Cange, and Rousseau, and in which they all tried in vain as well as myself, to find proofs of his having been the inventor of the Time-table.

Rousseau has given two considerable quotations from this work in his Musical Dictionary, article *Discant*, which de Muris defines "The singing extempore with one or more persons in different Concords, in such a manner as to produce *One Harmony* (*x*)." After which he explains what he means by *Concords*, and the choice that should be made of them upon these occasions. He then severely censures the singers of his time for their ignorance and indiscriminate use of them. "If our rules are good, with what front," says he, "do those dare to *discant* or *compose*, who are so ignorant of Concords as not to know which are more or less pleasing, which ought to be avoided, or most frequently used ; where to introduce them, or any thing that concerns the true practice of the art? If they accord it is by mere chance ; their voices wander about the tenor or plain-song without rule, trusting wholly to Providence for their coincidence. They throw sounds about at random, as awkward people throw stones at a mark, without hitting it once in a hundred times."

The good master Muris then proceeds to flagellate with great fury these corruptors of the pure and simple harmony of his time: "Heu! proh dolor! His temporibus aliqui suum defectum inepto proverbio colorare moliuntur. Iste est, iniquiunt, novus discantandi modus, novis scilicet uti consonantiis; offendunt ii intellectum eorum, qui tales defectus agnoscunt, offendunt sensum: nam inducere cùm deberent delectationem, adducunt tristitiam. O incongruum proverbium! O mala coloratio, irrationabilis excusatio! O magnus abusus, magna ruditas, magna bestialitas, ut asinus sumatur pro homine, capra pro leone, ovis pro pisce, serpens pro

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(*t*) This tract is likewise in Benet college, Cambridge, No. 410, in the same vol. as Walter Odington's treatise, though the author has been hitherto unknown.

(*u*) No. 7207, 7208 [7207A].

(*x*) *Discantat qui simul cum uno vel pluribus dulciter cantat, ut ex distinctis sonis sonus unus fiat, non unitate simplicitatis, sed dulcis concordisque mixtionis unione.*

* The *Ars Summaria Contrapuncti* is only a digest of the teachings of de Muris and probably by some other writer, and from internal evidence it is hardly likely that the *Practica Cantus Mensurabilis* can be his work. Coussemaker reprinted both these tracts in the third volume of the *Scriptores*.

salmone! Sic enim concordiæ confunduntur cum discordiis, ut nullatenùs una distinguatur ab aliâ. O! si antiqui periti Musicæ Doctores tales audissent discantatores, quid dixissent? Quid fecissent? Sic discantantem increparent, et dicerent: non hunc discantum, quo uteris, de me sumis. Non tuum cantum unum et concordantem cum me facis. De quo te intromittis? Mihi non congruis, mihi adversarius, scandalum tu mihi es ; O utinam taceres! non concordas, sed deliras et discordas (*y*)."

As all the tracts in the list of his writings which concern music have been carefully examined, I shall endeavour to convey to the reader an idea of their contents.

The tract which begins *Quoniam Musica est de Sono relato ad Numeros*, is now marked Bodl. 300 [339]. It is a treatise of Harmonics, in which the circulur and conical diagrams and divisions of the scale are innumerable. The author is as fond of the circle in this work, as Tartini was four hundred years after. The transcriber has however omitted many of these illustrations of his doctrines, by which perhaps the injury to musical students of the present age is not very considerable.—*Explicit Musica Magistri Johannis de Muris.*

What follows in the manuscript is manifestly a continuation of the subject, and a second part of the preceding tract. It begins thus: *Princeps Philosophorum Aristoteles ait in Principio Mathematicæ suæ omnino Scientis Signum est posse docere.* We find, after the introduction, a repetition of the initial sentence of the

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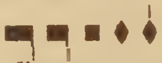
(*y*) The Latin of this passage is so obsolete and monkish, that it seems as if it would fall more naturally into English of the sixteenth century, than into that of the present times. "But, alas! in these our dayes, some do stryve to glosse over theyr lacke of skyll with silly sayenges. This, cry they, is the *newe* method of discantynge, these be the newe concordes.—Howbeit they grievously offend thereby both the hearing, and the understanding of suche as be skylled to judge of theyr defects; for where we look for delight, they induce sadnesse. O incongruous sayenge! O wretched glosse! irrational excuse! O monstrous abuse! most rude and bestial ignoraunce! to take an asse for a man, a goat for a lyon, a sheepe for a fishe, a snake for a salmone! For in suche sorte do they confound concordes with discordes, as ye shall in no wise discerne the one from the other. O! if the good old maysters of former tyme did hear suche *discanters*, what wolde they say or do? Out of doubte they woulde thus chyde them and say, "This discant, whereof ye now make use, ye do not take it from *me;* ye do in no wyse frame your songe to be concordaunt with me; wherefore do ye trust yourselves in? ye do not agree with me; ye are an adversary, and a scandal unto me. O that ye wolde be dumb! This is not *concordynge,* but most doatynge and delyrious *discordynge.*"

Concerning the writings upon various subiects by John de Muris that are still preserved among the manuscripts of the Bodleian and Museum libraries, I shall transcribe the account given in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, p. 537, which is so ample as to need little addition.

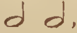
"John de Murs or Murus, an Englishman, and an eminent philosopher, mathematician, and muscian, wrote *Ex Stellarum positionibus prophetiam*. Lib. i. 'Infra Annum certe Mundi.' *Arithmeticam Speculativam*. Lib. i. MS. Oxon. in Bibl. publ. Impress. Mogunt——*Tractatum Musicum*. Lib. i. 'Quoniam Musica est de Sono relato ad Numeros.' MS. Bodl. NE. F 10. 11. *Artem compendi* (metiendi) *fistulas Organorum* Secundum Guidonem. Lib. i. *'Cognita consonantia in Chordis.'* Ibid. *Sufficientiam Musicæ Organicæ editam* (ita habet MS.) *a Mag. Joanne de Muris, Musico Sapientissimo, et totius orbis Subtilissimo experto*. Pr. Princeps Philosophorum Aristoteles.' Ib *Compositionem Consonantiarum in Symbolis Secundum Boetium*. Pr. 'Omne Instrumentum Musicæ.' Ib. *Canones super Tabulas Alphonsinas*. Pr. 'Quia secundum Philosophum 4to Physicorum.' MS. Bodl. Digby 168. f. 132. *Collectionem Prophetiarum de Rebus Anglicis*, per Joh. de Muris, MS. Cotton. Vespas. E VII. 8. In MS. Bodl. Digby 190. fol. 72. extat *Prologus in opus, cui Titulus*: Tractatus Canonum minutiarum Philosophicarum et Vulgarium, quem composuit Mag. Johannes de Muris, Normannus A. MCCCXXI. a quo eodum anno (verba sunt autoris) *Notitia Artis Musicæ* proferendæ et sigurandæ tam mensurabilis quam planæ, quantum ad omnem modum possibilem discantandi, non solum per integra, sed usque ad minutissimas fractiones: *Cognitioque circuli quadraturæ* perfectissime demonstratæ: *expositioque tabularum Alphonsi,* regis Castelliæ: et *Genealogiæ Astronomiæ* nobis claruit,' &c. *Canones de Eclipsibus*. Pr. 'In oppositione habenda aliud.' MS. Bodl. Digby 97. ubi habetur hæc nota: 'Hos Canones disposuit Johannes de Muris *Parisiis* in A. MCCCXXXIX. in Domo Scholarium de Sorbona.' *De Conjuntione Saturni et Jovis,* A. MCCCXLV. Pr. 'Tres Principes ex Militia.' MS. Bodl. Digby 176. Bal. XI. 74. Plts. *app.* p. 872 seq."

first part: *Quoniam Musica est de Sono relato ad Numeros.* This part, however, relates more to the practice of music than the other.

In this chapter *De Tempore perfecto et imperfecto,* he seems to call Common Time perfect, and Triple Time imperfect: for he says, *quod Longa possit* Imperfici *per Brevem. Brevis per Semibrevem. Semibrevis per Miniam. Quod Minima non possit imperfici.* However, by these words he perhaps only means to say that a Long, which by itself is perfect, or equal to three Breves, by position may be rendered imperfect, that is, equal to two Breves only, by a Breve, the next shortest note being placed after it ; and so a Breve, which alone, or with other Breves, is triple, becomes double by a Semibreve following it. What he means by saying that a Minim cannot be imperfected in the same manner, is that there was no shorter note, the Crotchet not being then invented, to perform the operation. In his diagrams of Musical Proportions or Time-tables, he gives but four kinds of notes ; that is, in four columns: for in these are manifestly five distinct forms of characters ; as 

The Scale of Guido, in a perpendicular diagram ; and the Hexachords, which are well arranged under their several denominations of *Durum, Naturale,* and *Molle,* are exhibited in this tract.

In the tract by John de Muris, beginning *Quilibet in Arte,* which I unexpectedly found in Benet College, Cambridge [410], in the same volume as Odington's treatise, the notes are divided into five classes: *Quinque sunt Partes, Prolationis, videlicit Maxima, Longa, Brevis, Semibrevis et Minima,* ut hic—giving the same characters as in the tract just mentioned ; and here, likewise, his doctrine agrees with that in his other treatise, where he seems to call the triple proportions imperfect, and the dual perfect.

This is the most ancient manuscript in which I have found the signs of the modes, C ϵ O Θ, and the *Punctum Perfectionis.* Here it plainly appears that the Punctum, or point, in John de Muris operates in the same manner as that already described in Franco, p. 537, where it makes the note to which it is prefixed perfect, that is, of three times ; and the calling it *Punctum Perfectionis,* or Point of Perfection, proves its power of making a double quantity triple, as at present. At the bottom of fol. 6, is written, *Explicit Tractatus Joannis de Muris;* however, it goes on for fifteen pages more. Here I first saw an open or white Minim , and a half lozenge note . The ink is pale, and the writing very bad, and difficult to decipher ; but the manuscript, which is written on paper of a coarse texture, seems entire, and corresponds in every particular with that in the Vatican library, No. 5321, which has been already mentioned, p. 546. It was this treatise which Prosdocimo de Beldemandis of Padua, a voluminous writer on music in the beginning of the fifteenth century, thought of sufficient importance to merit a Commentary, which is now in the possession of Padre Martini of Bologna (*z*).

(*z*) *Practica Mensurabilis Cantus,* Mag. Joan. de Muris, de Normandia, alias Parisiensis, cum exposit. Posdocimi de Beldemandis Patav. MS. an. 1404.

The tract by J. de Muris, in the Bodleian library [339], upon the measures, and proportions of organ pipes according to Guido, beginning *Omne Instrumentum Musice,* is very short, and contains nothing very important to music at present. It is not known that Guido ever wrote on the same subject, and de Muris only means by *secundum Guidonem,* to say that he has followed the same proportions which Guido established in his division of the monochord.

In another short tract of the same volume he follows Boethius. And in his *Tractatus Canonum minutiarum Philosophicarum et vulgarium,* where he tells us that he had composed at the same time "a Treatise on the Art of Music, teaching and describing in Figures or Notes both Measured and Plain-Song, with every possible Kind of Discant, not only by Integers or long Notes, but by the shortest and most minute Fractions (*a*), he probably alludes to his *Speculum Musicœ,* in seven books, which seems the most voluminous of all his writings. See p. 546.

With respect to the dispute concerning the place of his nativity, though Tanner, copying Pits and Bale, calls him an Englishman, yet we find that in the title of one of the manuscripts of the Bodleian library, in Tanner's list, he is called a Norman, and in another a Parisian. Padre Martini (*b*) likewise quotes a manuscript of the year 1404, in which he is called the Great John de Muris, *de Normandia* alias *Parisiensis.*

Having taken some pains to trace the opinion of his being an Englishman to its source, I have been able to find no such title given to him in any of his numerous writings that have been preserved in manuscript throughout Europe. The assertion rests entirely on Robert Record, a physician at Cambridge, and one of the first writers upon science in the English language. His works were very voluminous, of which, however, little more remain than the titles preserved in Pits' account of him, which says that he was living in 1552 (*c*); at least I have never been able to procure any of his writings, except his Arithmetic, printed in black letter 1543. And as John de Muris had written on the same subject (*d*), I had hopes of meeting in this tract with the place where Record calls him an Englishman; but no such could be found.

Pits (*e*) calls him an English mathematician, and says " he was a man of some genius, but possessed of too daring a curiosity; for while he was studying philosophy, he addicted himself to mathematics, and to that more sublime part of astronomy which contemplates the heavens: and in the exercise of his genius for calculation he had the insolence to predict future events; thus persuading the ignorant and vulgar, that by the aspect of the

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(*a*) See the list of his works from Tanner [p. 547, note (*y*)].

(*b*) *Storia della Musica,* p. 461. tom. i.

(*c*) *Append. Illust. Aug. Script.* tom. i. p. 872.

(*d*) *Arithmeticam Speculativam,* lib. duos.

(*e*) *Loc. Cit.*

stars he could penetrate the decrees of Providence. He dared to publish celestial secrets under the title of *Prophetiarum,* prophecies (*f*)."

These particulars, and many more, he says, were collected from *Robert Record.* But neither from him, nor any one else, was he able to discover at what time he lived. Bale, who calls him a mathematician and a conjurer (*g*), gives the same authority for his being an Englishman.

This bare assertion, made at a time when it was not so customary to give or expect proofs and critical exactness in support of facts as at present, has not only been copied without farther enquiry by Pits, Bale, and Tanner, at home, but by Fabricius, and other respectable writers on the continent. A Latin distich, by an anonymous writer (*h*), which had been quoted in favour of this opinion, can add but little to its weight, when it is known to come from the most ignorant and monkish of writers, the author of a treatise *De Origine et Effectu Musice,* written 1451; who tells us that " Cyrus lived soon after the deluge; that one king *Enchiridias* was a writer on music," mistaking, I suppose, some *Enchiridion* which he had seen, for the name of a royal author. And that " Thubal kept a blacksmith's shop, at which Pythagoras adjusted the consonances by the sound of his hammers."

But if, instead of a distich, we take the four last lines of these barbarous verses, with their true punctuation, thus:

> Pausas, juncturas, facturas, atque *figuras*
> *Mensuratarum formavit* Franco *notarum*;
> *Et* Ihon De Muris, *variis floruitque figuris.*
> *Anglia cantorum omen* [f. *nomen*] *gignit plurimorum* (*i*)

they will be found no more to prove John de Muris an Englishman, than Franco, as both contributed to the progress of music in this kingdom; and it may as well be insisted upon, that, because Metastasio has enriched this country with many beautiful songs, he must consequently be a native of England. Indeed, it is difficult to assign any meaning to the last verse; or even to divine what it is "to beget an omen."

That monks and persons of learning, for many centuries before the Reformation, were more frequently distinguished by the name of the place which gave them birth, joined to their baptism

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(*f*) Judicial Astrology was then the reigning folly of philosophers and learned men. Robert the Good, king of Sicily, so renowned for wisdom and science, that Boccaccio called him the wisest prince who had reigned since king Solomon, sent his *predictions* to his cousin king Philip de Valois, then at war with our Edward the third. Indeed, most of the musical writers of those times studied the stars, perhaps for the sake of *Spherical Music*; and as the tonsor and surgeon were long united in this country, so we find music and astrology constant companions. Walter Odington is said to have been an "able astrologer and musician." The same is said of Simon Tunsted, and Theinred, of Dover.

(*g*) *Mathematicus et Vates.*

(*h*) Ihon de Muris, *variis floruitque figuris,*
Anglia cantorum omen gignit plurimorum.

(*i*) Extracted from the manuscript of Waltham Holy Cross: once the property of the late Mr. West, president of the Royal Society, but now in the possession of the Earl of Shelburne. [Now in the B.M. Landsdowne MS. 763].

appellation, than by their family name, is most certain: as Guido Aretinus, Geoffry of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmsbury, John of Salisbury, Mathew of Westminster, &c., who have been always supposed natives, or, at least, inhabitants, of the several places by which they were called. Now, though no town in Normandy of the name of *Meurs* can be found, either in maps or geographical books, yet, as there are several places so called in France, particularly one in Touraine, and another in Anjou, near Angers (*k*), which, by giving birth to our John, served to distinguish him from his innumerable namesakes of other kingdoms, cities, and professions; and as no satisfactory or probable reason has been assigned for supposing him an Englishman, nor can any one be now suggested except a patriotic desire of appropriating to our own country a man whose learning and talents have been long celebrated, it is but just to restore him to that country which seems to have the fairest claim to him.

John de Muris, though not the inventor of the *Cantus Mensurabilis*, seems by his numerous writings greatly to have improved it. Indeed, every species of note to be found in his tract, except the Minim, is described in Franco, as well as used in compositions anterior to his time, and mentioned by authors who wrote upon music before him. Nor is it possible to imagine that this art was invented and received by all Europe at once: like others, it had its beginning, improvements, and perfection, in different periods of time. His *Art of Counterpoint* (*l*), of which I procured a copy at Rome, though comprised in a few pages, is, however, the most clear and useful tract on the subject, which those times could boast.*

He begins by informing the reader, that beyond the Octave all is repetition. That "within the Octave there are six species of Concord; three perfect, and three imperfect: of the first kind are the Unison, 8th, and 5th; and of the second, the two 3ds, and Major 6th. The first of the perfect kind is the *Unison*, which, though by some not allowed to be a Concord, yet, according to Boethius, is the source and origin of all consonance. The unison naturally requires after it a Minor 3d; which on the contrary, for variety, is best succeeded by a perfect Concord. The 5th being of the perfect kind, is well followed by a Major 3d, and *é contra*. The Octave, another perfect Concord, may be succeeded by the Major 6th; after which, either a perfect or imperfect Concord may be taken. It is the same with the Minor 3d, which, being of the imperfect kind, may be succeeded either by a perfect or imperfect

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(*k*) MEUR, *en Touraine, diocese de Tours, parlement de* Paris.

MEURS, *Bourg, en Anjou, diocese et election de* Laon. *parlememt de* Paris, *intendance de* Tours, *ce Bourg est situe pres de la rive gauche de la Loire.* Dict. Geographique, Hist. et Polit. des Gaules et de France, par l'Abbe Expilly. Tom. iv. Amst. 1766.

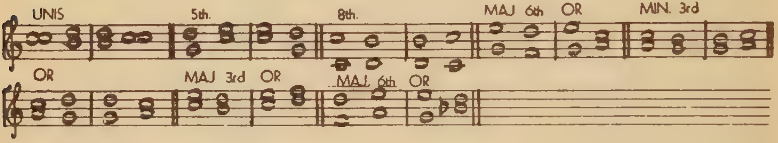
In the *Dict. Universelle de la France*, the same situation is given to this village, except its being in the election of *Angers*.

(*l*) *Ars Contrapuncti*, Jo. de Muris. *Ex.* MS. *Vat.* 5321.

* See editor's note on p. 546 with regard to the *Ars Summaria Contrapuncti*.

There does not seem to be any reason for looking upon de Muris as an innovator. In many ways he must be regarded as being very conservative in his attitude towards the musical theory of his time, Concord. The Major 3d, though best followed by a 5th, yet may be succeeded by another 3d, but then it must be Minor. The Major 6th too, though best followed by an 8th, may yet be succeeded either by a perfect or imperfect Concord of another species, for the sake of variety; it can be followed by a 5th only when the under part rises a Major or Minor 3d; but by 3ds and 6ths at pleasure. Every composition should begin and end in a perfect Concord; and it must be remembered that no two parts should ascend or descend in *perfect Concords,* though imperfect may be used without limitation: and lastly, care must be taken, that when the under part ascends, the upper should descend, and the contrary.''

Most of these rules were given by Franco, but with less clearness and precision; and as they will not only shew that Harmony had made some progress in the fourteenth century, but are such as would not shock modern ears, I shall present them to the musical reader, in notes.



The Minor 6th, I know not why, is called a *Discord* by Franco, and has no admission among Concords, by John de Muris; though it is only an inversion of the Major 3d, which both allow to be a Concord.

John de Muris makes no mention of the 4th in this tract, though, in his *Speculum Musicæ,* he gives rules for discanting in a *succession of Fourths,* under the barbarous term, *Diatessaronare.*

Prosdocimus de Beldemandis (*m*) is the first who allows the minor 6th a place in the catalogue of Concords, and is explicit in speaking of the 4th as a *Discord.* However, he says it is less a Discord than the 2d or 7th, and may be placed in a middle class, *between* Concords and Discords.

But earlier writers than Prosdocimo must here have a place after John de Muris, and among these PHILIPPUS DE VITRIACO deserves notice, not only as one of the most ancient writers on Counterpoint, whose tract is preserved in the Vatican library (*n*), from which I procured a copy; but as the reputed inventor of the *Minim,* and a composer of *Motets,* which have been very much celebrated by old musical writers.*

(*m*) In a tract upon Counterpoint among the Vatican MSS. No. 5321, written 1412.

(*n*) *Ars Contrapuncti, secundum* Phillippum de Vitriaco. Ex MS. Vat. 5321.

* The extant works by de Vitry are as follows:—
(1) *Ars Nova;* (2) *Ars Perfecta* (considered by some as of doubtful authenticity); (3) *Liber Musicalium* (which contains mention of red notes); and (4) *Ars Contrapunctum.* Coussemaker reprinted all these in the *Scriptores* (*Vol.* 3). No compositions by de Vitry are known to be extant.

The name of Philip de Vitriaco [*c.* 1285/95—1361] very frequently occurs in ancient authors, particularly in England, where he has been commended both in verse and prose. William Cornish, chapelman to the most famouse and noble kynge Henry VII. in a parable between Trouth and Information, published in Skelton's works, 12mo. 1736, names him among the greatest musicians upon record.

> And the first pryncipal, whose name was Tuballe,
> Guido, Boice, John de Muris, Vitryaco, and them al.

An anonymous Latin writer in the Cotton musical manuscript, which will be described hereafter, says he invented the Minim, and was a musician universally approved and celebrated, in his time. The author of the manuscript in the Bodleian library [Digby 90], attributed to Thomas of Tewkesbury, says the same (*o*). Morley (*p*), Ravenscroft (*q*), and Butler (*r*), are of this opinion; and Morley tells us that he used red notes in his Motets to imply a change of mode, time, and prolation. Vitriaco, however, makes no mention of such in his tract on Counterpoint, and his Motets, if they could now be found, such is the transient state of music, would be utterly unintelligible; though Morley tells us, that "they were for some time of all others best esteemed and most used in the church (*s*).

There are Motets, *Muteti,* in two parts, four hundred years old, inserted in the second volume of Gerbert's History of Church Music; but of so coarse a texture, that if a specimen were given here it would be of no other use than to raise the reader's wonder how such music could ever be composed or performed, and still more, how it should ever have been listened to with pleasure.

Franco speaks of Motets in three parts, *Moteti—qui habent triplum,* &c.—The Pseudo-Bede, *De Musica Mensurata,* uses the word *Motellus* in the same sense; and in defining the Grave, Mean, and Acute parts of Music, says, *ex his componuntur* Mortelli, *seu* Conducti, *vel* Organa.

Rondelli, Motelli and *Conducti* (*t*) were secular melodies, distinct from ecclesiastical chants. Franco, in the fifth chapter of his tract

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(*o*) His seventh chapter has for title, *De Figuris inventis a* Francone, *et de Inventione Minime,* which last, he says, was added by Philip de Vitriaco of Auvergne, the flower of musicians in the whole world.

(*p*) Annotations to the first part of his *Introduction.*

(*q*) P. 3. (*r*) P. 27.

(*s*) *Motet* is derived from the French word *Mot,* and the Italian *Motto;* whence *Bon-mot,* a joke, and *Motto,* a short inscription, have been naturalized in our tongue.

(*t*) The word *Conductus* is frequently found as a musical term in writers of the thirteenth century. Odo, archbishop of Rheims, about 1250, in his charge to the nuns of the monastery of Villars, calls both the *Conducti* and *Motuli,* Motets, "Jocose and scurrilous songs." *In festo S. Joannis et Innocentium nimia jocositate et scurrilibus Cantibus utebantur utpote farsis,* Conductis, Motulis, *præcepimus, quod honestius et cum majori devotione alias se haberent.* Ex Cod. *Reg. Visitat.* apud Gerbert.
The term *Conduis,* in old French, had the same acceptation, according to the following passage, cited by the continuator of Du Cange:

> *De bien chanter estoit si duis*
> *Que chansonetes et* Conduis
> *Chante si affaiteement,* &c.

on Measured Music, after giving instructions for putting parts to a plain-song, says, *in* conductis *aliter est operandum, quia qui vult facere* conductum, *primò cantum invenire debet pulchriorem quam potest, deinde uti debet illo, ut de Tenore faciendo Discantum.* Here a tune or melody is to be invented as well as the harmony or parts: and in the same tract, chap. vi. which is deficient in the Oxford copy, after speaking of different kinds of composition, he says, *et nota, quod in his omnibus idem est modus operandi, excepto in* Conductis *quia in omnibus aliis primo accipitur Cantus aliquis prius factus, quia Tenor dicitur, eo quod Discantum tenet, et ab ipso* (f. discantus) *ortum habet. In* Conductis *vero non sic, sed fiunt ab eodem Cantus et Discantus,* &c. "It is to be observed, that in all these compositions the process is the same, except in the *Conductus,* because in every other species of Discant some melody already made is chosen, which is called the Tenor, and which governs the Discant that originates from it. But it is different in the *Conductus,* where the Cantus, or Melody, and the Discant, or Harmony, are both to be produced." Perhaps this species of Air had the name of *Conductus* from being the *Subject, Theme,* and *Guide,* to which different parts were applied.

Durand (*u*) says, that, about the latter end of the thirteenth century, *Motets* were censured as indecorous and prophane; and Carpentier (*x*) gives a passage from the manuscript Constitutions of the Carmelite friars (*y*), which ordains that "no *Motets* or other songs that are more likely to excite lasciviousness than devotion, should be sung, under severe penalties."

At present this title is given to all compositions set to Latin words for the use of the Romish church, as Psalms, Hymns, Anthems, Responses, &c. Musicians, however, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and even earlier, sometimes gave the name of *Motetus* to the part which is now called *Counter-Tenor.* It was afterwards synonimous with *Motellus,* a kind of tune or melody, which, though continued in the church, was censured as too light and *scurrilous.*

The earliest, and indeed the most pompous publication of Motets which I have seen, are those of Lodovico Vittoria at Rome, 1585,* with the parts printed separate on the opposite pages, and without bars (*z*). In 1659, a Collection of *Motetti,* by Carissimi and others, was published at Venice; and our countryman, Orlando Gibbons, in 1612, published Madrigals and *Moteti,* together.**

(*u*) *De Modo Gen. Concil. Celebrandi.*

(*x*) *Suppl. in Gloss. ad Script. Med. et inf. Lat.* V. Motetus.

(*y*) P. I. Rubr. 3.

(*z*) *Thomæ Ludovici a Victoria Abulensis* Motecta *festorum totius Anni, cum Communi Sanctorum,* a 4, 5, 6, *et* 8, *Vocibus.*

* Ottaviano dei Petrucci (1466-1539) was publishing at Venice collections of motets as early as 1502. A copy of a set published in 1503 is in the B.M. (K. 1 d. 2).

** It must be remembered that originally the motet was not a composition for Church use, and that therefore the use of the word by Gibbons in this set was by no means unusual. Florio, in his *Dictionary* published in 1598, explains *motetto* as "a dittie, a verse, a jigge, a short song, a wittie saying." Grove's gives the date of Gibbon's 1st set (in the list of works at the end of the article) as 1614, but gives the correct date 1612 in the body of the article. (Vol. ii. pp. 380 and 381).

But at the latter end of the last century, and the beginning of this, the Motet was in the greatest favour as the most elegant and polished species of *Verse-Anthem* that was used in the Romish church; and the Motets of Giambatista Bassani [*c* 1657-1716] were held in great estimation all over Europe, but particularly in England, about the beginning of this century; where the thirteenth Opera of divine *Motetti* by Bassani was printed, " for a single voice with proper symphonies." I remember my father, a cotemporary of Purcell and Blow, singing and speaking of them with great delight.*

Though Philip de Vitriaco is mentioned by so many writers, yet only one of them names his country. If, as has been said in Tunsted's manuscript, he was of Auvergne, his talents, and the period when he lived will correspond with the account that is given of *Philippes de Vitry*, bishop of Meaux, in France, who died 1361: for this prelate is said, by John de Vinette, a writer of the fourteenth century, to have been celebrated for his works in French and in Latin, and for his *abilities in Ecclesiastical Music*. And du Plessis, in his History of Meaux, speaks of him in the following words: " Philip de Vitry, or de Vitteri, applied himself to music and poetry with so much success, that, for the time in which he lived, he may be ranked among the most excellent of their votaries (*a*)."

This account, however, does not very well ascertain his invention of the *Minim*, which seems the expedient of some earlier musician; for pope John XXII. in his decree given at Avignon, 1322 (*b*), in describing the abuse and corruption of sacred music, and speaking of the new figurative kind of polyphonic compositions with which it was infected, says, that those who were captivated with it, " attending to the *new* notes and *new* measures of the disciples of the *new* school, would rather have their ears tickled with semibreves and minims, and such frivolous inventions, than hear the ancient ecclesiastical chant." (*c*).**

Indeed, Vitriaco neither mentions the coloured notes, nor the minim, in his tract on counterpoint; which last, though he may not have invented, yet the frequent use of it in his motets, that seem to have authorised and encouraged others to admit it into their compositions.

Of what kind the compositions used in religious houses were, four hundred years ago, that is about the year 1374, we may form

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(*a*) *Mem. de Litt.* tom. xiii.

(*b*) See the preceding chapter, p. 504 and 511.

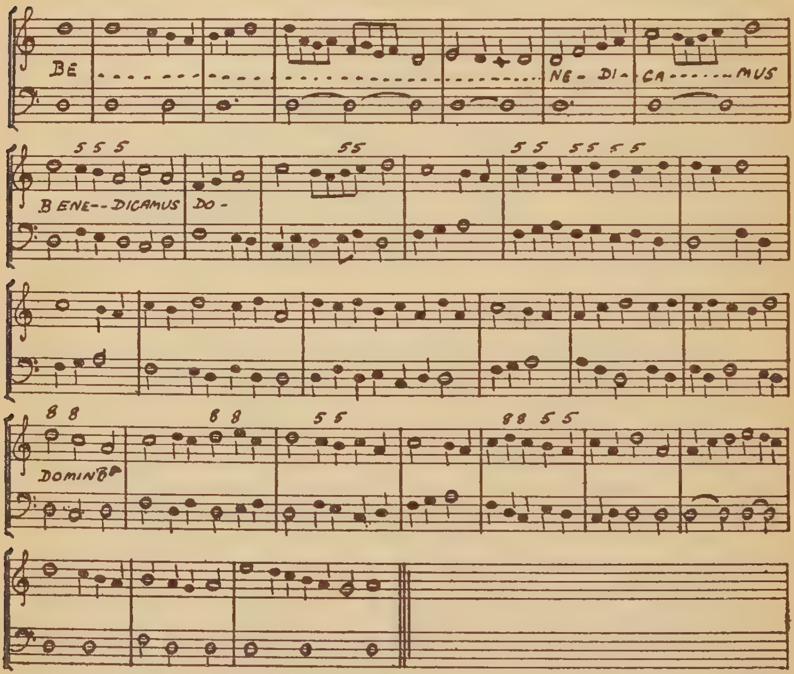
(*c*) *Novæ Scholæ discipulos, dum temporibus mensurandis invigilant, novas notas intendunt, fingere suas, quam antiquas cantare malunt, in Semibreves et* Minimas *Ecclesiastica Cantantur, notulis percutiuntur.* After this, he gives such a description of the wild modulations and wanton divisions, which had deluged church music, particularly the *Hoqueti*, or Hiccups, as would suit the present *Bravura* songs of an Agujari, or a Danzi.

* *Harmonia Festiva* in two volumes, op. 8 and 13. Published by W. Pearson, London, between 1699 and 1735.

** The invention of the minim must be ascribed to Odington, who divided the semibreve into three parts, giving the name *minima* to the short note.
De Muris, in his writings, does not seem to favour this division of the semibreve.

some judgment, perhaps, from the following specimen given by the learned Gerbert, abbot of St. Blaise, in the first volume of his History of Sacred Music, from a manuscript of his own abbey. It consists of only two words—*Benedicamus Domino*—which was called the *Benediction*, and enjoined to be sung by the religious of some orders at the end of every hour, as a grace. Here we have not only an example of such counterpoint, as was in use at the time, but of the *Neumæ*, or divisions, with which the good monks were allowed to solace themselves on festivals; *pro festivitatum ratione.*

Per Biscantum.



This discant is too contemptible for criticism: there is in it neither measure nor harmony: indeed, almost the only concords to be found in it are 5ths and 8ths, and those generally in succession. None of the rules of Franco, Vitriaco, or John de Muris, are observed, to which the composer seems to have been an utter stranger. Only three kinds of characters are used: the long, breve, and semibreve; and these are all *full* and *black*, as *white, open* notes were not yet in use.

Franco's discant shews that there was much better harmony known at a very early period after Guido, than had been practised in the church under the title of Organizing.

New attempts at deviation, from the old diaphonics, were long kept out of the church, if we may judge by the motets and other written discants that have been preserved in convents and ecclesiastical archives, produced in times when secular music was much improved. The scanty rules given by de Muris, Vitriaco, and others of the fourteenth century, had they been known or followed, would have taught contrapuntists how to use concords, at least less offensively than seems to have been done by the ecclesiastics, who could think such discant as that we have been mentioning, worthy of admission into the divine offices.

If the church had never suffered such wretched compositions as these to enter its pale, who could have languished for them? or, when better were invented, if she had been hasty to excommunicate and anathematize these, who would have thought her power abused? but that she ever should have allowed such jargon to disgrace her temples, or pollute the sacred service, and should long prohibit the use of better harmony, when better was found, must make the profane doubt of the infallibility of those councils, by whose decrees the one was received, and the other rejected.

But the cultivators of melody and counterpoint, in general, were now feeling their way in utter darkness, as to the musical laws which have been since established, and in favour of which habitude has so much prejudiced our ears, that we wonder how any other arrangement, or combination of sounds, could ever be tolerated than that to which we are accustomed.

It is perhaps nearly the same with respect to the combination of letters, in the structure of words, and arrangement of sentences; and the euphony of language, though not in itself ideal and arbitrary, is as temporary and local to the ears of those that are accustomed to it, as the arrangement of sounds in melody, and their combination in harmony. Whoever should now choose to converse at St. James's in the language of Chaucer, which was that of the court in his time, would not only be thought rude and savage, but a lunatic. It is by small and imperceptible degrees that a new-formed language or melody is polished ; we see and hear nothing but what is within point-blank of our senses ; and, by accommodating ourselves to the degree of perfection which surrounds us, we imagine that but little more can be acquired by posterity, than what we have attained.

There is, indeed, a period at which a language might be wished to remain stationary, as fewer liberties are allowed in speech than melody, which, a few tonal and fundamental laws excepted, is abandoned to all the caprice and vagaries of imagination. But that the immutable laws of harmony should be subject to the vicissitudes of fashion, is wonderful: for it seems as if the concords which we now call perfect, of unison, octave, 4th, and 5th, must *always* have been concords, and that 3ds and 6ths, though nominally imperfect, must ever have been grateful to creatures organized like ourselves; but, on the contrary, it has appeared, in the course of this work, that almost every concord, whose coincidence and perfection are open to mathematical demonstration, has had its period of favour. When men became satiated with the monotony of unisons and octaves, the fourth for many ages was the favourite interval and consonance among the Greeks; and in the middle ages, during the infancy of Counterpoint, sometimes it was most fashionable to organize by a succession of 4ths, and sometimes of 5ths, to *Diatessaronare* and *Quintoier*, as was in vogue by turns. Then 3ds were received among auricular sweet-meats of the most piquant kind, which every subsequent age has so much contributed to refine and perfect, that there seems little probability that the inhabitants of Europe will soon be cloyed with them. In Corelli's time a chain of 7ths, regularly prepared and resolved, was thought necessary to combine Harmony, and ornament almost every composition: 9ths, accompanied by 3ds, and 4ths by 5ths, abounded in every page of that period; whereas now the 9th is seldom seen without a 4th or 7th, and the 4th is constantly observed to prefer the 6th for its companion, to its old crony the 5th: a new association too has, of late years, been formed between the, $\frac{7}{2}$ of which former times can give no example. All which circumstances evidently prove that there is a *mode* and *fashion* in *Harmony*, as well as Melody, which contribute to render the favour of musical compositions so transient; and when we reflect on the various powers of voices, instruments, and performers, on which the perfect execution of every musical composition depends, but little hope can remain to the artist that his productions, like those of the poet, painter, or architect, can be blest with longevity!

Chapter IV

Of the Origin of Modern Languages, to which written Melody and Harmony were first applied; and general state of Music till the Invention of Printing, about the year 1450

HAVING made some progress in the mechanism of Melody and Harmony, by tracing as near its source as possible, the first formation of the musical Alphabet, or *Scale,* whence single sounds are drawn, and given very early specimens of their *Measure,* and simultaneous use in *Consonance;* the reader will, perhaps, not be sorry to quit for a while such minute researches, in order to enquire at what time, and in what manner, these tones were first applied to modern languages, when the "—Bless'd pair of Sirens—Voice, and Verse," attempted friendly union amidst the according murmurs of their new companion Harmony, who increasing in power by a numerous offspring, soon grew so loud and insolent, that she was able to overwhelm them both, and, by her *artful contrivances,* to render them almost indifferent and useless to each other, as well as to the public.

Every nation aspiring at high descent; will be ready to claim priority in the formation and culture of their language, and antiquity of their Songs ; and it would perhaps be as difficult to settle these demands equitably, and to the satisfaction of all parties, as the political claims of ambitious and contending powers, at a general diet.

Perhaps the specimens of the Welch and Saxon Languages that might be produced in favour of our own pretensions in this island, are of such antiquity as no other country can equal ; for the poems of Taliesin, Lyward Hên, Aneurin Gwawdrydd, Myrddin, Wyllt, and Avan Veiddig, who all flourished about the year 560, are preserved, though hardly intelligible to the most learned Cambro-British Antiquary (*a*). And the Dialect of our Alfred, of the ninth century, in his Saxon translation of Boethius and Bede, is more clear and intelligible than the vulgar language, equally ancient, of any other Country in Europe. For I am acquainted with no other Language, which, like our own, can mount, in a regular and intelligible Series, from the Dialect in present use to that of the ninth Century: that is, from pure English to pure Saxon, such as was

(*a*) See Evans's Specimens of Welch Poetry.

spoken and written by King Alfred, unmixed with Latin, Welch, or Norman. And this may be done for a period of nine hundred years, by means of the *Chronicon Saxonicum* of Bishop Gibson, the excellent Anglo-Saxon Dictionary of the late Rev. Mr. Lye, and such a chain of specimens of our tongue at different stages of its perfection as Dr. Johnson has inserted in the History of our Language prefixed to his Dictionary. Indeed we have the authority of Bede for social and domestic singing to the Harp in the Saxon Language, upon this island, at the beginning of the eighth century ; though he himself wrote in Latin, the only language of the Church and the learned then, and for many ages afterwards (*b*). But the question is not what people had songs first in their own language: for wherever there is a language, there is Poetry, and wherever there is Poetry, there is Music, of some kind or other: the present inquiry is, where such Music as that of which we have been tracing the origin, was first applied to a Modern Language. For it is not meant to speak here of those wild and irregular Melodies which come within the description of *National Music* ; such as the old and rustic tunes of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland ; which remained for many ages traditional, and if not more ancient than the scale ascribed to Guido, were certainly formed without its assistance, as we may judge by the little attention that was paid to Keys, and the awkward difficulties to which those are subject who attempt to clothe them with harmony. Of this kind of artless Music which is best learned in the nursery and the street, I shall speak with due reverence hereafter ; and at present confine my disquisitions and enquiries to *real Music,* arising from a complete scale under the guidance of such rules of art as successful cultivation has rendered respectable and worthy of imitation (*c*).

Songs have at all times, and in all places, afforded amusement and consolation to mankind: every passion of the human breast has been vented in Song ; and the most savage as well as civilized inhabitants of the earth have encouraged these effusions. The natives of New Zealand, who seem to live as nearly in a state of nature as any animals that are merely gregarious, have their Songs, and their *Improvisatori ;* and the ancient Greeks, during every period of their history and refinement, had their *Scolia* for almost every circumstance and occasion incident to society (*d*).

Singing was so common among the ancient Romans as to become proverbial. Phædria, in the Phoromi of Terence, begs Dorio to hear him, he has but one word to offer: when Dorio tells him he is

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(*b*) Dr. Percy, in his Essay on the Ancient English Minstrels, (note G) has given so ample and satisfactory an account of the Saxon manner of singing to the Harp in Bede's time, as to leave his reader nothing to wish, or me to add, on the subject.

(*c*) It is the fanciful opinion of some naturalist that the blackbird, the thrush, the robin, or the bull-finch, that so often repeats his peculiar melody during summer, is but performing the part of a singing master to the young birds of his own species: the nurse, the ballad-singer in the street, and the parish clerk, exercise the same function in our towns and villages: and the traditional tunes of every country seem as natural to the common people as warbling is to birds, in a state of nature.

(*d*) See vol. i. 359 et seq.

always singing the *same song* (*e*). Horace speaks of the same affectation among the singers of his time as prevails with the present; never to sing when they are entreated, or to desist if no one wishes to hear them (*f*). And some idea of the cultivated state of Music in Gaul, so early as the fifth century, may be acquired from a passage in one of the epistles of Sidonius Apollinaris, who in his character of king Theodoric, the Goth, says that "This prince was more delighted with the sweet and soothing sounds of a single instrument, which calmed his mind, and flattered his ear by its softness, than with Hydraulic Organs, or the noise and clangor of many voices and instruments in concert (*g*)."

Clothaire II. in the seventh century, having gained a great victory over the Saxons, it was celebrated by a Latin song in rhyme, which the annalists tell us was sung with great vociferation all over the kingdom.

In the time of Charlemagne, *Histriones*, Mimes, and Actors of farces, were very numerous in France: and, according to the Abbé Vertot (*h*), this prince made a collection of ancient Gallic songs; and Eginhard, his historian, observes that these songs, which were chiefly military, like those of the Germans, constituted the principal part of the History of France, and comprised the most heroic actions of her kings.

As the origin of Songs and the formation of the Language of every country are so nearly coeval, I hope the reader will allow me to bestow a few pages upon a subject, which though it be thought not absolutely necessary for a musical historian to trace, yet it lies so near his path that he can hardly proceed on his way without its being often impressed upon his mind, fortuitously.

I shall not however enter upon the merits of a question which has been much agitated of late in France: "Whether the present language of that country was first cultivated in the northern or southern provinces?" The origin of all inventions, after having been suffered by ignorance and idleness to sleep for many ages, is so difficult to ascertain, that if the inhabitants of the kingdoms which gave them birth, where information is most likely to be furnished, are unable to bring them to light, it would be arrogance in a foreigner to attempt it (*i*). The French critics and antiquaries all agree that the capital was the last place to cultivate the vulgar tongue, and to receive the first essays of those who made it the vehicle of their thoughts. Fontenelle says the first sparks of poetry appeared chiefly at the two extremities of the kingdom, in Provence and Picardy.

(*e*) *Cantilenam eandam canis.* act. iii. sc. ii. The French use the verb *chanter* in the same sense: *chanson! bagatelle!—Qu'est-ce qu'il chante?*

(*f*) *Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus,* &c. Sat. iii. lib. I.

(*g*) *Illic nec organa hydraulica sonant, nec sub Phonasco vocalium concentus medietatum acroama simul intonat: nullus ibi Lyristes Choraules——canit, rege solum illis fidibus delenito, quibus non minus mulcet virtis animum, quam cantus auditum.* Epist. ii. lib. I.

(*h*) Mem. de Litt.

(*i*) For, says the admirable antiquary Fauchet, *Qui scroit cestuy-la tant hardi de seulement promettre pouvoir tirer la verite d'un si profond abysme, que celui ou l'ignorance & nonchalence de sept ou huit cens ans l'a precipitee?* De la Langue et Poesie Francoise, liv. i.

"The Provençaux," says he, "warmed by a more genial sun, ought to have had the superiority; but the inhabitants of Picardy are their inferiors in nothing (*k*)." M. de la Ravaliere gives the honour of priority to the writers of Normandy; and Fauchet and Pasquier, separating the French poetry from the Provençal, challenge the admirers of the Troubadours to produce verses of their writing of equal antiquity with the specimens of French poetry which they have exhibited. However, the Provençal bards have lately had many able champions among whom M. de Lacurne de Sainte Palaye, and his faithful 'squire, M. Millot, have distinguished themselves. And though it cannot be denied but that the fragments of songs subsist in the French language of higher antiquity than in the dialect of Provence, yet, as I have been able to find no melodies that have been set to a modern language more ancient than those which are preserved in the Vatican library to the songs of the Troubadours, I shall begin my enquiries concerning the origin of vulgar dialects in Europe, by endeavouring to trace the first formation of the language of PROVENCE.

Every refined and polished nation has a vulgar language in its remote provinces, and even in its capital, among the common people, in which there are innumerable words and phrases that have never been admitted into books. This must doubtless have been the case with the Romans; and it is the opinion of some persons of great eminence in literature, among whom may be numbered the learned Cardinal Bembo, and the Marquis Maffei, that the ancient Romans had at all times an oral vulgar language which was different from that of books; and that this colloquial language, less grammatical and elegant than that of the learned, was carried by the Romans into all the provinces under their dominion. It is therefore probable that this, and not the written language of Italy, was the mother of the Provençal, Sicilian, Italian, and Spanish dialects.

But supposing such a language as Cicero's was ever spoken, it could not be laid aside for another, all at once; and when we are told of a particular period or century, during which the Latin tongue ceased to be spoken in France or Italy, and the Provençal, French, or Italian begun; credulity itself is staggered and unable to reconcile it to probability. Every language is long spoken before it is written; and though the first poet of Italy or Provence, who committed his verses to writing in the vulgar tongue could be named, no one would venture to tell us by whom it was first spoken.

The learned Maffei (*l*) is of opinion that there was a *vulgar* Language in Italy long before the irruptions of the Lombards, Goths, or Franks; and has traced its use as early as the time of Quintilian, who tells us, that he had often heard the crowd in the Circus applaud, or demand something of the champions, in a barbarous language (*m*): that is, in a vulgar and Plebean dialect, different from pure Latin. Sammonicus, who lived in the time of

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(*k*) Hist. du Theatre Francois.

(*l*) *Verona illustrata*, lib. ii. p. 601.

(*m*) *Exclamasse barbare*, lib. i. cap. 12.

Septimius Severus, names the *vulgar Language*. And both Pliny and St. Jerom speak of the *military* Language as of that kind: the latter even tells us (*n*), that Fortunatianus, bishop of Aquileia, wrote a Commentary on the Evangelists in this vulgar Language, *Rustico Sermone,* during the time of Constantine. But this was a singular instance, which was not imitated.

It appears however, from the Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great, written 593, that there was then a Language merely colloquial at Rome. For he tells us that a new convert, of whom he is speaking, was sent to a convent with two vessels of wine, which the *vulgar call flasks* (*o*).

And Gregory of Tours, so early as 572, complains of this vulgar or rustic tongue gaining ground in France, and being more in favour than Latin, the language of the learned (*p*).

It was therefore by degrees that Latin ceased to be understood by the common people, and the *Romance* Language had admission into books. And in 813 it was ordered by a canon at the council of Tours, that the Bishops should be employed in translating homilies into the *Roman Rustic Tongue,* that they might be the more easily understood by the common people (*q*). The same canon we are told was renewed in a council at Arles in 851 (*r*).

In the ninth century historians tell us that Charlemagne and his sons and successors spoke the *Romance* Language, specimens of which may be seen in Fauchet, Pasquier, and several other writers on the French language. And in the twelfth century it began to be the general Language of poets and polite writers. Some of the sermons written and preached by St. Bernard, about 1137, in this language, are still preserved among the MSS. of the Convent of Feuellans, in the Rue St. Honoré at Paris.

In the times of the emperors the Romans instituted schools and academies in the principal cities of Gaul for teaching the Latin Language. A rescript of Gratian still subsists for the election and appointments of professors in these seminaries (*s*).

In the latter end of the fourth century, by these means, and the offices of dignity and profit conferred on those who were masters of this language, it became general among persons of education, and consequently would be imitated, though in an aukward and incorrect manner, by those of a lower class. Strabo tells us that in the time of Augustus the Spaniards and Portuguese had forgotten their own language, and used only that of the Romans.

The great corruption of the Latin tongue about the end of the seventh century is manifest in the collection of the *formules* of the

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(*n*) Ser. ill. cap. 97.

(*o*) ——*Vino plena duo vascula, quæ vulgo* flascones *vocantur deferret.* Lib. ii. cap. 18.

(*p*) *Philosophantem rhetorem intelligunt pauci, loquentem rusticum multi.*

(*q*) *Easdem homilias quisque Episcopus aperte transferre studeat in Romanam rusticam linguam aut Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere quæ dicuntur.*

(*r*) *Dissert. sur l,Origine de la Langue Francoise,* par. M. Barbazan, 1759.

(*s*) Cod. Theodos Leg. XI.

Monk Marculf, still preserved, as well as public acts, charters, testaments, and diplomas. In these records it appears that the dialects of the neighbouring people had begun to disfigure the Latin nouns, by certain contractions of syllables and frequent repetitions of pronouns. Indeed the repetitions of the pronoun *ipse* were innumerable; on account of the articles *le* and *la* having been long before this period introduced into the vulgar tongue. An evident proof of the introduction of the article *ille* or *illa* contracted and disguised is found in the litanies written about the year 780, in the diocese of Soissons.

In these the prayers for Pope Adrian the first, for Charlemagne, his wife, and children, are terminated by *tu lo juva,* instead of the usual formule, *tu illum juva.* Even so early as the sixth century, according to Gregory de Tours (*t*), the rules of grammar, with respect to cases and genders, were disregarded, and proper names frequently deprived of their Latin terminations: as *Theodoric* for *Theodoricus,* &c. (*u*).

This common or vulgar Language is frequently mentioned under the title of *Sermo Rusticanus, Lingua Romana,* because of its derivation from the language of the Romans, which was Latin; *Lingua Laica, Lingua Gallicana,* is frequently mentioned in ancient Latin MSS. before it seems to have been written; and some of the most ancient fragments of this language now subsisting are verses in rhyme.

The colloquial Language used only in familiar conversation was called by the Romans *Sermo usualis, quotidianus, pedestris, vulgaris, militaris, rusticus,* &c. It is supposed by M. Bonamy (*x*) as well as by others, that from this vulgar Latin not only the French language and its different dialects, but the Spanish and Italian are derived. Indeed it is most probable that the Latin tongue, in its period of greatest purity, was only the language of the Learned, in the Roman provinces remote from the capital; and that it was never so generally cultivated in other times as to exclude the vulgar dialect.

In the frequent revolutions and struggles for empire during these ages, the Roman language must have been debased and corrupted, while new tongues were forming, which though not sufficiently fixed and grammatical to be used in books, were doubtless long the vulgar and colloquial dialects before the Latin ceased to be the common language of the learned.

It was about this time that the Art of Rhyming, or unisonous terminations of verses, stole into poetical composition, in a manner which the learned and judicious author of an Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, seems to have traced to its source (*y*). *Leonine Verses,* supposed to have been so called from a Pope or Monk Leo, their author, in the seventh century, are

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(*t*) *Prolog Libri de Glor. Conf.*

(*u*) *Recherches sur les plus Anciennes Traductions,* par L'Abbe Lebeuf, Mem. de Litt.

(*x*) Mem. de Lit.

(*y*) See the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 52, 1775.

by some thought the first attempt at rhyme (*z*); while others imagine the hymn to St. John the Baptist, by Paul Diaconus, written about the latter end of the eighth century, to be not only rendered memorable by Guido's scale, but by having been the model of all other Monkish Rhymes in Latin, as well as in modern languages. *Ut queant laxis*, &c. (*a*).

But neither of these genealogies satisfies all enquirers. Gravina (*b*) thinks it absurd to ascribe the invention of rhyme to any one writer, as to attribute to an individual the propagation of the plague, which is caused by the universal contagion of the air.

The Arabs had rhyme, according to Don Calmet (*c*), before the time of Mahomet, who died 632, and in the second century used a kind of poetry in measures similar to the Greek, and set to music (*d*).

The ancients in their verse required only measure and quantity, without tuning the terminations ; the moderns admit a greater variety of arrangement, but require an equal number of syllables, and, except in blank verse, similar sounds at the end of correspondent lines.

There are hymns in the Romish church, which are called *Prosæ, Proses,* a title given to compositions in rhyme, in which the laws of measure and quantity established by the ancient Greeks and Romans are neglected. These being sung after the Gradual or

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(*z*) Leonine verses are those of which the middle rhymes with the end.

(*a*) See p. 467. It seems as if the rhymes in the first stanza of this hymn had been accidental, as they do not occur in the rest of it. But the diligent editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales observes, "That evident marks of a fondness for rhyme appear in the hymns of St. Ambrose and S. Damasus, as early as the fourth century." Few, however, of these compositions were regularly rhymed throughout; and yet from these beginnings it is natural to conclude with the author just quoted, that 'From such Latin Rhythms, and chiefly those of the iambic form, the present poetical measures of all the nations of the Romans in Europe are clearly derived." *Ubi supra.*

(*b*) *Ragion Poetica.*

(*c*) Tresor de l'Antiquite, p. 44.

(*d*) If this were proved, it would fortify Mr. Wharton's ingenious idea (Dissert. prefixed to History of Poetry, vol. i.) that modern poetry and romance were brought into Europe from Arabia at the time of the Crusades. Chivalry had the same origin; and if the wild adventures of knights errant, with which the first romances were filled are oriental, the rhymes in which they are clad may be derived from the same source. As Arthur and Charlemagne are the first and original heroes of romance in Europe, their histories, real or fabulous, are connected with the Saracens, the primitive Mahometans, who had extended their conquest from the East to the western world.

Dr. Percy's clear deduction of chivalry and romances in a lineal descent from the ancient historical songs of the Gothic Bards and Scalds, though it assign them a much higher antiquity than the time of the Crusades, does not destroy Mr. Warton's hypothesis, which supposes them of eastern origin; on the contrary, as the northern nations deduce their ancestry from Oden or Woden and his followers, who were Asiatics that fled into Scandinavia from the Roman armies soon after the defeat of Mithridates by Pompey, the reasoning of this excellent critic might easily be reconciled to a supposition, that as a foundation was laid so early in Europe for chivalry and romance by oriental Goths, the system was the more easily completed and established by additional materials brought into Europe during the Holy War. At least the poetry and gallantry of the times were greatly enlivened and embellished by the fictions imported from Arabia and Spain.

If this were a place to speak of the effects of oriental and northern fables and poetry, I should confess, with respect to my own feelings, that there is something in the metaphors of Scaldic and northern bards that is chilling and oppressive. The countries they describe are so bleak and dreary that the imagination is frozen, and the mind always filled with painful sensations while perusing them. Whereas the magnificence and splendour of Arabian and other eastern fictions, warm and exhilarate, as the sun while it injures and scorches some part of nature fructifies and cherishes others. The glowy tints and spicy gales with which that country is supposed to abound never fail to furnish ideal beauties of climate, and luxuriance of imagery, with which the mind is deluded and inflamed, even while some sad and sorrowful tale is reciting.

If Homer, Virgil, and Milton, had laid the scenes of their poems in Iceland and Norway, instead of Greece, Italy, and Paradise, it is hardly possible to imagine that their names ever would have been so dear to the most enlightened part of mankind.

Introitus, were likewise called *Sequentia,* and of this kind is the *Stabat Mater.* The use of *Prosing* began at the latter end of the ninth century. Notker, Monk of St. Gæl in Switzerland, who wrote about the year 880, and who is regarded by some as the first author of *Proses,* says in the preface to the book where he mentions them, that he had seen hymns of this kind in the Abbey of Jumieges, which was burned by the Normans in 841. It seems now a contradiction to call a hymn in rhyme, prose; but before the number of syllables and their regular chime and coincidence at the end of lines was settled, rhyming was not honoured with the name of poetry or verse. Indeed mere rhymes and metres in modern languages are still insufficient, without other requisites, to exalt an author into a Poet.

While the New Languages were unsettled and but partially known, even in the single kingdom or province where they were forming, it was not uncommon to write half a poem in Latin, and half in a vulgar tongue (*e*). Indeed Dante (*f*) has left a poem in three languages, Latin, Provençal, and Italian ; and Rambaud de Vachieras, a Provençal poet, in five (*g*).

Petrarca and Muratori think that the Sicilians first composed and wrote songs in a vulgar language; that from them the custom went into Provence ; and from Provence into Italy (*h*). Indeed Sicily and Provence were long under the dominion of the same princes, and the same language may have been cultivated at the courts of both countries ; but as no vestiges remain of Sicilian poetry resembling the Provençal, the opinions of these authors, however eminent, and, on other accounts, respectable, while unsupported by reasons and facts, can have but little weight.

Cardinal Bembo (*i*), however, was of opinion that the first Rhymers and poets who wrote in a modern language were of Provence ; after them the Tuscans, who had more assistance from them in their poetry than from any other people. And both Crescembeni (*k*) and Gravina (*l*) make the same concession.

Nostradamus, in his Lives of the Provençal Poets (*m*), says that Provence was called the Mother of Troubadours and Minstrels; and that Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, and other Tuscan poets enriched both their language and fancy from the productions of his countrymen (*n*). However, as no *versi sciolti,* or poetical lines

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(*e*) Specimens of this caprice may be seen in the Museum, Harl. MSS. 2253. f. 137. b. and in Mr.Warton's History of Poetry, vol. i. p. 66.

(*f*) Tom v.

(*g*) Crescembeni Volg. Poes. p. 15.

(*h*) *Petrarca, Trionfo d'Amore,* capo iv. e Lett. Fam. & Muratori della Perfetta, Poesia, tom. i. p. 7.

(*i*) *Prose,* o sia *della Lingua Volgare.*

(*k*) *Comment. della Volg. Poes.*

(*l*) *Della Ragion Poetica.*

(*m*) Jean Nostradamus, brother of the astrologer of that name, was a native of Provence, and flourished about 1560

(*n*) I shall give the title at full length of Nostradamus's book, as it is become scarce. *Les vies des plus celebres et Anciens Poetes Provensaux, qui ont floury du temps des Comtes des Provence. Recueillies des Oeuvres de divers Autheurs nommez en la page suivante, qui les ont escrites, et redigies premierement en Langue Provensale, et depuis Mises en Langue Francoyse par Jehan de Nostre Dame Procureur en la Cour de Parlement de Provence, par lesquelles est Monstree l'anciennette de plusiers nobles Maisons tant de Provence, Languedoc, France, que d'Italies, & d'ailleurs.* A Lyons, *pour* Alexander Masiles. M.D. LXXV.

without rhymes are to be found in the Provençal poets, though they abound among the Italians, it is natural to suppose that in these measures of blank verse the Italians imitated their ancestors the Romans, and that in rhyming the Provençals were their models (*o*).

It was the opinion of Voltaire (*p*) that this language began to be formed in the ninth century, out of Latin and Teutonic; that it was the mother of French, Spanish, and Italian ; "continued in favour till the reign of the emperor Frederic II and is still spoken in some villages of the Grisons, and near Switzerland (*q*)."

Carpentier derives the word Troubadour from *Troba,* Provençal, *figmentum. Hinc* Troubadours *appellati Poetæ Provinciales* (*r*).

It was in the eleventh century, during the first Crusade, according to the Abbé Millot (*s*), that Europe began to emerge from the barbarous stupidity and ignorance into which it had long been plunged. And while its inhabitants were exercising every species of rapine, plunder, and pious cruelty in Asia, art, ingenuity, and reason insensibly civilized and softened their minds.

It was then that the Poets and Songsters known by the name of *Troubadours* were multiplied, and their procession honoured by the patronage and encouragement of the Count of Poitou, and many other powerful Princes and Barons, who had themselves successfully cultivated Poetry and Music. At the courts of these munificent patrons they were treated with the greatest consideration and respect. The ladies, whose charms they celebrated, gave them the most generous and flattering reception; and sometimes disdained not even to listen with compassion to tales of tenderness, and descriptions of the havoc which the irresistible charms of these sublunary divinities of chivalry had made in their hearts. The success of a few inspired the rest with hope, and excited exertions in the exercise of their art, which impelled them towards perfection with a rapidity that nothing but the united force of emulation and emolument could occasion.

As these founders of modern versification, these new poetical architects, constructed their poems upon plans of their own invention; and as all classical authority was laid aside, either through ignorance or design, each individual gave unlimited indulgence to fancy in the subject, form, and species of his

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(*o*) *L'Italia Liberata,* by Trissino, was the first Italian poem of any length, in *Versi Sciolti.*

(*p*) *Essai sur l'Hist.* tom. i. p. 168.

(*q*) Upon comparing the Provencal Language with that of the Grison Bible, *in Lingua Romanscha,* first printed in 1673, and reprinted at Engadinabassa 1743, there appears to be a great resemblance between them. The Provencal at present is composed of French, Spanish, Gascogne, Tuscan, and Lombard words; and the Grison of French, Spanish, Italian, and German. Many words, however, in this translation of the Bible have a German appearance, merely from a Teutonic orthography. Fauchet tells us that as in former ages to speak *Romance* was regarded as an accomplishment by all Europe, so the Swiss of his own time seem still to think it: for instead of saying I can speak French, a native of Switzerland would say I can speak Romanse; *Je scay bien parler Roman. Antiq.* p. 541.

(*r*) The b in the old Provencal and Languedocian writers had the power of a consonant v, as in the Spanish language, between which and the southern dialects of France, there is still in many respects a great resemblance. *Troubadour,* doubtless, came from *trovare,* or *trobare, trouver,* to invent; it answers to ὁ ποιητης, a *Maker.*

(*s*) Hist. Litt. de Fr. Tom. vi. p. 13 and Hist. des Troubadours, Tom. i. Disc. Prelim. p. 15 et seq.

composition. And it does not appear, during the cultivation and favour of Provençal literature, that any one Troubadour so far outstript his brethren in the approaches he made towards perfection as to be considered as a model for his successors. We find, though military prowess, hospitality, Gothic gallantry, and a rage for feasts and revelry prevailed, that taste, refinement, and elegance were never attained during this period, either in public or private amusements. The want of originality of composition is frequently lamented when licence is repressed by laws, and the wild effusions of an ardent imagination are bounded by authority; but the productions that have been preserved of the Provençal Bards, which may be called the offspring of writers in a state of nature, seem to prove the necessity of rule, order, and example, even in the liberal arts as well as the government of a free state. For the progress of taste must ever be impeded by the ignorance and caprice of those who cultivate an art without science or principles.

During near two centuries after Guido's arrangement of the Scale and invention of the Time-table ascribed to Franco, no remnants or records of Secular Music can be found except those of the Troubadours, or Provençal poets.* And though in the simple tunes which have been preserved of these Bards, no time is marked and but little variety of notation appears, yet it is not difficult to discover in them germs of the future melodies, as well as poetry, of France and Italy. Unluckily the poetry and music of the Troubadours of Provence were not for a long time called into notice by writers possessed of those blandishments of style or manner which fascinate, and render whatever subject they treat interesting to the generality of readers. Fauchet, Pasquier, and Nostradamus have written in a language that is now become so uncouth and difficult that few have the courage to attempt acquiring information or amusement from it; and Muratori and Crescembeni, who are respected for their diligence and exactitude, are certainly dry and dull narrators of facts which promise delight to every lover of literature; nor do I remember, in consulting their voluminous writings, ever to have found them guilty of hazarding a single reflection or conjecture that has embellished the subject, or rendered it amusing. But this censure must not be applied to Sainte Palaye, Bonamy, la Ravaliere, and Barbazan, who in the Memoires de Litterature, and elsewhere, have not only embellished. but nearly exhausted the subject. Indeed the period of Provençal poetry is interesting to literature, and the Melody to which it was sung is a subject of curious enquiry to a Musical Historian; for it is generally allowed that the Troubadours, by singing and writing in a new tongue, occasioned a revolution not only in literature but the human mind. And as almost every species of Italian poetry is derived from the Provençals, so AIR, the most captivating part of Secular vocal Melody, seems to have had the same origin. At least the most ancient strains that have been spared by time, are such as are set to the songs of the Troubadours.

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* It is certain, however, that as early as the 10th century secular tunes were adapted for Church use, and some prose tunes such as *Orientibus Partibus* are thought to be of secular origin.

A MS. in the *Bib. Nat.*, Paris, dated 1154, gives two songs:

(i) A *Complainte* written on the death of Charlemagne;
(ii) A song supposed to have been written by a soldier who took part in the Battle of Fontanet, in 841.

Transcriptions by Coussemaker and Fétis will be found reproduced in Grove's (*Vol. v. p.* 2). Also in the Bibl. Nat. Paris is a MS. (latin 1154) which contains a lament on the death of Eric de Frioul (799).

Two very early songs to the nightingale exist, one in a MS. at Berne (36) and the other in a MS. at the Vatican (Reg. 586).

The Provençal Language began to be in favour with poets about the end of the tenth century (*t*). But in the twelfth century, it was not only the general vehicle of Poetry, but of Prose, for such as were ignorant of Latin; and these were not merely the Laity: for at the council of Rheims 1119, the Bishop of Ostia, having in a Latin oration declared to the Bishops and other Ecclesiastics the business on which they were assembled, the Pope made William de Champeaux, Bishop of Chalons, explain it in the Romanse dialect. It was about this time that Provençal Poetry arrived at its greatest point of perfection; and that it began to be sung to the sound of instruments: for at this period *Violars,* or performers on the Vielle and Viol; *Juglars,* or Flute-players; Musars, or players on other instruments; and *Comics,* or Comedians, abounded all over Europe. This swarm of Poet-Musicians, who were formerly comprehended in France under the general title of *Jongleurs,* travelled from province to province, singing their verses at the courts of Kings, Princes, and other great personages, who rewarded them with cloathes, horses, arms, and money which though sometimes given unwillingly served to augment the number of these strolling Bards.

Jongleurs, or Musicians, were employed very early to sing the works of those Troubadours who, for want of voice or knowledge in Music, were unable to do it themselves. Jongleurs and Ménétriers, or Strollers and Minstrels, were common at all times; but the Troubadours, or Bards, followed a profession, which though very ancient, seems to have been laid aside in Greece and Italy when literature became common, and was revived only during the middle ages when it was again lost. Modern history during this dark period has no other materials to work upon than the fragments of these Bards, which though less respectable than those of much higher antiquity, would, if neglected, involve the annals of Europe in mere darkness, fable, and conjecture. A collection of old Ballards, says Bayle, is not an unprofitable companion to an Historian (*u*).

The pure Provençal Language was used in Dauphiné and Provence, then dependent on the empire; and in the three great provinces of Toulouse, Barcelona, and Poitou, with the duchy of Acquitain, by the Bards of Chivalry and Romance, a title their writings obtained from the Roman vulgar Language upon which

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(*t*) See Hist. Litt. de la Fr. tom. ix. p. 175, et seq.

(*u*) *Oeuvres, Tom. i. p.* 221, *and* 300. *Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, Feb.* 1685, *art. ii.*

that of the Troubadours was formed. The most ancient poems in this language that have been preserved, except a Satire by a Troubadour against an Irish poet, about the year 1000 (*x*), were written by William IX. Count of Poitou, born 1071. But this dialect was spoken, and songs which have been lost were composed in it, long before.

The Poetical History of our Richard the First, and his imprisonment in Germany on his return from Palestine, have lately been often cited from Fauchet's Antiquities (*y*), and are too well known to need enlargement here: however, as an introduction to a *Lay* or Song of Complaint written by that heroic prince during his confinement, I shall avail myself of an elegant translation of the old *Chronique* whence Fauchet had his account, as it was published in the Miscellanies of Mrs. A. Williams, 1766.

" Blondiaux was a poet of whom it is not told exactly when he lived or died, otherwise than as he is found to have been known to king Richard of England, who died in 1200. A good French chronicle which is in my possession contains the following narrative.

" Richard having had in the Holy Wars a quarrel with the Duke of Austria, was afraid at his return home to pass in his public character through the Austrian dominions for fear of the Duke, or through those of France for fear of king Philip Augustus, and therefore travelled in disguise. But the Duke being informed of his arrival, seized him and confined him in a castle, where he remained prisoner, none knowing for a long time where he was.

" King Richard had retained in his service a Minstrel, or Bard, whose name was Blondel. The Bard missing his master felt his subsistence cut short, and the happiness of his life very much impaired. He found the account well verified of the King's departure from the Holy Land, but met with none who could tell him with certainty whither he was gone, and therefore wandered over many countries to try whether he could find him by any intelligence.

" It happened after a considerable time thus spent, that Blondel came to a city near the castle in which king Richard his master was confined, and asking his host to whom it belonged, was told that it was one of the fortresses of the Duke of Austria. Blondel then enquired whether there were any prisoners in it, which was a question that he always took some indirect method of introducing ; and was answered by his host, that there was one prisoner, who had been there more than a year, but that he was not able to tell who he was.

" Blondel having received this information, made use of the general reception which Minstrels find, to make acceptance in the castle ; but though he was admitted, could never obtain a sight of the prisoner, to know whether he was the king ; till one day he placed himself over-against the window of the tower in which king Richard was kept, and began to sing a French song which they had formerly composed together. When the King heard the song, he

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(*x*) *Hist. Litt. tom. vi. p.* 53.

(*y*) *Recueil de l'Origine de Langue et Poesie Francoise, Ryme, et Romans, Paris,* 1581.

knew that the singer was Blondel, and when half of it was sung, he began the other half and completed it. Blondel then knowing the residence and condition of the king his master, went back to England, and related his adventure to the English Barons."

"This," continues Fauchet, "is all the account which my book affords me of the life of Blondel (*z*)."

The song written by Richard and Blondel, jointly, by which the place of his confinement was thus discovered, is preserved in an old French romance, called *La Tour Tenebreuse,* or the Black Tower (*a*). This little poem is still in the ancient language of Provence, whereas the other writings ascribed to Richard seem to have been composed, or at least to have come down to the present times, in Old French, or *Langage Roman.*

B. *Domna vostra beutas*
Elas bellas faisos
Els bels oils amoros
Els gens cors ben taillats
Don sieu empresenats
De vostra amor que mi lia.

R. *Si bel trop affansia*
Ja de vos non partrai
Que major honorai
Sol en votre deman
Oue sautra des beisan
To can de vos volria.

Imitated (*b*)

Blondel. Your beauty, lady fair,
None views without delight ;
But still so cold an air
No passion can excite:
Yet this I patient see,
While all are shunn'd like me,

Richard. No nymph my heart can wound,
If favour she divide,
And smile on all around,
Unwilling to decide:
I'd rather hatred bear,
Than love with others share.

The Lay, or Song of Complaint, which was written entirely by our romantic monarch during his imprisonment, is inserted in the original by Mr. Walpole, in his *Catalogue of Royal and Noble*

(*z*) The names Blondiaux and Blondel are thus confounded by this author.

(*a*) The Romance, so denominated, *Tirez d'un ancienne Chronique composee par* Richard, *suernomme* Cœur de Lion, *Roy d'Angleterre,* was published at Paris, 1705.

(*b*) From a translation of this song into more modern French, as inserted in *La Tour Tenebreuse.*

Authors (*c*), who seems unwilling to allow that Richard was an author, and still more that he possessed any considerable degree of poetical merit. The French critics, however, who are nothing less than partial to Richard, and the Italians, are less severe on his rhymes than our honourable countryman ; and the French version of this song, in the history of the Troubadours (*d*), contains several natural and affecting sentiments, which, if we may suppose them to have been dressed in the most polished language of the time, though now obscure, uncouth, and obsolete, are such as would not have disgraced a professed bard of the twelfth century, much less an active and warlike prince, who had so many pursuits and occupations of higher importance on his hand (*e*).

As I have never seen an English translation of this early specimen of Romanse poetry, except of one stanza, which Rymer has given in his *Short View of Tragedy,* I shall endeavour to transfuse into our present dialect the ideas which this composition seems to contain, according to the copy of it which was printed in the preface to the *de la Tour Tenebreuse,* already mentioned.

Song by Richard the First, *Cœur de Lion,* written during his imprisonment in the *Tour Tenebreuse,* or Black Tower (*f*).

No wretched captive of his prison speaks,
Unless with pain, and bitterness of soul ;
Yet consolation from the Muse he seeks,
Whose voice alone misfortune can controul.
Where now is each ally, each baron, friend,
Whose face I ne'er beheld without a smile,
Will none, his sov'reign to redeem, expend
The smallest portion of his treasures vile?

(*c*) Vol. i.

(*d*) *Hist. Litt. des Troubadours.* tom. i. p. 58.

(*e*) The learned editor of the late edit. of Chaucer's Cant. Tales, vol. iv. p. 62, has vindicated the character of Richard from an aspersion which was first cast upon him by Rymer, in consequence of a mistaken construction of a passage in Hoveden.

(*f*) *Ja nus hon pris dira razon,*
Adreschement se com hom dolens non;
Ma per conort pot il faire canson.
Prou ai d'amis, mas poure son li don.
Onta i auron se por ma reenzon
So fait dos yver pris.

Or sachon ben mi hom e mi baron
Engles, Norman, Pettaven et Guascon,
Qe ge n'avoie si povre compagnon
Qeu laissasse por aver en preison
Ge nil di pas, por nulla retraison
Mas anquar soige pris.

Car sachon ben per ver certanament
Qu'hom mort ny pris n'a amye ne parent
Quant il me iaissent por or ni por argent.
Mal m'es de my, may perz m'es por ma gent
Q'apres ma mort n'auron reperzhament
Tan longament soi pris.

Non meravil s'eu ai lo cor dolent
Qe messire met ma terra en torment
No li membra de nostre sagrament
Qe nos feimes andos cominalment
Ben sai de ver qe gaire longament
Non serai ge sous pris.

Mi compagnon cui j'amoi e cui j'am
Cil de Chail & cil de Pensavin
Di lor chanzon qil non sont pas certain
Unca vers els non ai cor jals ni vain
Sil me guerroent il feron qe vilain
Tan com ge soie pris.†

Or sachent ben Enjevin e Torain
E il Bachaliers qi son legier e sain
Qen gombre soie pris en autruie main
Il ma jnvassen mas il no ve un grain
De belles armes sont era voit li plain
Per zo qe ge soi pris.‡

†This and the following stanza are not inserted in the *Tour Tenebreuse,* but are given from Mr. Walpole's copy.

‡Of this stanza no notice is taken by the Abbé Millot, in his version of Richard's song.

Though none may blush that near two tedious years,
Without relief, my bondage has endur'd,
Yet know my English, Norman, Gascon peers,
Not one of you should thus remain immur'd:
The meanest subject of my wide domains,
Had I been free, a ransom should have found;
I mean not to reproach you with my chains,
Yet still I wear them on a foreign ground!

Too true it is, so selfish human race!
" Nor dead, nor captives, friend or kindred find,"
Since here I pine in bondage and disgrace,
For lack of gold, my fetters to unbind,
Much for myself I feel, yet ah! still more
That no compassion from my subjects flows;
What can from infamy their names restore,
If, while a pris'ner, death my eyes should lose.

But small is my surprize, though great my grief,
To find, in spite of all his solemn vows,
My lands are ravag'd by the Gallic chief,
While none my cause has courage to espouse.
Though lofty tow'rs obscure the chearful day,
Yet, through the Dungeon's melancholy gloom,
Kind Hope, in gentle whispers, seems to say,
" Perpetual thraldom is not yet thy doom."

Ye dear companions of my happy days,
Oh Chail and Pensavin, aloud declare,
Throughout the earth in everlasting lays,
My foes against me wage inglorious war.
Oh tell them too, that ne'er among my crimes
Did breach of faith, deceit, or fraud appear;
That infamy will brand to latest times
The insults I receive while captive here.

Know all ye men of Anjou and Touraine,
And ev'ry bach'lor knight, robust and brave,
That duty now and love alike are vain,
From bonds your sov'reign and your friend to save.
Remote from consolation here I lie,
The wretched captive of a pow'rful foe,
Who all your zeal and ardour can defy,
Nor leaves you ought but pity to bestow.

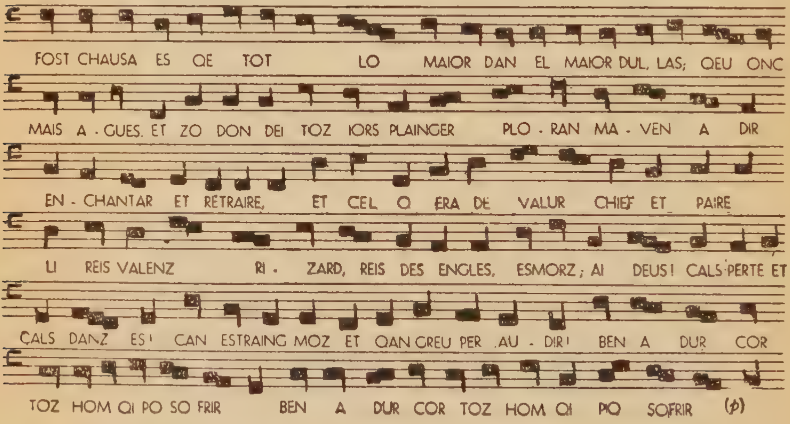
As there was no situation so serious or deplorable in these *heroic times* of modern history, but that it was thought necessary to do homage to love, this song was addressed in the *envoi* from the Black Tower to a countess Soir [Suer], with equal devotion and gallantry.

Gaucelm, or Anselm Faidit, a Troubadour, who had been much esteemed and patronised by our Richard when he was Count of Poitou, and resided at the court of Provence during the life of his father Henry II. and who accompanied him to Palestine, in the

Holy War, has left a poem on the death of his benefactor, which I found in the Vatican, among the MSS. bequeathed to that library by the queen of Sweden, No. 1659, with the *original music, by the bard himself,* who was as much admired by his cotemporaries for *setting* his poems to Music, as *writing* them: having been said in the old language of Provence, to have composed *de bons mots, & de bons sons,* good words, and good tunes. He seduced from a convent at Aix, and married, a beautiful nun, with whom he travelled on foot from one court to another, many years. This lady, besides her personal charms and accomplishments, had a remarkably fine voice, and was much admired for singing her husband's songs.

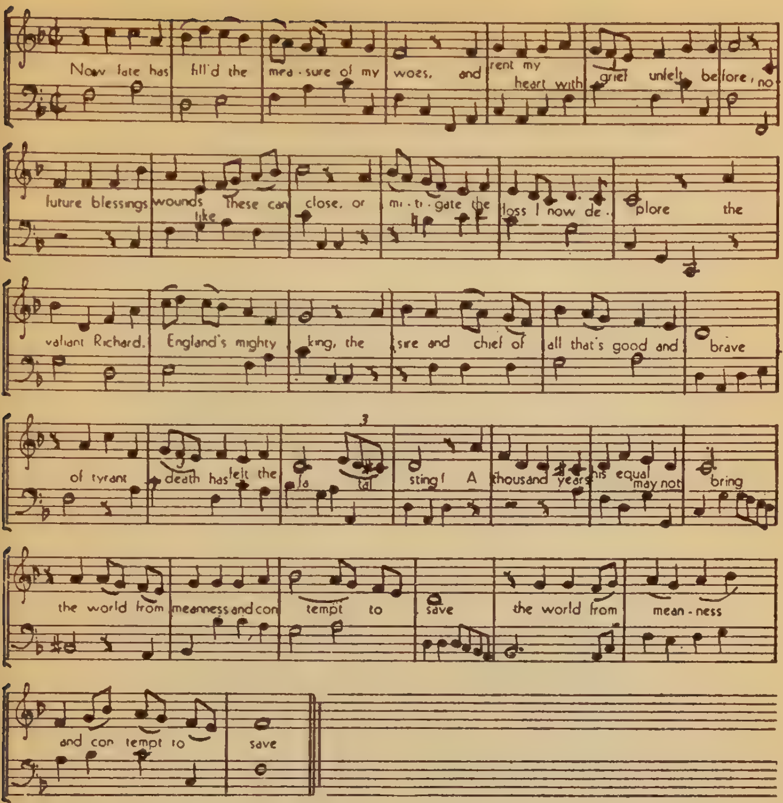
The melody to the verses on the death of Richard is the most ancient which I have been able to find to Provençal words, and as the original may be difficult to some of my readers in its antique guise, I hope the rest will excuse my attempting a translation of it (*o*). *

Nostradamus, in his life of this poet, tells us that he had long been unfortunate before he lost his royal patron Richard, which event completing his misery, he signalized his sorrow and affection in the following stanzas, of which I shall first give a facsimile of the music in the same state as I found it in the Vatican, and afterwards the same melody, with a base, in modern notes, to which the translation is adjusted.


FOST CHAUSA ES QE TOT LO MAIOR DAN EL MAIOR DUL, LAS; QEU ONC
MAIS A - GUES. ET ZO DON DEI TOZ IORS PLAINGER PLO - RAN MA - VEN A DIR
EN - CHANTAR ET RETRAIRE, ET CEL Q ERA DE VALUR CHIEF ET PAIRE
LI REIS VALENZ RI - ZARD, REIS DES ENGLES, ESMORZ; AI DEUS! CALS PERTE ET
CALS DANZ ES! CAN ESTRAING MOZ ET QAN GREU PER AU - DIR! BEN A DUR COR
TOZ HOM QI PO SO FRIR BEN A DUR COR TOZ HOM QI PIO SOFRIR (*p*)

(*o*) No more than two stanzas are contained in the Vatican MS. and in these the words are so disfigured by bad orthography, and the verses so dislocated by careless arrangement, that I was obliged to have recourse to a much more correct copy of the same two stanzas, inserted in the Glossary to the late edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, vol. v. p. 275, 6. For the rest of the stanzas, I have been allowed, in the most liberal and obliging manner, to transcribe them at my leisure from the beautiful and valuable MS. of Provencal songs in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Crofts. In this collection of the lyric compositions of the Troubadours, admirably written on vellum, there are no less than ten poems in different measures by Anselm Faydit. The handwriting of this MS. is uncommonly clear, and as correct as can be expected from the unsettled orthography of the times; but in this particular the scribe has been so capricious as to spell the name of our author three several ways in one page. For tho' in the title to each song he is called *Gonselm Faidiz, de Lemosi;* yet in the course of the second of his pieces his name is written *Gaucelm,* and *Gaulelm Faidit.* (*p*) *Ex Bibl. Vat.* No. 1659. Fol. 89. Col. 4.

* An earlier melody than this is the sole surviving one by Guillaume d'Acquitaine (d. 1127) to the words, *Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz.* Richard I died in 1199.
The melody is given by A. Jeanroy in Les Chansons de Guillaume ix. (C.E.M.A. No. 9).


Now fate has fill'd the mea-sure of my woes, and rent my heart with grief unfelt before, no
future blessings wounds like These can close, or mi-ti-gate the loss I now de-plore the
valiant Richard, England's mighty king, the sire and chief of all that's good and brave
of tyrant death has felt the fa tal sting! A thousand years his equal may not bring
the world from meanness and con tempt to save the world from mean-ness
and con tempt to save

On the death of Richard the First, by Gaucelm Faidit.
Translated from the Provençal.

Now Fate has filled the measure of my woes,
And rent my heart with grief unfelt before;
No future blessings wounds like these can close,
Or mitigate the loss I now deplore.
The valiant Richard, England's mighty king,
The sire and chief of all that's good and brave,
Of tyrant Death has felt the fatal sting:
A thousand years his equal could not bring
The world from meanness and contempt to save (*q*).

(q) *For chausa es et tot lo maior dan*
El maior dol, las! q eu onc mais agues,
Et zo, don dei toz iors plaigner ploran,
M aven a dir en chantar et retraire,
De cel q era de valorz caps et paire
Li Reis valenz Rizard, Reis des Engles,
Es morz; ai Deus! cals perda et cals danzes!
Can estraing moz et qan greu per audir!
Ben a dur cor toz hom qi po sofrir.

Morz es li Reis, et son passat mil an
Qanc tan pros hom no fo ne nol vit res,
Ne ja mais hom non er del son senblant
Tan larcs, tan pros, tan ardiz, tals donaire;
Q Alixandre lo reis, qe venqi Daire
No cuit qe tan dones ni tan messes,
Ni onc Karles ni Artus tan valgues,
Qa tot le mon sen fez, qin vol ver dir,
Als us deptar et als altres grazir.

Not Alexander's self, whose slaught'ring sword
Each warlike nation of the earth subdu'd,
No Charlemagne, nor Arthur, Britain's lord,
Could boast such prowess, worth, and fortitude.
In this corrupt, this base, perfidious age,
In truth and wisdom he had no compeer;
Of half the actors on the world's great stage,
His splendid virtues could the hearts engage,
The rest his strength and valour taught to fear.

The friend of Virtue and of Honour's gone!
For though to all her trumpets Fame give breath,
Yet vain are great and glorious deeds, for none
Can shield the hero from the dart of Death!
Since such the wretched state of human race,
Why should we fear to mingle with the dead?
For me I ask of God no other grace,
Than instant to arrive at that blest place
Where Richard's great and tow'ring soul is fled.

O potent Prince! who now in feats of arms,
In tournaments, or splendid courts shall shine?
Or who to modest worth display the charms
Of true munificence, with hand benign?
Ah! where will Genius now a Patron find?
Thy fond dependants an asylum, where?
No fost'ring father Fate has left behind,
But all, abandon'd by the world unkind,
Fly to the arms of Death, or wild Despair!

Meraveill me del fals Segle truan
Qoi pot istar savis hom ni cortes.
Pos re noille val bel dons ni faich prezan,
Et donc per qe sefforzon paoc ni gaire?
Qa oras a mostrat morz qe pot faire
Qa un sol colp a lo meill del mon pres,
Totas lonors, toz los gauz, toz los bes?
O mais vedem qe res noi pot grandir,
Ben devriom menz doptar a morir?

Ai Seigner, reis valenz, & qes faran
Oimais armas, ni fort tornei espes,
Ne ricas corz, ni bel don alt et gran;
Pos vos noies qen eraz caps del aire?
Ne qes faran li livrat a mal traire
Cil qe eron en vostre servir mes,
Qatendion qel guierdon vengues?
Ni qes faran cels qes degran avir,
Qaviaz faich en gran ricor venir?

Longa ira et duol vida avran,
Et toz temps dol qar aissi lor es pres;
Et Sarracin, Turc, Paian, et Persan,
Qeos doptavon mais come nat de Maire,
Creisseran tan dorgoill tot lor afaire,
Qe plus greu ner lo sepolcre conges.
Qar Deus lo vol, car sil no lo volgues
Et vos seigner vesqisses ses mentir
De Soria los navengra fozir.

O mais non ai esperanza qell an
Reis ni princes qi cobrar la saubes.
Et cel Seigner quel vostre leu teran
Devon gardar co fos de prez amaire;
Ni tal faron vostri dui valen fraire,
Li iousner reis, el cortez cons Zoufres.
Et qui en loc remanra de vos tres,
Ben deu aver ferm cor et fin consir
De toz bons aips et si meteis iauzir.

Envoy

Bel Seigner reis, cel Deus qes perdonaire,
Verais hom, verais vida, verais merces,
Vos faza tal perdon com ops vos es;
Di qel tort avos perdon et falir,
Et membre li com lo saviez servir.

Now Pagans, Turks, and Saracens elate,
Who thought thee more than man of woman born,
Exulting in thy sad, untimely fate,
Will treat the Christian name with pride and scorn.
The holy sepulchre each day will be
A harder conquest to the faithful brave——
But such is God's inscrutable decree!
For Syria, had it been his will to free,
He still had kept his champion from the grave (*r*)!

But where will prince or potentate be found
The sacred tomb, like three, to gain and save,
Or like thy brothers, Henry, early crown'd,
And courteous Geoffry, lov'd by all the brave!
No chief like these remains of human race,
Who day by day to certain conquest leads;
Their steps no future hero e'er will trace,
And he who now presumes to claim their place,
Must earn and keep it by transcendant deeds.

Oh! most rever'd of all the sons of Fame!
For ev'ry crime may God thy pardon seal!
Remembring thou wert foremost to proclaim,
Throughout the earth, the glory of his name,
And cause to assert with unremitting zeal.

Nostradamus says, that the Provençal language and poetry arrived at their greatest degree of splendour about 1162, and continued in favour till 1382. So that the period of their perfection was about two hundred and fifty years. Though this language is called Provençal, it is certain, says the authors of *l'Histoire Litteraire de la France,* that it was the more cultivated in Languedoc, Dauphiny, and in Acquitain, than in the province that has given it a name: for in two great collections of the lives of these poets among the ancient MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris, out of an hundred and ten, not above eight or nine are Provençaux.

Not only our Richard the First, but the famous bishop of Lincoln, Grosseteste, Alexander the monk of Ely, St. Ældred, and several other English prelates and ecclesiastics distinguished themselves by their compositions in this language.

The southern provinces of France becoming, either by conquest or inheritance, subject to the French king, and losing their natural

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(*r*) Though few classical imitations are discoverable in the writings of Provencal bards, yet there is a great similarity in this thought and the reflexion made by the ghost of Hector, in the second book of Virgil's Æneid:

——*si pergamadextra*
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.

Could any mortal hand prevent our Fate,
This hand, and this alone, had sav'd the state.—Pitt.

sovereigns, and, consequently, the splendour of their courts, the cultivation and favour of their language were suddenly discontinued, and it was soon as much disregarded as the jargon of any other provincial dialect. It has ever been the same with the language of countries that have lost their princes and independence: the Irish, the Scots, and the Welch who were once proud of their vernacular tongues and poetry, seem to have lost all desire of cultivating either, when their capitals were deprived of the presence of their natural and hereditary sovereigns.

The Provençals ceased writing after the fourteenth century. The Troubadours had degraded themselves by their licentiousness to such a degree as to be suppressed and banished with ignominy.* Courts were disgusted with the crouds of these rapacious and corrupt artists without talents. Like the Knights Templars and the Jesuits, their disgrace and persecution became general; and there was no country in Europe that was disposed to pity or encourage them after they had been publicly censured and branded in France by Philip Augustus.

* * * * * *

It is very difficult to separate the Provençal dialect from the language that was spoken during the middle ages in other parts of the French dominions.** The Normans made it their boast at the beginning of the eleventh century, that they spoke the Romanse language with purity, particularly at Rouen (*s*). Some of the writers of those times call the French language *Lingua Gallica*, and some *Romana*, or *Romana Rustica*. The term Romanse, derived from the language in which tales and novels were first written, did not for many years after this period convey the same idea as at present. *Parler Roman* was another expression for speaking French. In the time of Charles V. of France, the same expression is used by Guillaume de Nangy. And as the rustic Romanse language was that of the courts of French princes in general, every heroic history and metrical narration, and indeed almost every thing that was written in that language, was called *Romans*, or *Romance*. This is confirmed by a line of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, by Lambert Li Cors:

> *Vestu comme François, et sot parler Romans.*
> He dressed like a Frenchman, and spoke the Romance.

It was not till the reign of Philip Augustus, at the latter end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, says M. de la

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(*s*) *Revol. de la Langue Fran.* p. 113.

* Burney is here confusing the Troubadours with the Jongleurs, who were travelling minstrels of inferior standing.

** On the contrary, there is not the slightest difficulty.

Ravaliere (*t*), that men of learning and reputation in the capital ventured to write in the vulgar tongue; when, still leaving the Latin tongue in possession of hymns, and other poems on sacred subjects, they exercised their talents upon themes merely secular; but most frequently in lyric compositions.

The present FRENCH LANGUAGE is allowed to have originated from corrupt Latin, ancient Gallic, and Teutonic, brought into Gaul by the Franks; but in the southern parts of France, bordering upon the Mediterranean, many Greek words are still distinguishable, which are supposed to have been brought thither by the colonies of Phoceans planted there in remote antiquity, and, perhaps, by Greek merchants trading to Marseilles.

According to M. de Sainte-Palaie (*u*), the principal difference between the French and Provençal languages during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, consisted in the terminations of the same words. When the French used the *e* feminine, the Provençals used *a* or *o*, neither of which were pronounced, as is the case in our words se*a* and people. The Provençal terminations resembled these of the Italian and Spanish languages, and where the French used *eux* and *eur*, the Provençals had *os* and *or*.

M. de la Ravaliere (*x*) observes that laymen in the provinces began to write the vulgar language much earlier than in the capital, where Latin was longer understood (*y*). The year 1130 was the date of the first poem in French, of which tradition has preserved the name: *Prise de Jerusalem*. par le Chevalier Bechada ; but no vestige of this work is come down to the present times.*

The most ancient remnants of the French prose language are the laws of William the Conqueror, who died 1087, and the sermons of St. Bernard, written early in the following century, in which it appears that this language differed considerably from that of Provence, of the same period, as it was written by the Troubadours (*z*).**

But the early poets of Provence and Normandy rendered their dialects superior to all others at that time by their songs, and tales, which were read with great avidity. Works of amusement, being within the reach of every kind of reader, extend the influence of a language universally, while those of philosophy and science can only be read by the learned.

(*t*) *Anciennete des Chansons*, par le meme, p. 214.

(*u*) *Mem. de Litt.* tom xxiv. p. 680.

(*x*) *Ubi supra*, p. 119.

(*y*) In the first Crusade, 1095, the military cry or signal for battle, used by the French, differed but little from Latin; *Deu lo volt*, for *Deus illud vult*.

(*z*) *Recherches sur les plus anciennes traductions en langue Francoise, par l'Abbé Lebeuf*, Mem. de Litt. tom. xvii. 3me, partie.

* Several earlier French poems are extant. The earliest known is the *Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie* dating from the 9th cent.

** The oldest piece of French prose is *Les Serments de Strasbourg* dating from 842.

The chief difference and difficulties in these dialects, to modern readers, arise from the capricious, or careless orthography in which they have been written:* as the same word, by the same author, in the same line, is frequently disguised by a new combination of letters.

The French are unable to produce specimens of poetry in their vulgar tongue, or any of its dialects, of an earlier date than the conquest of England, 1066, or indeed than the beginning of the twelfth century, "So that probably," says the learned editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, (*a*) "the oldest French poem of any length, now extant, is a translation of the *Bestiarius*, by Phil. de Thaun." The authors of the *Historie Litteraire de la France* (*b*), suppose it to have been written about 1125, that is, thirty years before *le Brut*, which Fauchet places at the head of French poems (*c*).

No canticles or hymns unmixed with Latin can be found in France with musical notes of so early a period as the twelfth century, except in ecclesiastical books, where the rhymes were generally masculine, because they best suited singing; "And it seems," says the Abbe Le Beuf (*d*), "as if the musical notes set to this old language would best discover when our forefathers made a word consist of two or more syllables which we pronounce in one (*e*)."

(*a*) Vol. iv. p. 50.

(*b*) Tom, ix. p. 173—190.

(*c*) The *Bestiarius* is a kind of natural history, in rhyme; and *Le Brut* is the title of a metrical and fabulous history of Britain. It is called *Le Brut d'Angleterre*, from Brutus, the son of Æneas, the pretended founder of the British nation. The date of this composition, which is imagined to be only a translation, versified, of the History of Geoffery of Monmouth in Latin, is given by the author himself in four verses at the end of the work:

Puis que Dieu incarnation
Pris, pour notre redemption,
M.C.L. & cinq ans
Fist Maistre Wistace Romans.

This citation, from the preface to the *Fabliaux* affords an additional proof in favour of the arguments used by the editor of the Canterbury Tales, concerning the name of the author of *Le Brut*: *Wistace* and *Eustache*, in French verse are trisyllables, and Vace, Wace, Guace, and Gasse, dissyllables. Now, if this Romanser's name be regarded as a trisyllable, there then will be nine syllables in the last verse of the Quatrain, which is one more than either of the rest contains.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Puis que Dieu incarnation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Pris pour notre redemption
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Mille cent cinquante⁀et cinq ans
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Fit maistre Wistace cest Romans.

Wace or *Gace* would certainly suit the metre better:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Fit maistre Wace cest Romans.

However, it is probable, such was the unsettled state of orthography before the invention of printing, that all these appellations implied one and the same person.

(*d*) *Traite Hist. du Chant Eccl.* p. 115.

(*e*) The same expedient would greatly facilitate the reading our own old poets, by enabling us to ascertain the number of syllables in each line, and pointing out their true accentuation, could we but find the melodies to which they were originally set and sung: for though we should frequently meet with several notes to one syllable, yet no composer was ever so careless or ignorant, as to leave a syllable without a note.

* The varying orthography is, of course, due to the dialects.

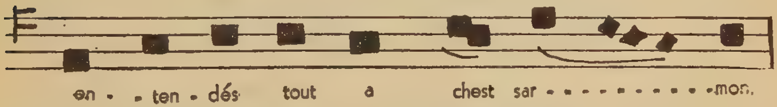
It is not only the ecclesiastical books of Paris which furnish proofs of early chanting in the French language ; still more ancient examples may be found in cities remote from the capital: Du Cange, under the word *Farsa,* and *Epistola farsita,* has proved that it was once universal in all the provinces of France ; and Carpentier, his continuator, says, that they still sing the epistle of St. Stephen at Aix in Provençe, half in French and half in Latin; and this they call *Les plaints de Saint Esteve,* or, " The complaints of St. Stephen." The same practice subsisted very lately at Rheims ; and in the rules for the church service of Soissons, written in 1097, under bishop Nivelon the first, it is ordained in the Rubric that three sub-deacons, robed in sacred vestments, should sing *Entendez tuit a cest sermon* (*f*).

The following specimens of their ancient chants to the French language, with which the people were amused or instructed on certain festivals, were found by the Abbé Le Beuf at Amiens. However, it was a common practice in the Gallic church during the ninth century, according to this author, to read the acts of saints during the mass, in Latin: but he supposes that this language was then sufficiently understood by the ancient Gallic families. The practice of singing canticles or carols in the vulgar tongue, on Christmas-eve, and thence called *noels,* in the country churches of France, had its origin about the time that the common people ceased to understand Latin (*g*).

Such chants as were appropriated to St. Stephen's day, were usually sung in the following manner: the sub-deacon first repeated each verse of the epistle in Latin, and two choristers sung the explication ar paraphrase ; all were mounted in the pulpit, in order to be the better understood (*h*).

The missals, whence these specimens were extracted, are in Gregorian notes, written on a staff of four red lines, in the following manner:

Prologue. *In Die S. Stephani Epistola.*



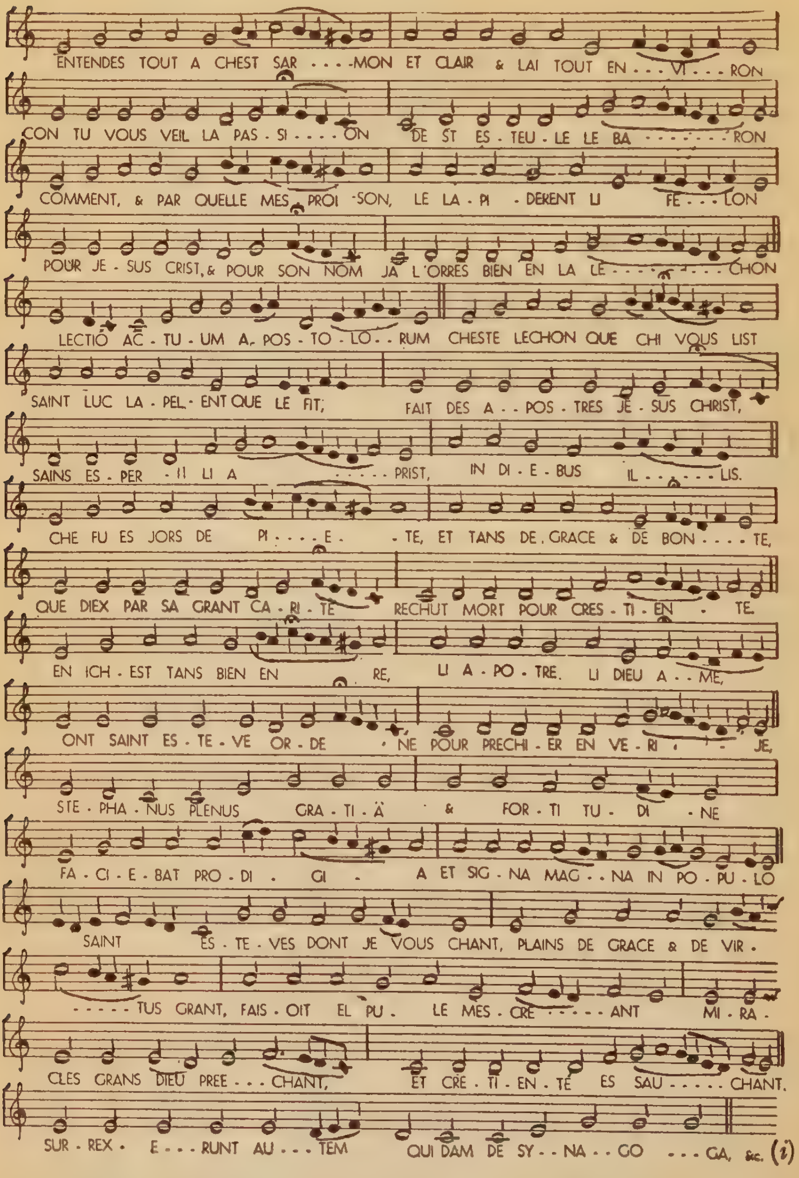
But I shall exhibit them in a more modern dress.

(*f*) These are the first words of the prologue or introduction to the paraphrase, in old French, of the epistle of St. Stephen.

(*g*) The word *noel* is derived from *natalis,* and signified originally a cry of joy at Christmas. *Origines de Menage* in v. NOUEL.

(*h*) Mr. Addison tells us, Spectator, No. 18, that when operas were first exhibited in England, "the Italian actors sung their parts in their own language, at the same time that our countrymen performed them in our own native tongue." Indeed, part of the church-service in Russia is still performed in Greek, and part in the Sclavonian language.

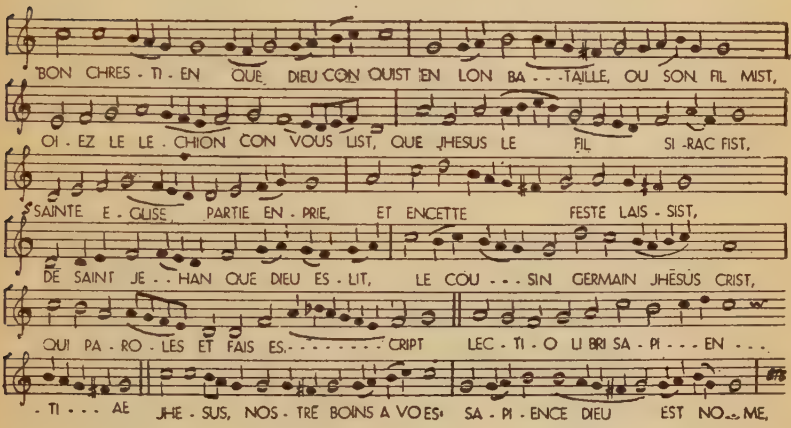
Prologue to the Paraphrase of the Epistle for St. Stephen's Day.


ENTENDES TOUT A CHEST SAR - - - -MON ET CLAIR & LAI TOUT EN - - - VI - - - RON
CON TU VOUS VEIL LA PAS - SI - - - - ON DE ST ES - TEU - LE LE BA - - - - - - - - RON
COMMENT, & PAR QUELLE MES PROI -SON, LE LA - PI - DERENT LI FE - - - LON
POUR JE - SUS CRIST, & POUR SON NOM JA L'ORRES BIEN EN LA LE - - - - - - - CHON
LECTIO AC - TU - UM A. POS - TO - LO - - RUM CHESTE LECHON QUE CHI VOUS LIST
SAINT LUC LA - PEL - ENT QUE LE FIT; FAIT DES A - - POS - TRES JE - SUS CHRIST,
SAINS ES - PER - IL LI A - - - - - PRIST, IN DI - E - BUS IL - - - - - LIS.
CHE FU ES JORS DE PI - - - - E - - TE, ET TANS DE GRACE & DE BON - - - - TE,
QUE DIEX PAR SA GRANT CA - RI - TE RECHUT MORT POUR CRES - TI - EN - TE.
EN ICH - EST TANS BIEN EN RE, LI A - PO - TRE. LI DIEU A - - ME,
ONT SAINT ES - TE - VE OR - DE - NE POUR PRECHI - ER EN VE - RI - - JE,
STE - PHA - NUS PLENUS GRA - TI - A & FOR - TI TU - DI - NE
FA - CI - E - BAT PRO - DI - GI - A ET SIG - NA MAG - - NA IN PO - PU - LO
SAINT ES - TE - VES DONT JE VOUS CHANT, PLAINS DE GRACE & DE VIR -
- - - - - TUS GRANT, FAIS - OIT EL PU - LE MES - CRE - - - - - ANT MI - RA -
CLES GRANS DIEU PREE - - - CHANT, ET CRE - TI - EN - TE ES SAU - - - - - CHANT.
SUR - REX - E - - - RUNT AU - - - TEM QUI DAM DE SY - - NA - - GO - - - GA, &c. (i)

(i) "Listen all to this sermon, both clerks and laymen all around: and I will relate to every one the passion of the Baron St. Stephen: how, and by what treason he was wickedly stoned, for Jesus Christ and for his name: here you will have it in the lesson. [*Lesson from*

The melody of the preceding chant seems of much higher antiquity than the words, as it greatly resembles that which Meibomius has printed in his preface to the seven ancient Greek writers on Music, to which he thinks *Te Deum* was originally sung.

The following Chant, for the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, was extracted from a MS. at Amiens, written about the year 1250.


BON CHRES - TI - EN QUE DIEU CON QUIST EN LON BA - - - TAILLE, OU SON FIL MIST,
OI - EZ LE LE - CHION CON VOUS LIST, QUE JHESUS LE FIL SI -RAC FIST,
SAINTE E - GLISE PARTIE EN - PRIE, ET ENCETTE FESTE LAIS - SIST,
DE SAINT JE - - HAN QUE DIEU ES - LIT, LE COU - - - SIN GERMAIN JHESUS CRIST,
QUI PA - RO - LES ET FAIS ES - - - - - - - - CRIPT LEC - TI - O LI BRI SA - PI - - - EN - - -
- TI - - - AE JHE - SUS, NOS - TRE BOINS A VOES SA - PI - ENCE DIEU EST NO - ME,

The same Chant is repeated several times to different words; but as these specimens are given more to shew the state of Music at so early a period, than that of Poetry, I shall quit this Melody, and insert another of the same antiquity, which, however, when written in common notes, and barred, seems more like a modern French secular air, than an ancient ecclesiastical Chant.

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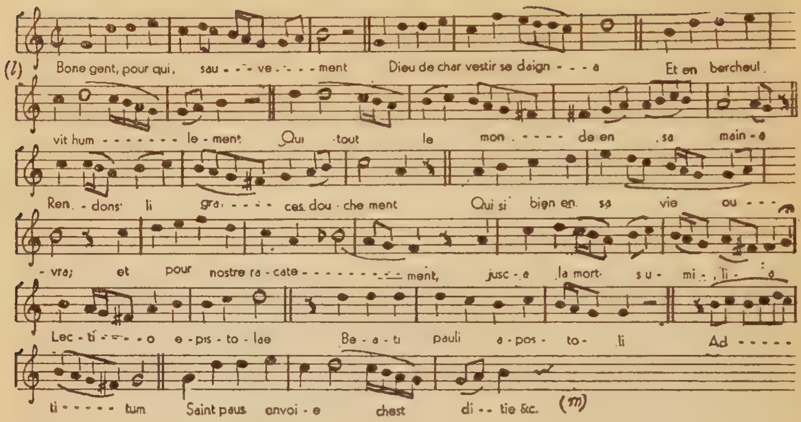
the Acts of the Apostles.] This lesson that he reads to you, was written by St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles of Jesus Christ, inspired by the Holy Ghost." *In diebus illis.* It was in those days of piety, and of so much faith and grace that God in his great mercy died for Christianity. In this happy time, the apostles beloved of God "chose St. Stephen to preach the truth." *Stephanus plenus gratia et fortitudine faciebat prodigia et signa magna in populo.* St. Stephen, of whom I sing, full of grace and virtue, did great wonders "and miracles among the people, preaching the word of God and the Christian faith to unbelievers." *Surrexerunt autem quidam de synagoga,* &c.

(*k*) "Good Christians, whom God conquered in long battle, when he sent his only Son, hear the lesson that is now read unto you, which Jesus the son of Sirac made."

"The holy church selected part of it, and uses it on this Feast of St. John, the cousin german of Jesus Christ, whom God elected, and who wrote both his words and actions." *Lectio libri sapientiæ.* "Jesus our good advocate, the wisdom of God is named, &c."

New Year's Day.


(l)
Bone gent, pour qui, sau - - ve - - - ment Dieu de char vestir se deign - - - a Et en bercheul
vit hum - - - - - - - le - ment Qui tout le mon - - - - de en sa main - e
Ren - dons li gra - - - - ces dou - che ment Qui si bien en sa vie ou - - -
- vra; et pour nostre ra - cate - - - - - - - ment, jusc - e la mort su - mi - li - e
Lec - ti - - - o e - pis - to - lae Be - a - ti pauli a - pos - to - li Ad - - - - -
ti - - - - - tum Saint paus envoi - e chest di - - tie &c.
(m)

This melody, compared with simple plain-chant, is very florid, and full of such embellishments as seem to have been in favour during the thirteenth century. The original copy consists of three kinds of notes, longs, breves, and semibreves, besides ligatures and triplets. "It is easy to suppose," says the Abbé Le Beuf, "that the design of those who established such chants in some of the churches of France, was to distinguish festivals and holy times, by the ornaments and graces with which they were sung; as, in others was done by allowing particular portions of the service to be performed in Fauxbourdon, or Counterpoint (*n*)."

The French have at all times had a passion for such music as their country afforded. King Pepin made the chants of the church, which were indeed Roman, his particular study, and his son Charlemagne had Roman masters to teach it, and established schools for it in all parts of his empire. In the tenth century the singular attention that was paid to its culture would encourage a belief that it was regarded as one of the most necessary of the liberal arts, and had arrived at a higher pitch of perfection than is now easy to discover. Indeed the treatises that were written on the subject in the preceding century were innumerable; but the writers of the tenth and succeeding centuries hardly ever speak of the abilities of a man of letters without including, as an honourable accomplishment, his progress in music. There was no school in

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(*l*) "Good people, for whose salvation God deigned to cloath himself in flesh, and humbly live in a cradle, who has the whole world in his hand. Render him sweet thanks who in his life worked such wonders; and for our redemption humbled himself even to death. *Lectio epistolæ*, &c.—Lesson from the Epistle of St. Paul to Titus: St. Paul sent this ditty, &c."

(*m*) Here the word *ditie*, from *Dictum*, is used in its primitive sense for an epistle, a saying, a sentence, and not for a poem, or song, to which it was afterwards appropriated.

(*n*) *Traite Hist. sur le Chant Eccles.* p. 133.

which it was not taught, and the greatest masters, such as Remi d'Auxerre, Hucbald of St. Amand, St. Odo of Cluni, Gerbert Scholasticus, and Abbon taught it with the same care as the most sublime sciences. It is to be wished, however, that some consummate judge of music and antiquity, of indisputable authority would kindly inform us, once for all, what were the excellencies of this music which were so highly esteemed and so diligently cultivated. "It is difficult to imagine," say the authors of the *Histoire Litteraire de la France* (o), "that all this care and study was bestowed upon mere plain chant. For ancient authors who speak of chanting in the church, and of other music, never confound them; nor does what they say of the one at all suit the other. In the time of Charlemagne when the plain-chant of the Gallican church was changed for that of the Roman, no mention is made of a change in other music, which we may suppose remained the same as before."

In answer to this charitable remark of the pious authors of the Literary History of France it may be observed, that the venerable personages of whom they speak had too seriously renounced the vanities of the world to study and teach the light and scurrilous strains, as they were then called, with which the vulgar were captivated. The difficulty of understanding the peculiar property of each mode, and learning the numerous chants in the Antiphonarium, not only for the use of Sundays and common days, but for the several festivals throughout the year, must have employed all the time which ecclesiastics could spare from more serious and devout occupations. But that no distinction was made between the word music and plain chant is certain, from the titles of all the MS. tracts on these subjects that are come down to us; in which, though no other rules are given than merely for the ecclesiastical modes and canto fermo, yet they are called treatises on music: as Odo's dialogue beginning, *Quid est Musicæ?* The *Enchiridion Musicæ* of Hubald; and Guido's Micrologus, *Sive Libri duo* De Musica, in the dedication of which to Theodald the author himself says—*cœpi inter alia* Musicam *pueris* tradere. "Among other things I began to teach the children (of our convent) music." The truth is that a rage for universality in sciences during this century impeded the progress of all. The study of the *Trivium,* comprehending grammar, rhetoric, and logic; the *Quadrivium,* arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, including all the liberal arts, could afford no leisure for becoming profound in any one of them, and each individual contenting himself with that superficial acquaintance with the sciences which was required by his college, could never quit the beaten track, or penetrate new regions of intellectual space. The human mind has limits which are very remote from omniscience; and a rage for universal knowledge is more frequently the consequence of ostentation and frivolous curiosity than a serious desire to fathom the abyss of true science.

(o) *To.* vi. p. 71.

Augustine, Boethius, and Cassiodorus, wrote upon all the liberal arts (*p*); but the student who should endeavour to learn them by the scanty information to be found in their treatises, would have little less trouble on his hands, and be enabled to advance but little farther, than the original inventors of the arts they pretend to teach. To specify the numerous tracts on the subject of music written long after by the French clergy, of which several are still preserved in the king's library at Paris, and in other public libraries, would afford small satisfaction to the reader, without extracts; and indeed the extracts themselves, were they to be given, would not, by their utility, repay the trouble of deciphering them.

It was not till the reign of Philip Augustus [1180-1223] that Songs in the French language became common. Gautier de Coincy, an ecclesiastic of St. Medard de Soissons, composed a considerable number, which are still preserved in MS. among his other writings.

The most ancient French songs are called *lays*:* "They were a kind of elegies," says M. l'Eveque de la Ravaliere (*q*), " filled with amorous complaints. The origin of this species of composition is such as rendered it necessarily plaintive: as the word *Lai* is imagined to have been derived from *Lessus,* Latin, which signifies complaints and lamentations. However there are some lays which describe moments of joy and pleasure more than sorrow or pain; and others upon sacred subjects (*r*).

Chaucer, who frequently uses the word *lay,* confines it wholly to songs of complaint and sorrow:

And in a lettre wrote he all his sorwe,
In manere of a complaint or a *Lay,*
Unto his faire freshe lady May.
Cant. Tales, v. 9754.

He was dispeired, nothing dorst he say,
Sauf in his songes somwhat wold he wray
His wo, as in a general complaining;
He said, he loved, and was beloved nothing.
Of swiche matere made he many *Layes,*
Songes, complaintes, roundels, virelayes——
Tran. T. 11255.

Thus end I this complaining or this *Lay*. ib.

(*p*) *Vide Fabric. Bib. Lat.*

(*q*) *Anciente des Chansons,* tom. I. p. 225.

(*r*) The judicious and penetrating editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales (see introductory discourse, vol. iv.) is of a different opinion, and thinks "that *Liod,* Island. *Lied,* Teuton. *Leoth,* Saxon, and *Lai,* French, are all to be deduced from the same Gothic original." Skinner, very improbably, I think, imagines that all these words, especially the Anglo-Saxon *Ley,* and French *Lai,* are derived from *La,* the name of a musical note; but this syllable is never pronounced *lay,* in solmization, but *law*. Junius seems equally unfortunate in his genealogy of this word, which he derives from the Greek, ελεησον. The Dutch, he says, call a birth-day hymn, *Leysen*; and perhaps, continues he, from the frequent use of *Kyrie Eleison.* Κυριε ελεησον, on solemn festivals the word *Lay* had its origin.

* The oldest French *lays* were the *Chansons de toile* dating from the early part of the 12th cent.

In Spencer's time, however, its acceptation was more general, and as frequently applied to songs of joy, as sorrow:

To the maiden's sounding timbrels sung
In well attuned notes, a *joyous lay*. Fairy Queen.

Shakespeare and Milton use it likewise indiscriminately for every kind of song.

Lai seems a word purely Francic and Saxon,* it is neither to be found in the Armoric language, nor in the dialect of Provence. The French poetess *Marie* [died *c.* 1216], who in the time of St. Louis, about the middle of the thirteenth century, translated several tales from the Armoric language of Bretagne, calls them *lais*;** but the term is of much higher antiquity. After its adoption by the English poets it soon became a generical term in poetry for every species of verse, as *Song* is now: but both these words still retain their particular acceptation as well as generical: for by a *song* is understood a short poem set to a tune, and this was the particular meaning of *lay*, in the last century among our musical writers.

Tales and songs, says the editor of ancient *Fabliaux et Contes François,* were the most common and ancient species of poetry. The French, naturally gay, chearful, and sportive, were more attached to this species of composition than any other nation, and communicated this love for lyric poetry to their neighbours. They must have been in possession of a great number of these songs and tales, because in all social meetings the custom was for every one present either to sing a song or tell a story, as appears by the end of the fable of the priest, *qui ot Mere à force,* where we read these verses.

A cest mots fenist cis Fabliaux
Que nous avons en rime mis,
Pour conter devant nos amis.

And according to John li Chapelain, in his ditty of the Sacristain of Clugny, it was customary for a bard to pay his reckoning with a story or a song.

Usage est Normandie,
Que qui hebergiez est, qu'il die
Fable ou Chanson a son oste
Ceste costume pas n'en oste
Sire Jehans li Chapelains.

In Normandy a song or tale
Is current coin for wine or ale;
Nor does the friendly host require
For bed and board a better hire.

In the thirteenth century the songs in vogue were of various kinds; moral, merry, and amorous. And at that time melody seems to have been little more than plain-song, or *chanting*. The notes were square, and written on four lines only, like those of the Romish church, in the clef of C, without any marks for time. The movement and embellishments of the air depend on the abilities of the singer. The compass of modern music is much extended since by the cultivation of the voice, for it was not till towards the end of St. Lewis's reign that the fifth line began to be added to the stave. The singer always accompanied himself on an instrument *in unison* (*s*).

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* It probably existed in Welsh and Breton.

** These translations must have been made earlier than Burney supposes, as Marie de France died long before the middle of the 13th century. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* states that she flourished about 1175-1190.

The HARP passed for the most noble and majestic of instruments, and on this account the romancers place it in the hands of their greatest heroes, as the ancient Greek bards did the lyre.

This instrument was in such general favour that an old poet (*t*) has made it a subject of a poem, called *Le Dict de la Harpe,* "the Ditty, or Poem, upon the Harp," and praises it as an instrument too good to be profaned in taverns, or places of debauchery, saying that it should be used by knights, esquires, clerkes, persons of rank, and ladies with plump and beautiful hands ; and that its courteous and elegant sounds should be heard only by the elegant and good.

It had twenty-five strings, to each of which the poet gives an allegorical name: calling one *Liberality,* another *Wealth,* a third *Politeness,* a fourth *Youth,* &c., applying all these qualities to his mistress, and comparing her to the harp.

The instrument which most frequently served for an accompaniment to the harp, and which disputed the pre-eminence with it in the early times of music in France, was the VIOL; and, indeed, when reduced to four strings, and stript of the frets with which viols of all kinds seem to have been furnished till the sixteenth century, it still holds the first place among treble instruments, under the denomination of *Violin.*

The *Viol* played with a *Bow,* and wholly different from the *Vielle,* whose tones are produced by the friction of a wheel, which indeed performs the part of a bow, was very early in favour with the inhabitants of France.* These instruments, however, are frequently confounded by writers as well as readers; but, to remove all ambiguity, I shall give an engraving of a figure on the Portico of Notre Dame at Paris, which, according to Monfaucon (*u*), represents king Chilperic, with a Violin in his hand (*x*).

(*s*) *Poesies du roy de Navarre,* Tom. ii.

(*t*) Machau, who flourished in the fourteenth century, and of whom a farther account will be given in the present chapter.

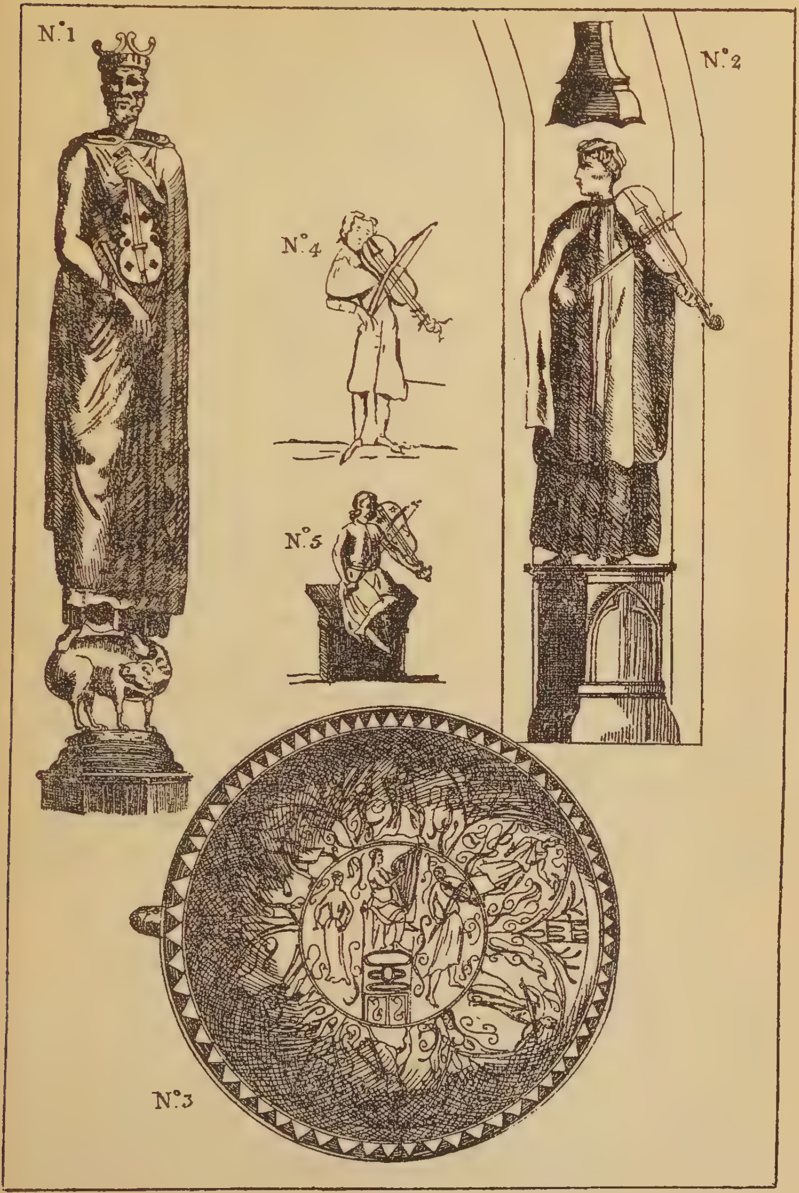
(*u*) *Monumens de la Monarchie Francoise.* tom. I. p. 56. The cathedral of *Notre Dame,* at Paris, was founded by Childebert the First, in the sixth century: began to be rebuilt in the tenth century, by king Robert; was continued by his successors, and finished by Philip Augustus, who died 1223, after a long reign, which began 1180.

(*x*) See p. 589, No. I.

* The viol as we know it was invented about the 15th cent. and Burney is here giving that name to the various bowed instruments of the troubadours.

The French name was *vièle,* hence the confusion which sometimes arises with the *vielle,* or as it became known later, the Hurdy-Gurdy.

Other bowed instruments of the period were the *rebec,* which was probably brought back from the east by the early Crusaders, and the Crowd or Rotte, which although originally a plucked instrument, was also played with a bow. In the Bibl. Nat., Paris, is a MS. (Latin. 1118) of the 11th century in which there is an illustration of King David playing a bowed Rotte. The same king is to be seen playing the *plucked* rotte in a MS. in the B.M. dating from the 8th cent.


N°1
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N°3

C.F. Burney fecit

On an antique bason, or ewer, dug up near Soissons, is a representation of a musician playing on a viol with a long bow. The late excellent antiquary, l'abbé Le Beuf, was of opinion that the workmanship of this bason was executed during the time of the first race of French kings, that is, before the year 752, which makes the use of the bow of much higher antiquity in France than can be proved in any other country. The design engraved upon this vessel, which was dug up in a place where a palace of one of the kings of Soissons is supposed to have stood, is divided into compartments, in one of which is represented a player on the Harp, exalted on a high seat; on his right hand is a Singer, with a roll of paper in his hand, and on his left a player on the Viol (*y*).

In the illuminations of a MS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century, containing the poems of the King of Navarre, and his cotemporary poets, described by M. de la Ravaliere (*z*), is the figure of a *Jongleur,* or Minstrel, sitting likewise on an exalted seat, who seems playing to the king and queen of Navarre (*a*). But a still more conspicuous monument of the early use and importance of the *Bow* in France may be seen on the portico of the chapel of St. Julian *des Menestriers,* at Paris, of which I likewise insert an engraving (*b*). This church was built 1331, by Jaques Grure and Hugues li Lorrain, two of the *Jongleurs,* or minstrels, of Philip de Valois: and in the History of the Troubadours (*c*), M. Millot tells us that William the Ninth, Count of Poitou, in one of his Poems, after relating a particular adventure with a common woman in very free terms, and reflecting upon his *bonnes fortunes,* or favour with the ladies, thanks God and *St. Julian* for his success. "It was then," says M. Millot, "customary, such was the superstition of the times, for libertines to invoke Heaven for success in their most profligate undertakings; and St. Julian was the particular saint and protector to whom they addressed themselves on such occasions." As, in higher antiquity, Mercury was the patron divinity of thieves (*d*).

The statue which is fixed at the portico of St. Julian's chapel, is that of St. Genet, in whose hands the *Viol* and *Bow* are placed: an honour conferred upon him by the minstrels on account of his

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(*y*) See p. 589, No. 3.

(*z*) *Poesies du Roi de Navarre,* tom. I. p. 252.

(*a*) See p. 589, No. 5.

(*b*) See p. 589, No. 2.

(*c*) Tom. I. p. 11.

(*d*) St. Julian, in order to expiate an involuntary crime, is said to have made a vow that he would receive into his house all passengers who should be in want of a habitation, by which he obtained the title of the *Hospital Saint,* and was afterwards addressed as the patron of travellers, to whom prayers were made for a good lodging. *L'Oraison de S. Julian, & l'Hotel de St. Julien,* were afterwards used by the French in pleasantry, much in the same sense as with us, *dining with Duke Humphrey.* But in the tales written in old French so early as the twelfth century, the allusion was more licentious. Boccace (Giorn. II. nov. 2) speaks of the *Paternostro di San Giuliano,* and makes Rinaldo, after a successful adventure with a female, return thanks to God and St. Julian: *Per la qual cosa Rinaldo Iddio, & San Giuliano ringraziando, monto a Cavallo.* La Fontaine, who has translated this tale, calls it *L'Oraison de St. Julien.*

having been a Comedian by profession, and consequently one of their brethren (*e*).

The ancient and respectable monuments upon which the *Viol* appears, are proofs that it has long been a favourite instrument in France ; and that the *Minstrels*, in the highest estimation with the public, were at all times the best *Violists* of their age.

Musicians who accompanied such bards as sung their own historical songs in the halls of princes and nobles at great festivals, are described by an old French poet who flourished about 1230, and who is quoted by Duchesne in his edition of the works of Alain Chartier, and by *Borel, Tres. des Antiq*.

Quand les tables otées furent
Cil jugleour in pies esturent
S'ont viols & harpes prises
Chansons, sons, vers et reprises
Et de gestes chanté not ont

Roman du Tournoyement de l'Antechrist.

When the cloth was ta'en away
Minstrels strait began to play,
And while harps and viols join
Raptur'd bards in strains divine,
Loud the trembling arches rung
With the noble deeds we sung.

Though the word *Minstrel* in our language is confined to *a musician who plays on instruments,* yet the term *Jonglerie,* in old French, included four different species of performers: the *Troubadours* who wrote, set, and sung their own verses ; the *Singers,* employed by these poets and composers to whom nature had denied a voice ; the *Diseurs, Narrators,* or *Romancers,* who in a kind of chant recited their metrical histories ; and the *Players upon Instruments,* who accompanied the Troubadours and singers, or performed at feasts and revels without singing. These last exercised the art of minstrelsy so often mentioned by our poets. The French word *Jongliour* or *Jongleur* is generally thought to be a corruption

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(*e*) Surius (*Recueil des Saints*, tom. iv.) informs us that St. Genet lived in the time of the emperor Dioclesian; and that in order to entertain this prince and his people he frequently ridiculed the Christians upon the stage, where he undertook to represent the ceremonies of baptism, and performed himself the part of the person that was to be baptised: counterfeiting sickness, of which he was to be cured by becoming a Christian. But when the priest and exorcist appeared to perform the ceremony, he was admonished in a vision to renounce the errors of Paganism, and seriously assume the character of Christian; upon which, he instantly declared that he would no longer worship idols but receive the divine grace that was offered unto him, which the other actors and the audience imagined was done in order to render the scene more natural and amusing; he was therefore baptised according to all the Christian rites, and dressed in a white robe. After this, soldiers appeared as if sent by the emperor to drag him before the judge, where he was to worship a statue of Venus which was placed on the stage for the purpose: Genet, however, loudly protested that he was a Christian and would adore the true God, and not images of wood or stone. The emperor himself at first believed that this was only done to heighten his part; but at length finding that he continued to speak like a Christian and not an actor, he commanded him to be chastised before the people, and afterwards sent to a præfect of the name of Plautian, who finding it impossible to subdue his constancy by torture, ordered him to be beheaded. This event happened the twenty-fifth of August, 303.

of *Joculator* ; but this term originally implied a *Jester* or *Buffoon,* rather than a Musician. The etymology, therefore, of this word, which has been hazarded by M. de la Ravaliere (*f*) from *Ongle,* a nail ; *Ongleur,* a thrummer of instruments with the nails, seems ingenious and probable ; as the *Lyre, Cithara, Harp, Lute,* and *Guitar,* the most ancient stringed instruments, have at all times been played with the *nails,* and ends of the fingers.

Strolling Musicians of this kind abounded in France so early as the time of Charlemagne, who forbids their admission into convents (*g*) ; and in the first Capitulary of Aix la Chapelle (*h*), this prince speaks of them as persons branded with infamy. They continued, however, to amuse the great in private, as well as the people in public, as a distinct body of men, till the Troubadours introduced Poetry into France in the dialect of that country. Their licentiousness was frequently repressed, and their conduct regulated, by the police ; and, during the reign of Philip Augustus, the Troubadours and Minstrels were involved in the same disgrace, and for some time banished the kingdom: which left such a stigma upon their order, as no efforts of genius, or austerity of manners, could entirely efface ; though they were afterwards recalled and in some degree restored to public favour. It is observed by a late elegant French writer, that " though the proscription of Music and Poetry, and the kind of inquisition which Philip established against the *Jongleurs* in France, may have originated from the laudable intention of repressing those disorders which the abuse of their profession had occasioned ; yet, if he had reflected that the fate of letters was at that time in the hands of the *Troubadours,* and that among every people approaching towards civilization, the progress of virtue is generally proportioned to the cultivation of arts and literature, he would have inflicted a less ignominious punishment on the objects of his displeasure. For such is the empire of prejudice, that the anathema it pronounces against the abuse of a profession remains in full force, even after the reformation of those who exercise it." This author ventures to pronounce the *Jongleurs,* or *Troubadours* and Minstrels, notwithstanding the contempt with which they are named at present, to have been the fathers of literature in France: " It was they who banished scholastic quarrels and ill-breeding, and who polished the manners, established the rules of politeness, enlivened the conversation, and purified the gallantry of its inhabitants. The urbanity which distinguishes us from other people, was the fruit of our *Songs* ; and if it is not from them that we derive our virtues, they at least taught us how to render them amiable (*i*)."

MENESTREL, or *Minstrel,* so early as the eighth century was a title given to the *Maestro di Capella* of king Pepin father of Charlemagne ; and afterwards to the *Coryphæus,* or leader of any

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(*f*) *Poes. du Roy de Navarre,* tome ii. p. 255.

(*g*) *Mem. de Litt.* tome xv. p. 581 & tome xvii. p. 222. 713, & seq.

(*h*) *Capit. Baluz.* tome i. art 44. anno 789.

(*i*) *Tableau Historique de Gens de Lettres,* par l'Abbe de Longchamps, tome v.

band of musicians. However in process of time, the power of music over the munificence of the public being enfeebled by the multiplicity of those who had no other subsistence, it was thought expedient to try the force of new and different incentives to admiration and benevolence.

Among the *Metrical Tales* and *Fables* of the twelfth and thirteenth century, written in the Romanse or old French language, there is one still subsisting in the libraries of France, and in the Bodleian Library (*k*) intitled *Les deux Menestriels,* the Two Minstrels ; in which their several talents necessary to their profession are displayed: from this I shall give an extract, as it will shew at least the state of Minstrelsy in France at the time it was written (*l*).

" Two companies of minstrels meeting at a castle, endeavour to amuse its Lord by counterfeiting a quarrel. One of them quitting his companions, insults a minstrel of the other troop, calling him a ragged beggar, who never had done any thing to deserve a better dress from his patrons; and, in order to prove his own superiority, says with triumph, that *he* can *tell stories* in verse, both in Romanse and Latin tongue; can sing forty *Lays* and *Heroic Songs* (*m*), as well as every other kind of songs which may be called for; that he knew also stories of *Adventures,* particularly those of the *Round Table;* and in short, that he could sing innumerable romances, such as *Vivian, Reinhold the Dane, &c.* and *relate* the stories *Flora and White-Flower.* He finishes the enumeration of his talents by facetiously informing the spectators, that he did not chuse his present employment for want of knowing others; as he was possessed of several secrets by which he could make a great fortune: for he knew how to circle an egg, bleed cats, blow beef, and cover houses with omelets. He also knew the art of making goats-caps, cows' bridles, dogs' gloves, hares' armour, joint stool cases, scabbards for hedging-bills; and if he were furnished with a couple of harps, he would make such music as they never heard before." At length, after some additional abuse, he advises the Minstrel whom he attacks, to quit the castle without staying to be turned out; " For I despise you too much," says he, " to disgrace myself and comrades by striking such a pitiful fellow."

The other vilifies him in his turn, and asks how he dares presume to call himself a Minstrel, who does not know a single tale or ditty worth hearing. " For my part," says he, " I am not one of your ignorant fellows who can only take off a cat, play the fool, the drunkard, or talk nonsense to my comrades; but one of those true and genuine Troubadours who invent every thing they say."

(*k*) MS. Digby, 86.

(*l*) The remarks upon this Tale by the late excellent editor of *Fabliaux et Contes du XII. et du XIII. Siecle,* who has explained them in modern French prose, are so ample and satisfactory, that I shall here avail myself of his diligence and information; referring those who are in possession of that instructive and amusing work to vol. I p. 299.

(*m*) *Chansons de Geste*: *Lays* have been described above.

Je Joueur
Ge sui Juglere *de* Vielle;
Si sai de Muse *et de* frestele,
Et de Harpe *et de* Chiphonie,
De la gigue, *de l'*Armonie,
du
Et el salteire, *et en la* rote.
Je sais chanson
Sai-ge bien chanter une note;
fabliaux
Ge sai Contes, je sai fableax,
beaux dits nouveaux
Ge sai conter beax diz noveax,
vielles nouvelles
Rotruenges viez et noveles,
Et servantois, et pastoreles,
d'amour
Si sai porter conseil d'amors
chapel fleurs
Et faire chapelec de flors,
d'amoureux
Et cainture de druerie
courtoisie
Et beau parler de cortoisie (*n*).

All the Minstrel art I know:
I the *Viol* well can play;
I the *Pipe* and *Syrinx* blow,
Harp and *Gigue* my hand obey.
Psaltry, *Symphony* and *Rote*
Help to charm the list'ning throng,
And *Armonia* lends its note
While I warble forth my song.
I have tales and fables plenty,
Satirs, past'rals, full of sport.
Songs to Vielle I've more than twenty,
Ditties too of ev'ry sort.
I from lovers tokens bear,
I can flow'ry chaplets weave,
Am'rous belts can well prepare,
And with courteous speech deceive.

The Minstrel then specifies the several poetical tales he can repeat, most of which are still subsisting; and then, having displayed his talents as a musician and a man of wit, he next describes his dexterity at tricks and slight of hand:

jouer
Bien sai joer de l'escambot,
l'escarbot
Et faire venir l'echarbot
sautant
Vif et saillant dessus la table.
maint jeu
Et si sai meint beau geu de table
d'adresse de magie
Et d'entregiet et d'artumaire
Bien sai un enchantement faire——
jouer bâtons
Ge sai joer des baasteax,
couteaux
Et si sai joer des costeax,
fronda
Et de la corde et de la fonde (*g*).

Joint stool feats to shew I'm able,
I can make the beetle run
All alive upon the table,
Where I shew delightful fun.
At my slight-of-hand you'll laugh,
At my magic you will stare;
I can play at quarter-staff,
I can knives suspend in air.
I enchantments strange devise,
And with cord and sling surprise.

(*n*) A few of the instruments of which the minstrel boasts he is master, and which are not explained in the translation of the verses, require some comment. The *Muse* is the muzzle or tube of a bag-pipe, without the bellows. Cornmuse was the name of a *horn, or Cornish pipe,* blown like our bagpipe. *Chalmy,* shawm in old English, is a clarinet of low pitch†; and *chalumeau* is French for a large bagpipe made of box, with a great *bourdon* or drone, as *musette* is for one of a small size. Of what kind of instrument was the *chiponie, cyfoine, symphonie,* is not very well known. Some of the quotations given by Du Cange describe it as a wind instrument, and others as a species of drum, pierced with holes like a sieve. I have not the least doubt but that the instrument called a *rote,* so frequently mentioned by our Chaucer, as well as by the old French poets, was the same as the modern *vielle* (see above, p. 588) and had its first name from *rota* the *wheel* with which its tones are produced. The *gigue* and *armonia* were instruments concerning which I can procure no information. The psaltry has been described p. 385.*

† Trompettès, hornè, and *shalmys*
The sea burnt all of fyre Grekys.
Rom. of Richard Coeur de Lion, written about the beginning of the 14th century.

(*g*) With the Minstrel's legerdemain I have little to do, except to point out the origin of the word *Juggler,* from *Jongleur,* a minstrel; who besides being a poet, musician, and buffoon, was expected to be a *conjurer.*

* The *Cornemuse* was the name of a type of bagpipe popular in France.
The *Chiponie* was the Hurdy Gurdy.
The *Rote* was not the more modern *vielle* (Hurdy Gurdy) but was probably the *Crowd,* and as we have seen, may have been either a plucked or bowed instrument.
The *Gigue* was the same as *Geige,* the German name for the fiddle.

He moreover boasts that besides the *heroic songs* which his antagonist mentioned, he can sing many others, such as *Oliver Roland,* &c., and then, like him, finishes by some vulgar pleasantries, telling the company that he had the honour to be acquainted with all the bailiffs, catchpoles, and renowned champions of his time: Augier Poupée, who at one stroke cuts off the ear of a cat with a sword: Herbert Kill-Beef, who breaks an egg with its point, &c., and the most celebrated Minstrels, *Firebrand, Smash, Turn-about, Sliver,* &c. At length addressing himself to his rival he advises him, if he has any shame left, never again to be seen in the same place as himself: " and you, my lord," says he, " if I have been more eloquent than he, I entreat you to turn him out of doors, to convince him that he's an ignorant blockhead."

The profession of Minstrel at this time seems to have required such talents and abilities as it would be difficult to find in the possession of any modern musician. We will suppose his musical knowledge and performance upon instruments to have been as inferior to those of the present professors, as the instruments themselves were to those of modern construction; and indeed, though we may imagine it possible for a Minstrel to know Latin, and to be able to compose tales in that language, yet it is hardly probable that he would risk it. The editor of the Fabliaux, says that in all his researches after the remains of such productions, he has seen very few; and indeed they would have been prevented from becoming common, by the small number who would have understood them; so that the Minstrel's assertion in this particular may be regarded as a mere swagger, or challenge, which he knew would not be accepted. But all deduction made, his qualifications will still remain so numerous and of such a kind as, it is to be hoped, will place him out of the reach of rivalry in the present age: for I apprehend it would be difficult to find musicians now, who would venture to boast of such accomplishments, even if he were possessed of them, as making *amorous girdles,* delivering letters or messages for lovers, teaching them the pink of courtesy and flower of compliments, or how to ornament their persons in the most emphatical manner.

To what kind of air the metrical romances which he mentions were sung, is not left on record; but that it was as simple as the ecclesiastical chants, is natural to suppose, as these romances, consisting of many thousand lines, were too long to be set or sung to very elaborate music. The author of an old romance called *Gerard de Roussillon,* says that he has written it upon the model of the *Song of Antioch,* which the editor of Fabliaux imagines to imply, that it might be sung to the same tune. Nothing was more common for many ages after this period, than for poets to write *new songs* to *old tunes,* and for musicians to make *variations* on these tunes; for we find little else done by either during the reign of queen Elizabeth.

About the year 1330, the minstrels of Paris formed themselves into a *company,* and obtained a charter. The police frequently repressed their licentiousness, and regulated their conduct: Philip Augustus banished them the first year of his reign, but they were recalled by his successors, and united under the general name of *Menestraudie,* Minstrelsy; having a chief appointed over them, who was called *King of the Minstrels* (*h*). Lewis IX. exempted them from a tariff or toll at the entrance into Paris, on condition that they would sing a song, and made their monkeys dance to the tollman, perhaps, to prove their title to such indulgence; and hence arose the well-known proverb: *Payer en Gabades et en monnoïe de singe* (*i*).

The associated Minstrels inhabited a particular street, to which they gave the name, which it still retains, of *St. Julien des Menestriers*. It was here that the public was provided with musicians for weddings, and parties of pleasure; but as a greater number of them usually attended on such occasions than were ordered, and all expected to be paid the same price, *William de Germont,* provost of Paris, in 1331, prohibited the *Jongleurs* and *Jongleresses* from going to those who required their performance, in greater numbers than had been stipulated, upon a severe penalty. In 1395, their libertinism and immoralities again incurred the censure of government, by which it was strictly enjoined that they should henceforth, neither in public nor private, speak, act, or sing any thing that was indecorous or unfit for modest eyes and ears, upon pain of two months imprisonment, and living on bread and water.

In the reign of Charles VI. [1380-1422] they seem to have relinquished the juggling art, and to have confined themselves more particularly to the practice of music. It was about this time that treble and base rebecs, or viols with three strings, began to be in use, either to play in octaves to each other, or perhaps in a coarse kind of counterpoint, of which the laws were now forming: on this occasion the Minstrels assumed the title of *Players on high and low Instruments* (*k*), and this pompous denomination was confirmed by a charter in 1401, which begins in the following manner:

" Charles by the grace of God, &c. &c. It having been humbly represented, unto us, by the King of the Minstrels, that since the year 1397 when they were formed and associated into a company for the free and lawful exercise of their profession of *Minstrelsy* (*l*), according to certain rules and ordinances by them formerly made and ratified, and by which all Minstrels, as well players on high instruments as low, having agreed and bound themselves to appear before the aforesaid King of the Minstrels, to take oath and swear to the performance of the covenants hereafter declared, &c."

(*h*) See Du Cange, in V. *Rev. Ministellorum*. Our king of the Fidlers, or Minstrels, in Staffordshire, was probably an establishment derived from the French, as the earliest mention of it in our annals is in 1338. *temp*. Hen. IV. and in the fourth year of Richard II. The records of France, however, have this title in the time of St. Lewis, and in that of his successor.

(*i*) *Essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne,* Tom. I. p. 415. This is a fact, however, which, to be believed, requires more than a bare assertion: for an imposition so ludicrous and useless to the state, seems very unworthy of so grave and pious a prince as St. Lewis.

(*k*) *Joueurs des Instrumens tant haut comme bas.*

(*l*) *Menetraudise.*

It appears from the ancient records of Paris that the *Dancing Masters* were incorporated in the same company with the Minstrels, under the denomination of *Maîtres joueurs d'instrumens, et Maîtres à danser;* and that the presentation of the living of *St. Julien des Menestriers* had at all times been allowed by the rules of the church of Paris to appertain to the said company as founders, lay-patrons, governors, and administrators of the said church (*m*).

The ancient historians and poets of France mention their *Military Songs* of very remote antiquity, in which were celebrated the heroic deeds of their favourite chiefs and most gallant commanders. These used to be sung in chorus by the whole army in advancing to attack an enemy; a custom probably derived from their German ancestors, as the privilege of leading off this kind of *War-Whoop* usually appertained to the Bard who had composed it. Charlemagne had a great passion for these heroic songs, and, like our Alfred, not only had them collected, but knew them by heart. However, the atchievements of this victorious prince and his captains obliterated those of their predecessors, and gave birth to new songs. One of these, in praise of Roland, the *Orland inamorato* and *furioso* of Boiardo, Berni, and Ariosto, was longer preserved than any of the rest. This, the French historians tell us, was begun at the battle of Hastings, where William became the conqueror of the English nation, by a knight called Taillefer, on whom this honour was conferred for his strong and powerful voice. Here he performed the office of *herald minstrel* (*menestrier huchier*) at the head of the Norman army, and was among the first that were slain in the onset (*n*).

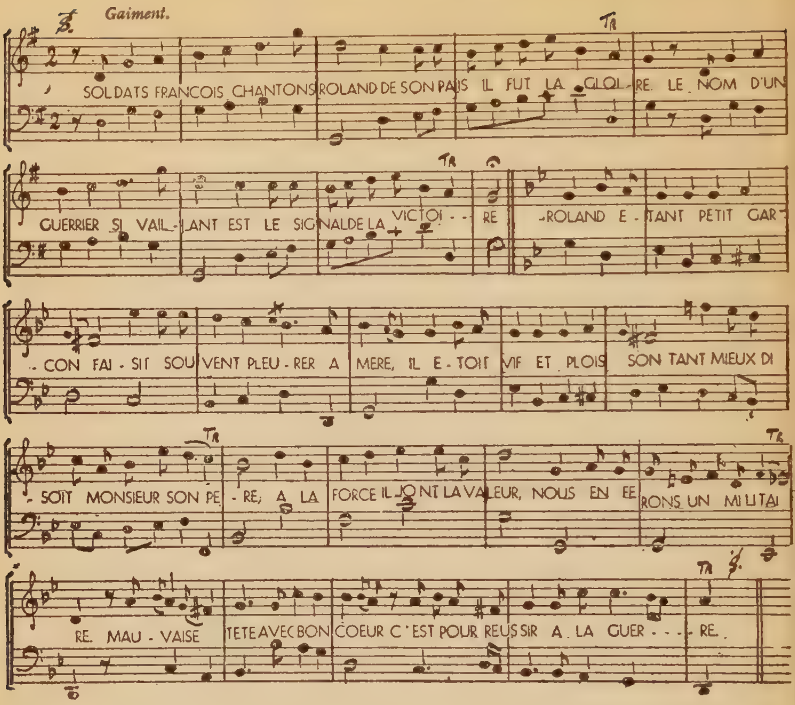
The song upon Roland continued in favour among the French soldiers as late as the battle of Poitiers, in the time of their king John; who, upon reproaching one of them with singing it at a time when there were no Rolands left, was answered that Rolands would still be found if they had a Charlemagne at their head. But however popular this song may have been in the fourteenth century, it is not come down entire to the present times.

Yet the marquis de Paulmy having found some fragments of it in the writings of the old romansers, has collected and digested them into the following song, which seems to breathe so much of the true national and military spirit of France, that I shall insert it with the tune, and a translation.

(*m*) *"Et les reverends peres de la doctrine Chretienne de la prevote de Paris, reconoissent que de toute anciennete et a perpetuite,* le dits Maitres joueurs de Violon et a danser, *sont les fotudateurs patrons laiques, presentateurs, gouverneurs et administrateurs de l'Eglise,* &c."
Drawn from the extracts inserted in the *Essai sur Mus. Anc. et Mod.* par M. Laborde, from the ancient patents and privileges of the minstrel's company. Tom. I. p. 418.

(*n*) The Minstrels were called Heralds, we find from an old French poem entitled *Le Dict. des Herauts,* by Baudoin de Conde, on account of the strength and clearness of their voices, which qualified them so well, not only for animating the soldiers in battle, but for making proclamations at tournaments and public ceremonies. *Fabliaux et Contes du XII. et du XII. Siecle.* Tom. I. p. 297. 8vo. 1779. Carpentier (*Suppl. Du-Cang. Gloss. Lat.* Tom II. p. 750) is of opinion that the French Heralds, called *Hiraux,* were the same as the Minstrels, and that they sung metrical tales at festivals: and Mr. Warton has given many proofs (Hist. Eng. Poet. vol. i. p. 332) that in England they frequently received fees or largesse with the Minstrels.

CHANSON de ROLAND.


Gaiment.
SOLDATS FRANCOIS CHANTONS ROLAND DE SON PAIS IL FUT LA GLOI-RE. LE NOM D'UN
GUERRIER SI VAIL-LANT EST LE SIGNAL DE LA VICTOI - - RE
-ROLAND E-TANT PETIT GAR-
-CON FAI-SIT SOUVENT PLEU-RER A MERE, IL E-TOIT VIF ET PLOIS SON TANT MIEUX DI
-SOIT MONSIEUR SON PE-RE; A LA FORCE IL JOINT LA VALEUR, NOUS EN FERONS UN MILITAI
RE. MAU-VAISE TETE AVEC BON COEUR C'EST POUR REUSSIR A LA GUER - - - RE.

Chanson de Roland

Soldats François, chantons Roland,
De son pais il fut la gloire,
Le nom d'un Guerrier si vaillant
Est le signal de la victoire.
Roland etant petit garçon
Faisoit souvent pleurer sa mere:
Il etoit vif et polisson—
Tant mieux, disoit monsieur son pere—
A la force il joint la valeur,
Nous en ferons un militaire.
Mauvaise tête avec bon coeur
C'est pour reussir a la guerre.
Soldats François, &c.

II.

Le pere pensoit justement,
Car dès que Roland fut en age,
On vit avec etonnement,
Briller sa force et son courage;
Perçant escadrons, bataillons,
Renversant tout dans la mêlée
Il faisoit tourner les talons
Lui tout seul a toute une armée;
Soldats François, &c.

Military Song, on the French Champion Roland

Let ev'ry valiant son of Gaul
Sing Roland's deeds, her greatest glory,
Whose name will stoutest foes appal,
And feats inspire for future story.
Roland in childhood had no fears,
Was full of tricks, nor knew a letter,
Which though it cost his mother tears,
His father cried "So much the better:
We'll have him for a soldier bred,
His strength and courage let us nourish.
If bold the heart, though wild the head,
In war he'll but the better flourish."
Let ev'ry, &c.

II.

Roland arriv'd at man's estate
Prov'd that his father well admonish'd,
For then his prowess was so great
That all the world became astonish'd.
Batallions, squadrons, he could break,
And singly give them such a beating,
That, seeing him, whole armies quake,
And nothing think of but retreating.
Let ev'ry, &c.

III.

Dans le combat particulier
Il nétoit pas moins redoutable,
Qu'on fut geant, qu'on fut sorcier,
Que l'on fut monstre, ou qu'on fut diable,
Rien jamais n'arretoit son bras,
Il se battoit toujours sans crainte,
Et s'il ne donnoit le trépas
Il portoit quelque rude atteinte.
Soldats, &c.

IV.

Quand il falloit donner l'assaut,
Lui même il appliquoit l'echelle;
Il etoit le premier en haut,
Amis, prenez le pour modele.
Il passoit la nuit au bivac,
L'esprit gaillard, l'ame contente;
Ou dormoit sous un avresac,
Mieux qu'un géneral sous sa tente.
Soldats, &c.

V.

Pour l'ennemi qui resistoit
Reservant toute son audace,
A celui qui se soumettoit
Il accordoit toujours sa grace.
L'humanité dans son grand cœur
Renaissoit, apres la victoire;
Et le soir même le vainqueur
Au vaincu proposoit à boire.
Soldats, &c.

VI.

Quand on lai demandoit pourquoi,
Les François etoient en campagne,
Il repondoit de bonne foi,
C'est par l'ordre de Charlemagne.
Ses ministres, ses favoris
Ont raisonné sur cette affaire;
Pour nous, battons ses ennemis,
C'est ce que nous avons à faire.
Soldats, &c.

VII.

Roland vivoit en bon Chrétin,
Il entendoit souvent la messe,
Donnoit aux pauvres de son bien,
Et même il alloit a confesse;
Mais de son confesseur Turpin
Il tenoit que c'est oeuvre pie
De battre, et de mener grand train
Les ennemis de sa patrie,
Soldats, &c.

VIII.

Roland à table etoit charmant,
Buvoit du vin avec délice;
Mais el en usoit sobrement
Les jours de gar de et d'exercice;
Pour le service il observoit
De conserver sa tête entiere,
Ne buvant que quand il n'avoit
Ce jour-la rien de mieux a faire.
Soldats, &c.

IX.

Il corrigeoit avec rigueur
Tous ceux qui lui cherchoient querelle,
Mais il n'etoit point querelleur,
Bon camarade, ami fidele:
L'ennemi seul dans les combats
Trembloit, voyant briller sa lame,
Et pour le deriner des soldats
Il se seroit mis dans la flame.
Soldats, &c.

III.

In single combat 'twas the same:
To him all foes were on a level,
For ev'ry one he overcame
If giant, sorc'rer, monster, devil.
His arm no danger e'er could stay,
Nor was the goddess Fortune fickle.
For if his foe he did not slay
He left him in a rueful pickle.
Let ev'ry, &c.

IV.

In scaling walls, with highest glee,
He first the ladder fixt, then mounted;
Let him, my boys, our model be,
Who men or perils never counted.
At night, with scouts he watch would keep
With heart more gay than one in million,
Or else on knapsack sounder sleep
Than general in his proud pavilion.
Let ev'ry, &c.

V.

On stubborn foes he vengeance wreak'd
And laid about him like a Tartar,
But if for mercy once they squeak'd
He was the first to grant them quarter.
The battle won, of Roland's soul
Each milder virtue took possession;
To vanquish'd foes he o'er a bowl
His heart surrender'd at discretion.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VI.

When ask'd why Frenchmen wield the brand
And dangers new each day solicit,
He said, 'tis Charlemagne's command
To whom our duty is implicit:
His ministers, and chosen few,
No doubt have weigh'd these things in private,
Let us his enemies subdue,
'Tis all that soldiers e'er should drive at.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VII.

Roland like Christian true would live,
Was seen at mass, and in procession;
And freely to the poor would give,
Nor did he always shun confession.
But bishop Turpin had decreed
(His counsel in each weighty matter)
That 'twas a good and pious deed
His country's foes to drub and scatter.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VIII.

At table Roland ever gay,
Would eat, and drink, and laugh, and rattle,
But all was in a prudent way
On days of guard, or eve of battle.
For still to king and country true
He held himself their constant debtor,
And only drank in season due,
When to transact he'd nothing better.
Let ev'ry, &c.

IX.

To captious blades he ne'er would bend,
Who quarrels sought on slight pretences;
Though he, to social joys a friend,
Was slow to give or take offences.
None e'er had cause his arm to dread
But those who wrong'd his prince, or nation,
On whom whene'er to combat led
He dealt out death and devastation.
Let ev'ry, &c.

X.

Roland aimoit le cotillon,
(On ne peut guere s'en defendre)
Et pour une reine, dit on,
Il eut le cœur un peu trop tendre:
Elle l'abandonne un beau jour
Et lui fait tourner la cervelle;
Aux combats, mais non eu amour:
Que Roland soit notre modèle.
Soldats, &c.

X.

Roland too much adored the fair
From whom e'en heroes are defenceless,
And by a queen of beauty rare
He all at once was rendered senseless.
One hapless morn she left the knight,
Who, when he miss'd her, grew quite frantic,
Our pattern let him be in fight:
His love was somewhat too romantic.
Let ev'ry, &c.

XI.

Roland fut d'abord officier,
Car il etoit bon gentilhomme;
Il eut un régiment entier
De son oncle, Empereur de Rome.
Il fut comte, il fut general,
Mais vivant comme a la chambrée
Il traitoit de frere, et d'egal
Chaque brave homme de l'armée;
Soldats, &c.

XI.

His mighty uncle, Charles the Great,
Who Rome's imperial sceptre wielded,
Both early dignity and state
With high command to Roland yielded.
Yet though a Gen'ral, Count, and Peer,
Roland's kind heart all pride could smother,
For each brave man from van to rear
He treated like a friend and brother.
Let ev'ry, &c.

Among the most ancient Songs on the subject of *Love* which have been preserved in the French language, are those of the unfortunate *Chatelain de Coucy*,* whose story is truely tragical. In a chronicle written about the year 1380, and cited by Fauchet, we are told that in the time of Philip Augustus and Richard the First, there was a valorous and accomplished knight in the Vermandois, six leagues from Noyon, in Picardy, who was extremely enamoured with the wife of the lord of Fayel, his neighbour. After many difficulties and sufferings incident to such an attachment, the lover determined to take the cross and accompany the kings of France and England to the Holy Land. The lady of Fayel, when she discovered his intention, wrought for him a beautiful net, with a mixture of silk and her own hair, which he fastened to his helmet, and ornamented the tassels with large pearls. The parting of these lovers was of course extremely tender. On the arrival of Coucy in Palestine, he performed many gallant and heroic actions, in hopes that their fame would reach the ears of the beloved object whom he had left in Europe ; but, unfortunately, at a seige in which the Christians were repulsed by the Saracens, he received a wound which was soon pronounced to be mortal, upon which he entreated his esquire the instant he should be dead, to have his heart embalmed and carry it to the lady of Fayel, together with the ornament which she had worked for him, in a little casket with other tokens of her affection, and a letter full of tenderness written with his own hand on his deathbed. In this request he was punctually obeyed by his friend and esquire ; but unfortunately, on his arrival in France, when he was hovering about the castle of the lady's residence, in order to seize the first opportunity that offered of delivering the casket into her own hands, he was discovered by the lord of Fayel her husband, who knowing him, and suspecting that he was charged with dispatches to his wife from the *Chatelain*, whom he hated more than any other human creature, he fell upon the esquire, and would have instantly put him to death, had he not begged for mercy, and informed him of the business with which he was entrusted by his deceased master (*o*). The enraged husband therefore seizing the casket, dismissed the affrighted 'squire, and went instantly to his cook, whom he ordered to dress the embalmed heart it contained, with such sauce as would make it palatable, and serve it up for dinner. In this he was obeyed by the cook, who at the same time prepared a similar dish, in appearance, for his lord's use, of which he eat, while his lady dined upon the heart of her lover. After dinner the Seigneur de Fayel asked how she liked the dish of which she had been eating? On her answering, very well ; " I thought," said he, " you would be pleased with it, supposing it to be a viand of which you were always very fond, and for that reason I had it dressed." The lady, suspecting nothing, made no reply ; but her lord continuing the subject, asked her if she knew what she had been eating? she answered in the negative: " Why then," said he, " for your greater satisfaction I must inform you that you have eaten the heart of the *Chatelain de Coucy*." To be thus reminded of her friend, made her very uneasy, although she could not believe that her husband was serious, till he shewed her the casket and letter, which when she had examined and perused, her countenance changed, and after a short pause, she said to Fayel, " It is true, indeed, that you have helped me to a viand which I very much loved ; but it is the last I shall ever eat, as after that every other food would be insipid." She then retired to her chamber, and as she never more could be prevailed on to take any kind of sustenance, fasting and affliction soon put an end to her days (*p*).

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* A modern edition of these has been issued by F. Fath, *Die Lieder der Castellans von Coucy.* (Heidelberg 1883.)

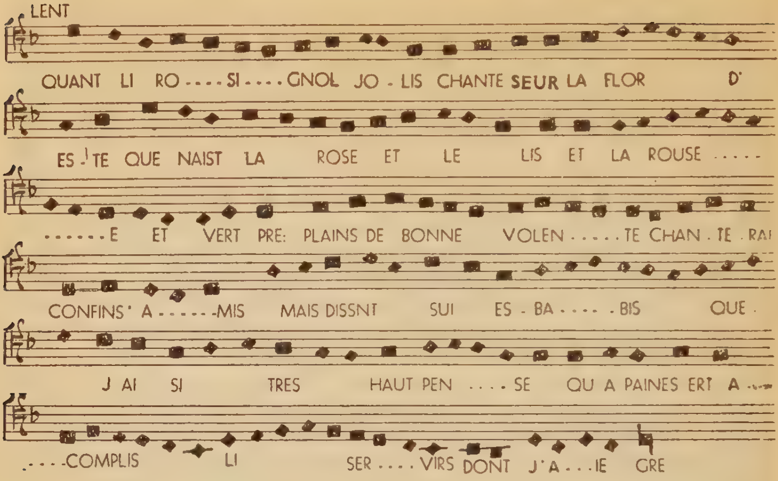
As love is a stimulus to poetry, this unhappy and romantic knight, no less distinguished by his misfortunes than talents, has left behind him some of the most elegant and affecting songs in the French language, which have been preserved in MSS. that are near 450 years old, and cited by all cotemporary writers as models on the subject of love (*q*). As the ancient melodies are still subsisting to some of these, I shall select two of the most pleasing, for the satisfaction of my musical readers, who probably will find them equally rude and doleful with the Air of nearly the same antiquity, which has been already inserted, from Anselm Faydit.

(*o*) Such was the gallantry of these times, that not only the lady but her husband felt a kind of disgrace if her beauty was neglected: all married females had their chevaliers, by common consent of the married men; but, if there was no latent cause of antipathy, the surly seigneur de Fayel must have had a head differently constructed from his neighbours, for he could never be prevailed on to regard the *Chatelain's* partiality to his lady in the light of an *obligation*.

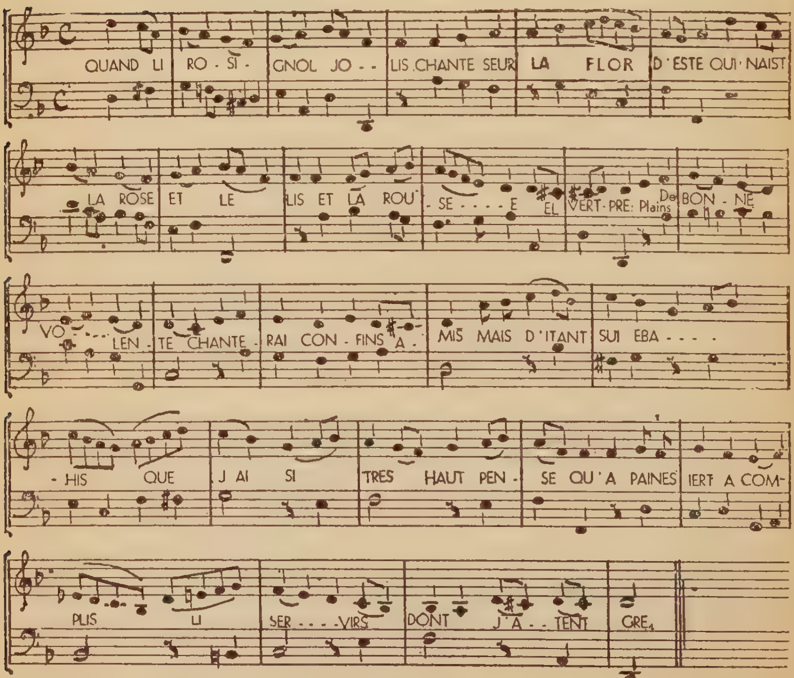
(*p*) The reader will recollect that this melancholy story has not only been the subject of several tales, poems, and romances, but has likewise been lately represented with success on the stage. However, there are persons in France who suspecting the authenticity of the narration, are inclined to think it was originally fabricated by some Minstrel or Troubadour in a Romance. An English metrical Romance on the subject of this story, called *The Knight of Courtesy, and the Lady of Faguel,* still subsists. See Warton's Hist. of Poetry, vol. I. p. 212.

(*q*) They have lately been published in the *Essai Sur la Mus. Anc. et Mod.* to the number of twenty-three, from an ancient MS. in the possession of the Marquis de Paulmy.

Chanson du Châtelain de Coucy.

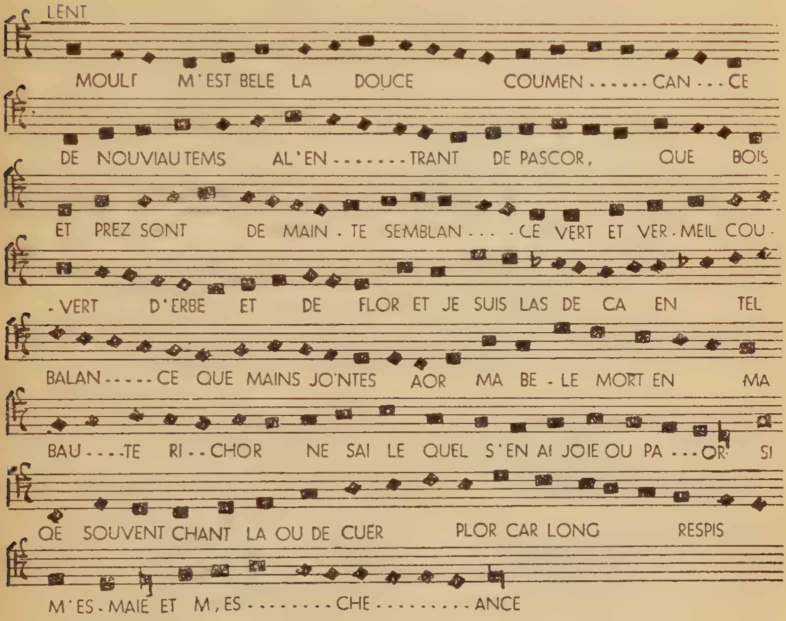

LENT
QUANT LI RO . . . . SI . . . . GNOL JO - LIS CHANTE SEUR LA FLOR D'
ES - TE QUE NAIST LA ROSE ET LE LIS ET LA ROUSE . . . . .
. . . . . . E ET VERT PRE: PLAINS DE BONNE VOLEN . . . . . TE CHAN - TE - RAI
CONFINS' A - - - - - - MIS MAIS DISSNT SUI ES - BA - - - - - BIS QUE -
J AI SI TRES HAUT PEN . . . . SE QU A PAINES ERT A - - -
. - - - - COMPLIS LI SER . . . . VIRS DONT J'A . . . IE GRE

Chanson du Châtelain de Coucy.

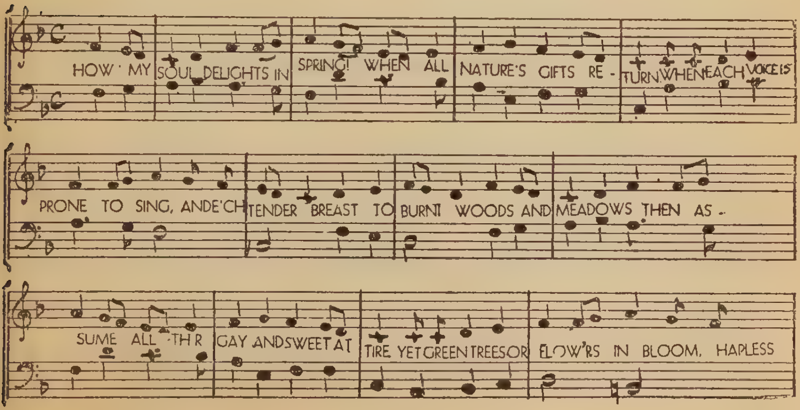

QUAND LI RO - SI - GNOL JO - - LIS CHANTE SEUR LA FLOR D'ESTE QUI NAIST
LA ROSE ET LE LIS ET LA ROU - SE - - - - E EL VERT - PRE: Plains De BON - NE
VO - - - LEN - TE CHANTE - RAI CON - FINS A - MIS MAIS D'ITANT SUI EBA - - - -
- HIS QUE J AI SI TRES HAUT PEN - SE QU'A PAINES IERT A COM -
PLIS LI SER - - - VIRS DONT J'A - - TENT GRE

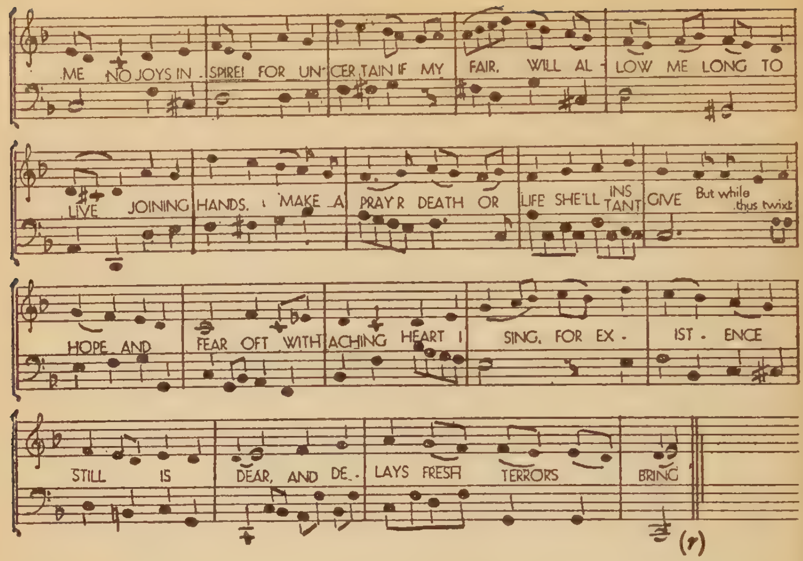
When the nightingale shall sing
  Songs of love from night to morn;
When the rose and lily spring,
  And the dew bespangles thorn;
Then should I my voice expand,
  Like a lover fond and true,
Could I but its tones command
  And the tender strain pursue;
But his love who fears to tell
Notes of passion ne'er can swell.

Autre Chanson du Chatelain de Coucy.


LENT
MOULT M'EST BELE LA DOUCE COUMEN . . . . . . CAN . . . CE
DE NOUVIAU TEMS AL'EN . . . . TRANT DE PASCOR, QUE BOIS
ET PREZ SONT DE MAIN - TE SEMBLAN . . . - CE VERT ET VER - MEIL COU -
- VERT D'ERBE ET DE FLOR ET JE SUIS LAS DE CA EN TEL
BALAN . . . . . CE QUE MAINS JO'NTES AOR MA BE - LE MORT EN MA
BAU - . . . TE RI - - CHOR NE SAI LE QUEL S'EN AI JOIE OU PA . . . OR SI
QE SOUVENT CHANT LA OU DE CUER PLOR CAR LONG RESPIS
M'ES - MAIE ET M, ES . . . . CHE . . . . ANCE

Another Song from the Chatelain de Coucy, written and set about the year 1190.


HOW MY SOUL DELIGHTS IN SPRING! WHEN ALL NATURE'S GIFTS RE - TURN. WHEN EACH VOICE IS
PRONE TO SING, AND EACH TENDER BREAST TO BURN! WOODS AND MEADOWS THEN AS -
SUME ALL THR GAY AND SWEET AT TIRE. YET GREEN TREES OR FLOW'RS IN BLOOM, HAPLESS


ME NO JOYS IN - SPIRE! FOR UN - CER TAIN IF MY FAIR, WILL AL - LOW ME LONG TO
LIVE JOINING HANDS. MAKE A PRAY'R DEATH OR LIFE SHE'LL INS TANT GIVE But while thus twixt
HOPE AND FEAR OFT WITH ACHING HEART I SING. FOR EX - IST - ENCE
STILL IS DEAR, AND DE - LAYS FRESH TERRORS BRING
(r)

Ha! franche riens, puisqu'en vostre manoie
Me suis tous mis, trop me secorés lent;
Car nus dons n'est cortois qui trop délaie:
Si s'en esmaie icil qui s'i atent.
Uns petiz bien vaut mieux, se Dex, me voie
Qu'on fait cortoisement,
Que cent greignor fais ennieusement.
Car qui le suen donne retraiamment,
Son grè en pert: & si coste ausiment
Con à celui qui bonement outroie.

Ah! ingenious soul! too late
Will ere long assistance come;
In your hands is plac'd my fate,
Speedy then pronounce my doom.
Gifts too much our pride alarm
If reluctance interpose,
And destroy the pleasing charm
Which from courteous bounty flows.
Want of value in the boon
Graceful kindness reconciles,
Nought is slight that's granted soon
If it come array'd in smiles.
Those who long their gifts withhold
Have on gratitude no claim;
Be they love, or be they gold
Still they lose their worth and aim.

In the time of Philip de Valois, between the year 1228 and 1250, the French had more than thirty musical instruments in use, of which even the form of several is unknown to the present age. In an ancient MS. poem of the King of France's Library (*s*), a concert is described, in which all these instruments are named (*t*).

But nearly as many are *represented* in the beautiful illuminations of the splendid copy of the *Roman d' Alexander* in the Bodleian Library (*u*), where they are placed in the hands of Musicians.

(*r*) Though the first of the two Songs by *Coucy* consists of 7 stanzas, and the second of 5, in the original, yet place could only be allowed here for one stanza of the first Song, and for this and the following stanza of the last.

(*s*) No. 7612.

(*t*) *Voyez le Discours sur* L'Anciennete des Chansons, *dans le premier Tome des Poes. du Roi de Navarre*, p. 247.

(*u*) No. 264, large folio, on vellum.

Among these are the following well known Instruments of modern times: Flutes, Harps with ten strings, Hautbois, Bassoons, Trumpets, small Kettle drums carried by a boy and beaten by a man, Cymbalum, Tambour de Basque, two long speaking Trumpets, two large Hand-bells, Guitars, Bagpipes of various forms and size, a Dulcimer in shape, but held against the breast and thrummed with the fingers, a Vielle, Viols, or Rebecs with three strings, played with a clumsy bow (*x*), and Regals, or portable Organs. The Bodley transcript of this metrical romance was finished 1338, and as it is recorded in letters of gold that *che livre fu parfais de la Enluminiere au* XVIII *davryl par* Jehan de Grise *l'an de grace* MCCCXLIII it seems as if the illuminator had been six years employed in painting the embellishments; in which, besides grotesque figures and musical instruments in the margin, the principal incidents of the Poem are represented at the beginning of each book or canto, where the heads, drapery, buildings, arms, and military engines are well designed and coloured for so early a period, and exquisitely finished (*y*). But this is only a copy of a more ancient MS.; for the Romanse, according to Borel (*z*), was begun in 1140, by Lambert li Cors [Tors] or the Short, and continued by Alexandre de Bernai (*a*). It consists of near 20,000 lines.

In the middle of the Poem we have the following Song set to Music in Gregorian Notes, written upon five red lines, and preceded by these Alexandrine Verses, in which measure the whole work is composed:

Des menestreus huchie | *fit li roi grant marée*
Tout entour le pays | *adroite avironnée*
Cascun aporte trompe | *ou violle attemprée*
Nacaires (*b*) *et tabors* | *de grande renommée*
Vers la feste sen vont | *chantant de randonnée*
Laigle fu devant yeus | *ki bien fu empenèe* (*c*).

(*x*) See plate p. 589.

(*y*) This very beautiful MS. once belonged to the father of the unfortunate earl Rivers, who was put to death by order of Richard III., 1483, as appears by the following memorandum written in an old and difficult hand, on the outside leaf at the end:
Chest livre est a Monseigneur Richart de Wideville Seigneur de Riviers, ung des compagnons de la tres noble Ordre de la Jartiere—et le dit Seigneur achetat le dist livre l'an de grace mille CCCCXLVI. *le premier jour de l'an a Londres et le VI. an de la coronement de nostre victorieux Roy Eduard uart de nom, & le second de la coronamon de nostre virtueuse Royne Elizabeth.*

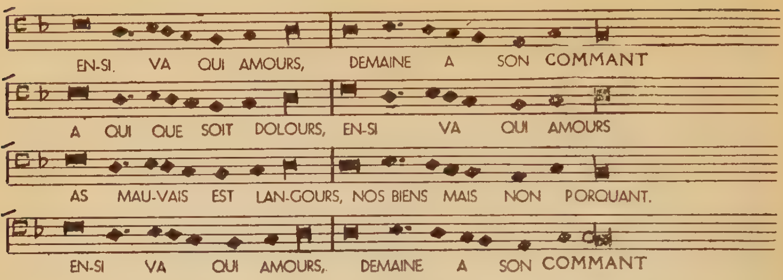
(*z*) *Tresor de recherches et Antiquitez Gauloises et Francoises,* Par. 1655.

(*a*) It is quoted by Lancombe, *Dict du vieux Langage,* p. 470, as written in 1150.

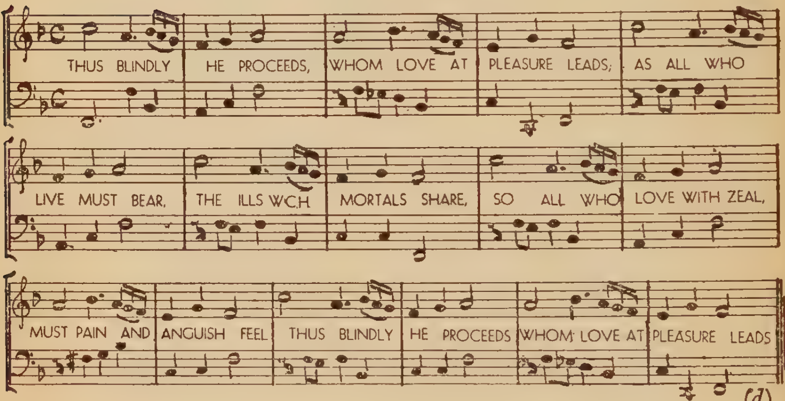
(*b*) *Nacaires* are often mentioned by the old French poets, and *nachare* by the Italian. Du Cange describes *nacara* to be a kind of brazen drum used in cavalry, yet Chaucer names it in the company of military *wind* instruments:
Pipes, trompes, *nakeres,* and clariounes
That in the bataille blowen blody sounes.—*Knight's Tale.*

(*c*) Of herald minstrels now a num'rous band
In crowds assemble at the king's command:
Some trumpets bring, with viols others come,
And some with tymbals or the noisy drum.
Singing they approach the feast, with due decorum
And view the full-plum'd eagle borne before 'em.

Chanson du Roman d'Alexandre.


EN-SI. VA QUI AMOURS, DEMAINE A SON COMMANT
A QUI QUE SOIT DOLOURS, EN-SI VA QUI AMOURS
AS MAU-VAIS EST LAN-GOURS, NOS BIENS MAIS NON PORQUANT.
EN-SI VA QUI AMOURS, DEMAINE A SON COMMANT

The same Melody in Modern Notes.


THUS BLINDLY HE PROCEEDS, WHOM LOVE AT PLEASURE LEADS; AS ALL WHO
LIVE MUST BEAR, THE ILLS WCH MORTALS SHARE, SO ALL WHO LOVE WITH ZEAL,
MUST PAIN AND ANGUISH FEEL THUS BLINDLY HE PROCEEDS WHOM LOVE AT PLEASURE LEADS

(d)

(*d*) After unsuccessfully applying to many learned persons to assist me in construing the difficult parts of this Song, I had ventured to guess at its meaning before I was favoured with an answer to a request which I had made to a friend at Paris, begging he would consult the copy of the Roman d'Alexandre in the Bible du Roi [No. 7190] in order to discover whether something had not been omitted or erroneously transcribed in the Bodley MS. which there was great reason to suspect. But though I received information that the Song could not be found in the MS. of the Royal Library at Paris, yet I shall insert here the account of this copy of the celebrated Roman d'Alexandre which accompanied the information, as it will doubtless afford satisfaction to curious enquirers concerning the ancient literature of France.—"The Roman d'Alexandre is divided into three separate parts, and was written by three different authors. Each of these parts has a particular title: the first is called *Le Roman d'Alexandre;* the second, *La Vengeance d'Alexandre;* and the third *La Mort d'Alexandre.*

"There is still in the same folio volume which contains these three MSS. another work upon *the death of Alexander,* which is entitled *Les Vœus du Pan,* or the Peacock's Predictions."

The following translation of the Songs as it stands in the Bodley copy has been procured from the learned M. Bejau, keeper of the MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris, which I am happy in presenting to my readers:

Ensi va qui amours || *Demaine a ton commant*
Ainsi va l'amour Il domine a son gre.
A qui que soit dolours || *Ensi va qui amours*
Il attriste qui que ce soit, Ainsi va l'amour
As mauvais est langours || *Nos biens mais non porquant.*
Ah la lengueur est funeste, Mais notre bonheur ne depend pas de nous.

The verses of this song are *Alexandrine,* or of twelve syllables, like the narrative part of the Poem, with this difference, that one of them is likewise *Leonine,* in which the end rhymes to the middle:

Ensi va qui amours demaine a son commant.
A qui que soit dolours, ensi va qui amours,
As mauvais et langours, nos biens mais non porquant,
Ensi va qui amours demaine a son commant.

This same *Refrain* or burden appears in another Song which is inserted in an ancient *Fabliau* or tale among a large collection of poems of the thirteenth century in the king of France's library (*e*). It is difficult now to discover which was written first, but the occasion of the song in the Fabliau is so curious that I shall present the reader with a sketch of the whole narrative in which it is introduced. The title of this Fabliau is *Le Lay d'Aristote,* in which it is related that Alexander the Great, after his conquest of India, forgetting the glory he had already acquired, and his plans of future conquests, shut himself up continually with a beautiful female, of whom he was violently enamoured. His officers murmured at the absence of the young hero, without daring to reproach him; but his tutor Aristotle, hearing of the discontents in the army, was less ceremonious, and upbraided him with the impropriety of his conduct. Alexander feeling the force of the philosopher's remonstrances, without loving his mistress the less, for some time discontinued his visits: however being at length unable to repress his passion any longer he returned; and, amidst the tears, caresses, and reproaches with which he was received by the beautiful object of his affection, confessed, in order to exculpate himself, that his absence had been occasioned by the murmurs of his officers, and the censures of his master Aristotle. The lady instantly resolving to be revenged upon the philosopher, made Alexander promise to be at his window early the next morning. At break of day she went into the garden of the palace; her deshabille is elegantly described; the Song, which she sings in a voice soft as a lute, is inserted in the tale, and is simple and pretty. Upon her arrival under the window of Aristotle, he shuts his books, and, in spite of his wisdom and reflection, finds himself unable to resist the desire of approaching her: the seducing blandishments and coquetry of the fair are as well described as the awkward advances of the philosopher. At length, she complains to him of the ill offices which had been practised, in order to alienate from her the affections of Alexander. Aristotle boasts of the influence he has with the prince, and promises to exercise it in her favour, upon condition that she will first lend a favourable ear to the passion which he has conceived for her himself; but she tells him that nothing will convince her of his sincerity, but his going upon all-fours, and carrying her on his back through the

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(*e*) No. 7218. It was first printed among the *Fabliaux des Poetes Francois des* xii, xiii, *et* xiv. *Siecles,* tom. I. p. 173. Par 1766, and has since appeared among the *Fabliaux,* published in 1799. tom. I. p. 197.

garden: even to this he consents; yet still, that she may ride more at her ease, she insists upon his fetching a saddle; she then mounts and laughing, sings:

Ainsi va qui amors main, &c.

which is precisely the burden of the song that has just been given from the Roman d'Alexandre.

When the young monarch had been sufficiently amused by the *Equestrian* figure his master had made, he descends into the garden, says the fabulist, and asks him if he had lost his senses, and forgotten all his fine precepts in favour of continence? Aristotle lifts up his eyes, and, with the utmost shame and confusion, confesses that he was mistaken—" I reproached your majesty (says he) with that intemperance in youth, from which my old age has not been able to protect me."

It was a common practice with the old French poets to make a particular line of an old song the *Refrain*, or burden, of a new; but whether that of the song in the Roman d'Alexandre alludes to the transaction related in the Fabliau, or whether the song in the Fabliau was an imitation of that in the Roman, I am unable to determine. These two songs will at least illustrate each other, and the resemblance seems too great to have been produced by accident.

The songs of THIBAUT, king of Navarre, are by some placed at the head of those that have been preserved in the French language, as those of Guillaume IX. duke of Aquitain, are in that of Provençe. There were, indeed, songs written in both languages, before these princes had done poetry the honour to make it their favourite amusement; but the chief part of those of higher antiquity than the time of these patriarchs of Provençal and French versification, are either lost, or thought of little value.

And as the paraphrases on the Epistles, which have been inserted above, are the most ancient *Sacred Songs* now subsisting in a vulgar tongue, to which the original music has been preserved; so the Provençal and French melodies, of which a specimen has already been given, are the most ancient that I have been able to find to *Secular Songs*. Of nearly equal antiquity, however, are the lyric compositions of Thibaut, count of Champagne, and king of Navarre.

This prince was born in 1201, and died 1254. He was cotemporary with Philip Augustus, and Lewis the Eighth and Ninth, which last prince he accompanied to the Holy War. It has been said by several historians, that he was much captivated by the charms of queen Blanche of Castile, mother of St. Lewis, to whom many of his songs were addressed; but this point of history has been disputed with great zeal by M. l'Eveque de la Ravaliere, the editor of Thibaut's Poems, which he published in 1742, with notes, and a history of the revolutions in the French language, from the time of Charlemagne to that of St. Lewis, together with an Essay on the Antiquity of French Songs. This learned prelate has defended the honour of queen Blanche with his pen, five hundred years after her decease, with as much prowess and true chivalry as the most valiant champion of injured innocence could have done with his sword and lance, had he been animated by the presence of that princess, and the heroism of the times in which she lived.

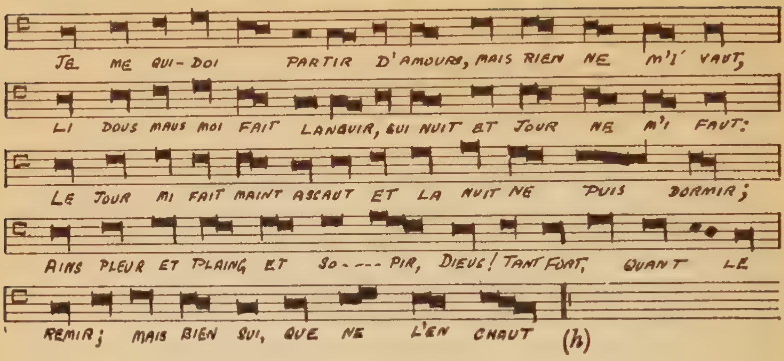
I shall present the reader with two specimens of the king of Navarre's poetry and music; for it was not sufficient for the Bards of his time to compose good verses; they were expected to set them to music themselves, if they were to be sung; and it appears from the lives of the Troubadours, by Nostradamus, that most of the Provençal poets were practical musicians, and set their own songs It was said of William, Count of Poitou, *qu'il sut bien trouver & bien Chanter*: that is, could *sing* or set verses to music as well as write them; and in the character of Bernard de Ventadour, a Provençal poet of the twelfth century, he is called *Le Chanteur. Il etoit courtois & bien appris,* says his historian, *et savoit Composer et Chanter.* Rambaud de Vaqueiras, one of the best poets in the Provençal language, also speaks of the *sons,* or tunes, which he had made for his mistress, as well as words.

Les grandes Chroniques de France tells us, that Thibaut at the age of thirty-five, having conceived a violent and hopeless passion for queen Blanche, was advised by wise and prudent counsellors to apply himself to music and poetry, which he did with such success that he produced "the most beautiful Songs and Melodies that have ever been heard;" (*f*) and as it is the opinion of the French antiquaries and critics, that the tunes which have been preserved in the most ancient MSS. of the songs of this prince are those which were originally set to them by himself, they are the more curious and valuable, not only as being the productions of so great a personage, but as genuine remains of the state of melody in France at so early a period. And, indeed, when they are written in modern characters, accompanied by a base, and the measure is regulated by bars, they remind us of many French airs of the present century, and shew that vocal melody has remained nearly stationary in France, ever since the beginning of the thirteenth century. The words of the first song being serious, the tune may serve as a specimen of the *airs tendres* of that period.

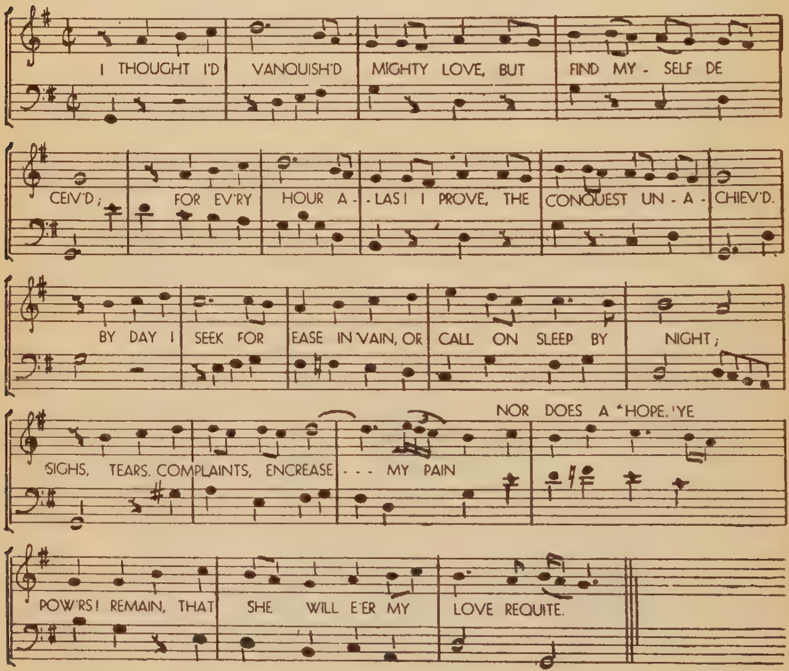
I shall first give an exact *fac-simile* of this air from the Vatican copy among the queen of Sweden's manuscripts, (*g*) to the original words; and then a free translation adapted to the original melody, written in modern characters.

(*f*) I shall give the passage in the original, from Fauchet—*Et pou ce que profondes pensees ingendrent melancolies, il luy fut dit d'aucuns sages hommes, qu'l s'estudiast en beaux sons, et doux chants d'instruments: & si fit-il. Car il fit les plus belles Chansons, et les plus delectables et Melodieuses, qui onques fussent oyes en Chansons ne en Instruments.* Des Anciens Poetes Francois, fol. 565.

(*g*) No. 59.


JE ME QUI-DOI PARTIR D'AMOURS, MAIS RIEN NE M'I VAUT;
LI DOUS MAUS MOI FAIT LANGUIR, QUI NUIT ET JOUR NE M'I FAUT:
LE JOUR MI FAIT MAINT ASSAUT ET LA NUIT NE PUIS DORMIR;
AINS PLEUR ET PLAING ET SO---PIR, DIEUS! TANT FORT, QUANT LE
REMIR; MAIS BIEN SUI, QUE NE L'EN CHAUT
(h)

Song from Thibaut King of Navarre, adapted to his original Melody.


I THOUGHT I'D VANQUISH'D MIGHTY LOVE, BUT FIND MY-SELF DE
CEIV'D; FOR EV'RY HOUR A-LAS! I PROVE, THE CONQUEST UN-A-CHIEV'D.
BY DAY I SEEK FOR EASE IN VAIN, OR CALL ON SLEEP BY NIGHT;
SIGHS, TEARS, COMPLAINTS, ENCREASE - - - MY PAIN
NOR DOES A HOPE, YE
POW'RS! REMAIN, THAT SHE WILL E'ER MY LOVE REQUITE.

(*h*) A very incorrect copy, both of the words and music of this Song, has been printed by Crescimbeni, *Comment d'la Volg. Poesia*, tom. I. p. 283; where, besides wrong notes, there has been such little attention paid to the *plicæ*, or characters with double tails, which in this melody are manifestly signs of augmentation, that it requires great critical sagacity in a musical reader to regulate the measure. I have corrected the words by M. de la Valiere's copy (*Poesies du Roi de Navarre*, tom. II. p. 57) which seems more exact than that which I had procured in the Vatican.

II.

Nus ne doit amors trair,
Fors ke garçons et ribaut,
Si ce n'est pour son plaisir,
Je ne vois ni bas, ni haut,
Ains veuil, quel me truit bault,
Sans guiller, et sans mentir;
Mais si je puis consievir
Le cherf, qui tant set fuir,
Nus n'est joyeux, com Thiebauz.

II.

The libertine alone betrays
The kind and constant heart,
But I would die ten thousand ways
Ere pain to her impart.
No thought my throbbing breast can cheer
But her in bliss to see:
Yet in her coy and wild career
Could I but catch this flying deer
How happy then would Theobald be!

III.

Li cherf est avantureux,
Car il est plus blanc que nois,
Et si a les crins ans deux,
Plus biaux, que ors espenois;
Li cherf est en un desfois,
A l'entrer molt perilleux,
Car il est gardé de leus,
Ce sont felons envieu,
Qui trop heent les cortois

III.

This lovely deer, more white than snow,
With locks like burnish'd gold
Which o'er her polish'd shoulders flow,
Courageous is, and bold.
In peril oft she stands at bay,
Where wolves with cunning fraught
Are on the watch by night and day
To seize the courteous as their prey
Who set their wicked wiles at naught.

IV.

Fins chevaliers angoisseux,
Qui a perdu son harnois,
Ne vielle, cui art li feu,
Maison, vigne, et blé et pois,
Ne kachiere, qui prent sois,
Ne moigne luxurieux,
N'est envers moi angoisseux,
Que je ne soie de ceus,
Qui aiment de sur leur pois.

IV.

A brave accomplish'd knight o'ercome
And stript of arms and fame,
While barn and vineyard, house and home
Are food for fire and flame;
Than me less torture feels and pain
While rigour thus I prove,
For never did I yet attain
The gift seraphic of a swain
Who could without a premium love.

V.

Dame une riens vos demant,
Cuidiés vos, ke ne soit pechiés
D'occire son vrai amant?
Oil voir; bien le sachiés,
Si vous plait, si m'ochiés;
Car je le veuil et creant,
Et se mieus m'amés vivant,
Se le vos dis en oiant,
Molt en seroie plus liés.

V.

The slightest, smallest boon to share
Is all I humbly crave,
To drive away the fiend Despair
And snatch me from the grave.
And is it then no crime to wound
A faithful lover's heart?
To hear his sad complaints resound,
Then dash him to the abyss profound,
Nor at his cruel suff'rings start?

VI.

Dame, où nule ne se prent,
Mais ke vos voilliés itant,
C'un poi i vaille pities.

VI.

Pronounce, my fair, a milder doom
Before you've kill'd me quite,
For pity then too late will come
When plung'd in endless night.
A little love while yet I live
Is worth a world in grave,
And 'tis œconomy to give
When by a trivial donative
A heavy future charge we save.

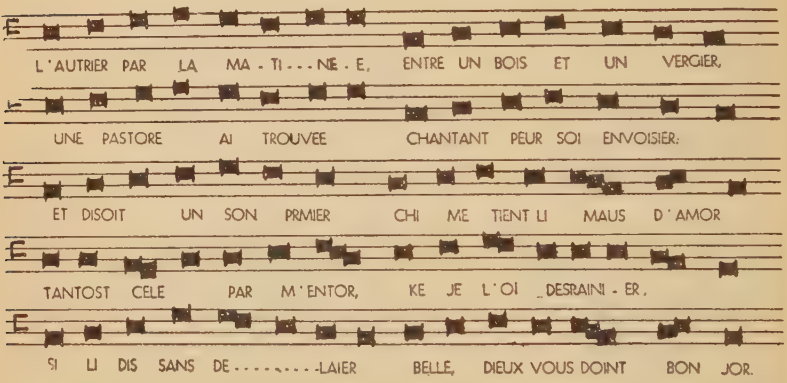
The last stanza, which is not entire in the original, has been amplified in the English, to supply a sufficient number of lines, for the melody.

At the end of all the Songs by the King of Navarre, and by almost all the poets of nearly the same period, there is an imperfect stanza, which is called the *Envoi,* or address to some particular person, for whom probably it was written. To what part of the tune the *Envoi* was sung, or if sung at all, I have not been able to discover.

The following Song being written upon a more gay subject than the preceding, the tune, which is simple and pleasing, seems of the same cast as many modern light French airs in gavot time, called *Vaudevilles.* I shall first give it in the square Gregorian notes, as it stands in all the ancient MSS. and in M. de la Valiere's copy, where neither the flats, sharps, or bars have been marked, but all are left to the penetration and sagacity of the performer. In France, tradition may still have preserved these Melodies in the memory of many of the natives; but elsewhere, the following copy, unless explained, would be but of small use.

The royal Troubadour, in that spirit of chivalry and gallantry which seemed to govern mankind during his reign, sets out, *Un beau Matin,* in quest of adventures, and relates his success in the following Song.*

Chanson du Roi de Navarre.


L'AUTRIER PAR LA MA - TI - - - NE - E, ENTRE UN BOIS ET UN VERGIER,
UNE PASTORE AI TROUVEE CHANTANT PEUR SOI ENVOISIER:
ET DISOIT UN SON PRMIER CHI ME TIENT LI MAUS D'AMOR
TANTOST CELE PAR M'ENTOR, KE JE L'OI DESRAINI - ER.
SI LI DIS SANS DE - - - - - - - - - -LAIER BELLE, DIEUX VOUS DOINT BON JOR.

* There are on record the names of about 460 Troubadours and 200 Trouvères and poems are extant by most of these. Unfortunately the number of melodies which exist is comparatively small. The words of over 2,500 Troubadour songs are known, but only about 260 melodies exist. Of Trouvère songs, the words of over 2,000 are known, and considerably more melodies are known than in the case of the Troubadours. In a MS. in the Bibliothèque d'Arsenal there are the words and music of 482 Trouvère songs.

The amount of literature on the subject is large, but unfortunately most of it is in French or German. The following may be recommended:

F. Diez. *Leben und Werke der Troubadours* (*2nd ed. by Bartsch. Leipzig* 1882).
P. Meyer. *Les Derniers Troubadours de la Provence* (*Paris* 1871).
J. Anglade. *Anthologie des Troubadours* (*Texts*) (Paris 1926).
A. Jeanroy. *Les Chansons de Guillaume IX.* (H. Champion, Paris).
T. Gérold. *La Musique au Moyen Age.* (Paris 1932). This book is a good general introduction to the subject.

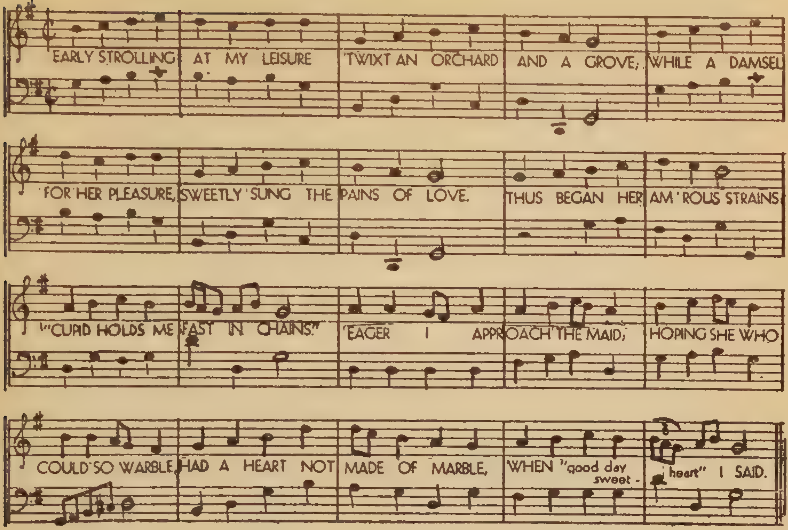
There are monographes on individual Troubadours or Trouvères by C. Appel; A. Jeanroy; J. Anglade, etc.

For information on MSS. and editions see:

A. Jeanroy, *Bibliographie Sommaire des Chansonniers Provencaux* (*H. Champion, Paris,* 1916) and A. Pillet, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle, 1933).

The following work by Alfred Jeanroy is the most important one dealing with the Provencal lyric—*La Poésie Lyrique des Troubadours* (Paris, 1934, 2 vols.).

Translation, *totidem Syllabis.*


EARLY STROLLING
AT MY LEISURE
'TWIXT AN ORCHARD
AND A GROVE;
WHILE A DAMSEL
FOR HER PLEASURE,
SWEETLY SUNG THE
PAINS OF LOVE.
THUS BEGAN HER
AM'ROUS STRAINS:
"CUPID HOLDS ME
FAST IN CHAINS."
EAGER I APPROACH THE MAID;
HOPING SHE WHO
COULD SO WARBLE
HAD A HEART NOT
MADE OF MARBLE,
WHEN "good day sweet-
heart" I SAID.

Mon salu sans demoree
Me rendi, & sans targier,
Molt iert frece et colouree
Se mi plot a acointier;
Bele, vostre amor vous quier,
S'aures de moi riche ator
Elle repend, Trecheor
Sont mais trop li chevalier;
Miex aim Perrin mon bergier
Ke riche hom menteor.

Bele, ce ne dites mie,
Chevallier sont trop vaillant:
Qui set donc avoir amie
Ne servir a son talant,
Fors chevaliers, & tel gent?
Mais l'amors d'un bergeron,
Certes, ne vaut un boton,
Partes vous donc en itant,
Et m'ames; je vous creant,
De moi aures riche don.

Sire, par Sainte Marie,
Vous en parles por noiant,
Mainte dame, auront trichie,
Cil chevalier sosduiant,
Trop sont fol & mal pensant,
Pis valent, que Guenelon; (i)
Je m'en vais en ma maison,
Ke Perrin est ki m'atent,
M'aime de cuer loiaument;
Abaisies votre raison.

She return'd my salutation
With a look so fresh and pure,
I'd have risqu'd my soul's salvation
Her affection to secure.
If you love me, strait, I said,
Fine as queen you should be made.
"Knights (she said) are full of art:
First they win a girl, then cheat her—
Sooner I wou'd wed with Peter
Than a lord that's false of heart."

Much, my dear, you are mistaken;
Gentlemen alone can love;
Honour, ne'er by them forsaken,
All deceit must disapprove.
Learn a stupid clown to slight,
Who your worth can ne'er requite;
Him to vulgar charms consign;
If, my life, you will endeavour
To love me as well, you ever
Shall be happy, rich, and fine.

By Saint Mary, Sir, you are losing
All the pains you take to ensnare;
Words so soft and so amusing
Must have ruin'd many a fair;
But the fame is spread abroad
Of the tricks, deceit, and fraud,
Practis'd by each gilded beau;
If your words were ten times sweeter,
Still I would be true to Peter;
Therefore, pray Sir, let me go.

(i) An archbishop of Sens, in the time of Charles the Bald, of so treacherous and infamous a character, that his name became proverbial.

J'entendi bien la bergiere,
Kele me veut eschaper;
Molt li fis longe proiere,
Mais ni puce rien conquester:
Lors la pris a acoler,
Et ele giete un grant cri:
Perrinet, trai, trai,
Dou bois prenent a huer,
Je la lais, sans demourer
Sor mon cheval m'en parti.

Quant ele m'en vit aler,
Si mi dist, pour ramposner,
Chevaliers sont trop hardi. (*k*)

Here she shew'd disapprobation,
And a wish to get away,
Nor had pray'r or supplication
Power to prolong her stay.
Then, embolden'd by despair,
In my arms I seize the fair;
When with terror and affright,
Loud she roars for help, on Peter,
As if bear began to eat her
With a furious appetite.

Peter, to the cries she utters,
Answers in the neigh bring grove;
Num'rous threats of vengeance mutters,
Furious to relieve his love:
Hearing this, I thought it best
Instant to give up the jest;
Swift I mount my palfry—when,
Seeing I through fear was flying,
Loudly she continued crying—
"Fie on all such gentlemen!"

The specimens hitherto given of music in France have been confined to mere melody, without base or additional parts, in harmony, as there are no remains of written discant, or counterpoint, applied to the melody of songs, earlier than the fourteenth century. There are, however, compositions of that period still subsisting, which prove that music in parts had been cultivated there, and the rules of harmony settled by nearly the same laws as those by which it is at present governed.

The late abbé Lebeuf, in the year 1746, gave a very ample and satisfactory account to the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris, of two volumes of French and Latin poems, preserved in the library of the Carmelites of that city, " with a description of the kind of music to which some of these poems were set."

In 1747, the count de Caylus having found in the king of France's library, No. 7609—2, a duplicate of these poems, gave likewise an account of them to the same Academy, in two memoirs. The author, Guillaume de Machau, is styled by the count, *poet and musician;* and both these excellent critics agree that he flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century, and died in 1370 [1377]. Among the poems which are written upon various subjects, there is an infinite number of *Lais, Virelais, Ballads,* and *Rondeaux,* chiefly in old French, with a few in Latin, and set to music: some for a single voice, and others in four parts, *Triplum, Tenor, Contratenor,* and a fourth part, without a name. In these full pieces, as the words are placed only under the *tenor part,* it is natural to conclude that this was the principal melody. In the music, which is written with great care and neatness, notes in a lozenge form, with *tails* to them, frequently occur; these, whether the heads were full or open, were at first called *Minims*; but when a still quicker note was thought necessary, the white or open notes

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(*k*) The deficient measure in this stanza, as in that of the preceding song, has been supplied in the translation, for the sake of the music.

only had that title, and the black were by the French called *Noir,* and by the English, *Crotchets;* a name given by the French, with more propriety, from the hook or curvature of the tail, to the still more rapid note, which we call a *Quaver.*

The Latin poems are chiefly motets, and for a single voice: some of which are written in black and red notes, with this instruction to the singers: *nigræ sunt perfectæ, & rubræ imperfectœ.* An admonition worth remembering by those who wish to decipher music of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in which red notes frequently occur. It was an easy expedient of diminution, till the invention of printing, when the use of ink of different colours, on the same page, occasioned the expence and trouble of double printing. The abbé Lebeuf observes, that the dissection and accelerated motion of notes, during these ages, gave great offence and scandal to pious and sober Christians. In a *Kyrie Eleison* to the Gregorian chant, which is called Tenor, the three parts that are added to it are called Triplum, Motetus, and Contratenor. In the second volume of these poems the common chants of the whole mass,* and even the Credo, are written in four parts (*l*). There are many French ballads and Rondeaux in three parts: Tenor, Triplum, and Contratenor.

The fourteenth century seems the æra when music in parts, moving in different melodies, came first into general favour; for of the preceding age no music can be found of more than two parts in strict counterpoint of note against note.

Machau calls his collection of Songs set to music, *Remedes de Fortune,* regarding music as a specific, or at least an opiate, against the ills of life. In the illuminations to these lyric compositions, an assembly of minstrels is represented, with thirty or forty musical instruments, of which he gives the names. His poem called *Le dit de la Harpe,* which has been already mentioned, is a moral and allegorical piece, in the style of the famous *Roman de la Rose,* by Guillaume de Lorris, and Jean de Meun.

Neither the Abbe Lebeuf, nor the Count de Caylus, have produced specimens of Machau's musical compositions; indeed, the Count frankly confesses, that, though he has studied them with the utmost attention, and consulted the most learned musicians, he has been utterly unable to satisfy his curiosity concerning their intrinsic worth. A correspondent at Paris had promised me transcripts of some of these pieces, which however are not yet arrived; and the confession of M. de Caylus renders my disappoint-

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(*l*) This mass is supposed to have been sung at the coronation of Charles V. king of France, 1364.

* This is the second oldest setting of the mass which has come down to us.

Some of Machaut's works have been issued in modern notation by J. Wolf; *Geschicte der Mensural-Notation.* Vol. iii. (The original notation is given in Vol. ii.)

Barbara Smythe, *Earliest Polyphonic Music* (*Blackfriars, Vol. ii.* 1921).

Some of his songs are supplied with independent instrumental parts, and he is probably the first composer to have done this.

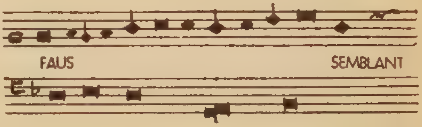
ment mortifying; as I could hardly hope to succeed in solving enigmas which have already defeated superior sagacity (*m*).

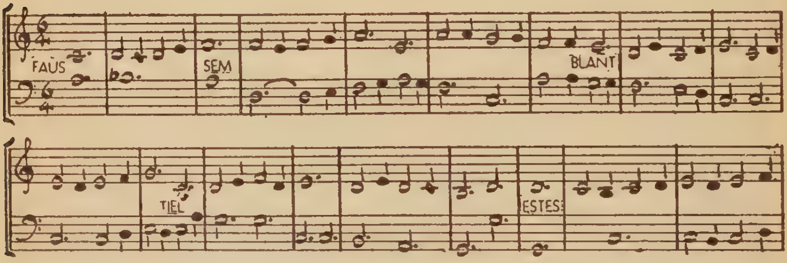
However, sufficient exercise for patience and musical acuteness may be found nearer home; for in the British Museum, the Pepysian Collection, Magd. Coll. Camb., and in the Music School at Oxford, there are copies of music, in parts, of the fourteenth, fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, which have long since been thought utterly unintelligible to the generality of musicians.

In the Museum (*n*), there are fragments of three musical treatises (*o*), in the second of these, which must have been written about the latter end of the fourteenth century, minims appear; and at the end there is an old French song in two parts, of which, both the words and music are difficult to read. Few of the words indeed have been written, and those are very much obliterated. All that I can discover is that they allude to one of the allegorical characters in the *Roman de la Rose,* the principal personages in which are *Jalousie, Bel Accueil, Faux Semblant,* &c. (*p*). But the ligatures and want of bars render the music still more difficult to decipher. I shall save the reader however all the trouble I am able, by inserting the notes, such as I conjecture them to be, in modern characters, and dividing the measure by bars.

The words, contrary to the usual practice of ancient times, are not put under the *tenor* part, which in this Song does not form the principal melody.

Tenor de Faus semblant.



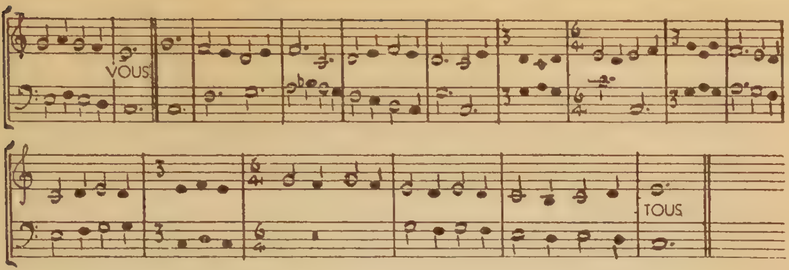


(*m*) Indeed it was natural to expect assistance in this particular from the author of *Essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne;* but though he has inserted a dry and petulant critique, by a friend, upon the narrative which the Count de Caylus and the Abbé le Beuf have given of this old French poet-musician, no specimens either of his melodies or Counterpoint are inserted in that voluminous work: which seems so particularly intended to blazon the talents of French composers, that not a single specimen of music in parts by those of any other country has had admission, except the celebrated canon of *Non nobis Domine* by our William Bird; which, by being inserted among French canons, without the author's name may perhaps pass in the crowd for the production of a native of France.

(*n*) *Bibl. Reg.* 12. c. vi. 5.

(*o*) *Tractatus Musici* 3. *Liber quondam Monachorum S. Edmundi.*

(*p*) Maitre Guillaume de Lorris, author of the first part of *Le Roman de la Rose,* flourished about 1260; and Jean Clopinel dit de Meun, continued it forty years after the death of Guillaume; during the reign of Philip le Bel, about the year 1300. It was more than fifty years after this period that our Chaucer made an English poem of it. Of this moral, satirical and allegorical fable, which has been frequently printed in the original, there are four editions, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in his Majesty's Library at the Queen's Palace, one of which is in prose.



There is some faint attempt at Air in this Tune, and we admire a little Melody in these early productions, as we do of first dawnings of reason in an infant. Of the Harmony, or Base, I can say but little; as when the MS. was unintelligible and conjecture failed me, I supplied deficiencies by modern rules of composition.

As our chief enquiry in this chapter is after the first Melodies that were set to modern languages, and we have endeavoured to gratify the reader's curiosity concerning those of Provence and the northern parts of France, we shall now proceed to give some account of the state of Vocal Music in Italy at this early period, during the formation of its language.

From the intimate connexion and close union of the arts, it is hardly possible to trace the progress of music in ITALY without speaking of its language; which has long been universally allowed to be more favourable to singing than any one that the numerous combinations of letters in all the alphabets of modern times has produced. And if the French, Provençal, and Spanish dialects can be deduced from the Latin, how much more easy is it to trace the Italian from that source; which is itself frequently so near pure and classical Latin, that no other change or arrangement of words seems to have been made, than what contributed to its sweetness and facility of utterance? (*q*).

That the Italian tongue is derived from the vulgar language of the ancient Romans, seems the opinion of the best critics; but to discover and point out by what degrees it was smoothed and polished to the state in which Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio found it in the fourteenth century, would require more time, and occupy more space in this chapter than the subject seems necessarily to require. However, as the Italian language has been truly called by Metastasio *Musica Stessa,* and is so favourable to *vocal purposes* as to be more musical in itself, when merely *spoken* with purity, than any other in Europe, an enquiry into the causes of its mellifluence and natural melody does not seem foreign to a history of that art, which has been brought to such perfection by the natives of Italy, that their refinements are adopted and rendered the criterion of grace and elegance in every other country where music is cultivated.

(*q*) Howel however observes that he can make a sentence that shall be at once Spanish and Latin, but that he could never do the same with Italian.

Muratori (*r*) has given innumerable passages from authors, of the eighth and ninth centuries, to prove, that after the Franks and Germans were settled in Italy, *articles* were used in the Latin language, instead of *pronouns* and changes of termination, in order to save the trouble of inflecting the cases in nouns; but pretends not to say what this vulgar language was, or whether the clergy preached to the common people, or merchants carried on their correspondence in Latin or Italian.

The learned Maffei (*s*) allows the Provençal, French, Spanish, and Italian languages to be descendants from the Latin, but denies that the ancient inhabitants of Italy adopted any words from the Goths or Huns who invaded them. The genius of the German, Francic, or Teutonic language, which was spoken by the Lombards, was so diametrically opposite to that of the Italians, that it seems incredible there should have been any exchange or union of dialects between them: the one being as remarkable for its numerous consonants and harsh terminations, as the other for its open vowels and mellifluous endings. As it is the opinion of this profound critic that the Romans had always a *vulgar* dialect, less grammatical and elegant than that of the senate and of books, he supposes the French, Spanish, and Italian languages to have been different modifications of this rustic plebeian dialect. But it is as difficult to assign a reason for all these daughters of one common mother being so dissimilar, as it is to account for the little resemblance that is frequently found between other children of the same parents. And why the French language should have so many *nazal* endings; the Spanish so many *sibillating*, and the Italian alone have none but *vocal* terminations can only have been occasioned by some particular and radical tendency in the vulgar and plebeian language of each country, from very high antiquity.

The Romans had two words for most purposes, the one elegant and used by writers and persons of education, and the other vulgar and common. The word *caput,* for instance, was an elevated expression for the head, and *testa,* used by Ausonius, an ignoble expression for the same thing. *Os,* the mouth, according to Plautus and Juvenal, was called *bucca* by the common people; whence the word *bocca* in Italian. *Equus,* a horse, according to Horace and Perseus, was called *caballus* and *caballinus* by the plebeians, which the Italians have softened into *cavallo.* The learned author has collected a great number of proofs in confirmation of his opinion that the Romans had at all times two languages; the one elegant, grammatical, and used by the patricians and the learned; and the other mean, vulgar, inaccurate, and used only by the plebeians. That this vulgar language was more the parent of the Provençal, French, Spanish, and Italian languages than pure Latin, appears by the examples he has furnished; but the Italian was not only derived from the trivial and vulgar words in the Latin language, but from grammatical solecisms and popular inaccuracies

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(*r*) Dissert 32.

(*s*) *Verona illust.* tom. I. lib. xi.

of pronunciation. It is not to be imagined that the common people of Rome at any period spoke such correct and elegant language as their best authors have left us in their writings. Ever eager to convey their meaning, and to arrive at the true end of speech by the shortest road, they hate the trouble of polysyllables, and have a natural propensity to abbreviate them. Of this the Marquis Maffei has likewise furnished innumerable examples in the Latin tongue of very high antiquity. As *sis* for *si vis; ain* for *aisne; sire nipse* for *similis re ipsa;* and *cauneas* for *cave ne eas* (*t*). But elisions of consonants were still more frequent: as *per hoc* was softened into *però, sic* into *si;* and by the omission of the *m* final in the accusative case singular of nouns, as *amore* for *amorem, fama* for *famam,* &c., innumerable words in the Latin language insensibly became Italian; and as it was impossible for the common people, ignorant of grammar, to know all the necessary inflexions of nouns, it was natural for them to take greater liberties with the accusative and ablative cases than any other, and it is from these two cases that the genius of the Italian language is chiefly derived.

The learned marquis goes through all the cases of nouns and tenses of verbs; shews the formation of adverbs, and the mutation of letters, in order to remove harshness and facilitate utterance. And it appears that the Roman soldiers and common people totally lost the terminations *um, ur,* and *us,* which rendered the article necessary to distinguish cases, numbers, and persons, as well as auxiliary verbs to facilitate the conjugations of other verbs. It was the opinion of Muratori, that these changes and corruptions were occasioned by the Barbarians who invaded Italy; but both Maffei and Severino have proved that the Romans had introduced them long before the Goths, Franks, or Vandals had invaded them.

This language continued long to partake of its barbarous origin, remaining rude, unformed, and without rules, as long as the use of Latin was preserved in courts of justice, public acts, and polite conversation; and it was not till the twelfth century that the Muses honoured the vulgar language of Italy so far as to admit it into their concerts.

The superiority of the Tuscan dialect over all the others of Italy is ascribed by Gravina (*u*) to the ancient democratic form of government at Florence, which, before the Medici family had usurped the sovereignty, furnished the citizens with frequent opportunities of speaking in public, and encouragement for polishing their language " in order to bring the people over to their opinions, by the sweetness of their eloquence (*x*)."

That every language of a learned and commercial people is greatly changed in the course of a few centuries, is well known.

(*t*) *Cic. Divin.* lib. ii.

(*u*) *Della Ragion Poet.*

(*x*) Of the great number of provincial dialects in Italy an idea may be formed from Quadrio's account of them, vol. i. p. 207, where it appears that books have been written and translations made, many of which have been printed, in *Bergamasea, Bolognese, Calabrese, Fiorentina rustica di Contado, Friulana, Genovese, Milanese, Modanese, Napolitana, Padovana, Perugina, Romanesca, Sanese, Siciliana,* and *Veneziana.* In all these, and more, the Rev. Mr. Crofts, in his valuable collection of uncommon books, is in possession of printed specimens.

Horace complains of the want of permanence in that of the Romans; Quintilian tells us that in his time scarce any of the ancient language was left; and in the time of Justinian, new inflections and modes of speech, neglect of syntax, abbreviations, and vulgar barbarisms, were leading to a new language. But like the provincial dialects of most countries this language was many ages merely colloquial, and never admitted into books.

It was the custom for the learned to write their familiar letters in Latin, even to women, so late as the time of Petrarca, when it was still customary to preach in that language; but preaching was then less frequent than at present. Even so late as the year 1500 the bishops and dignified clergy, after preaching in Latin to a select congregation of well educated persons, had their sermons repeated the next day to the common people by the friars in the vulgar tongue. The sermons of these early periods by St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, Bernardino da Siena, and many others that have been preserved, are all in Latin. But it is a curious circumstance that after this period many sermons are found in half Latin and half Italian; for the preachers, accommodating themselves by degrees to the vulgar, avoided the trouble of a regular translation, by interlining the Latin with fragments of Italian (*y*). But this is still less extraordinary than the barbarism of our English sermons, which not many years ago were almost half Latin. An Italian congregation, from the affinity of the two languages, was likely to understand a considerable part of what was uttered in Latin, which was not the case with the English. The sermons of the famous Jeremy Taylor, in the time of Charles the First, are crowded with Greek in every page.

When Dante wrote his *Vita Nuova*, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, he said that the Italian language had not subsisted more than one hundred and fifty years ; and that it was at first used by some poet for the sake of his mistress, by whom the verses addressed to her in Latin began to be understood with great difficulty (*z*).

And Muratori (*a*) furnishes a specimen of Italian Rhymes from the Mosaic in the Cathedral of Ferrara, so early as 1135.

Il mile cento trempta cinque nato
Fo questo tempio a Zorzi consecrato,
Fo Nicolao Scolptore,
E Glielmo fo l'Autore.

Corticelli in his *Eloquenza Toscana* asserts that " in Italy Lyric Verses preceded all other poetry ; and so general is the love for this species of versification, that there is no nation, however barbarous, without it.'' And this author imagined that Lyric Poetry had its

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(*y*) *Sorgimento d'Italia, dall' Abate Saverio Bettinelli,* tom. II. p. 15.

(*z*) *Il primo che commincio a dire come Poeta volgare, si mosse, perocche volle fare intendere le sue parole a donna, alla quale era malagevole ad intendere i versi Latini.* Delle Opere di Dante, vol. v. p. 57. Ediz. di Ven. 1741.

(*a*) Dissert. 32.

rise in Tuscany about the year 1184 (*b*), upon the following occasion: the emperor Frederic Barbarossa being hunting in Mugello, a delightful country of Tuscany, and a stag passing precipitately by him, Ubaldino Ubaldini, a valiant Florentine knight, seized him by the horns and held him while the emperor slew him ; for which bold and dexterous service the emperor gave him the stag's head, with a permission to assume it in his family arms. Ubaldino composed an inscription to commemorate this event, which is still to be seen engraved on marble at Florence, and though written like prose, it consists of short verses, in rhyme, with a mixture of Latin words ; and is supposed to have been the first attempt at Lyric Poetry in Tuscany, but he believes that the first songs in modern languages were written in Sicily: whence the art passed into Provence among the Troubadours, of whom the Italians learned it about the thirteenth century (*c*).

Few other vestiges of poetry are to be found before the year 1200. Rhymes written upon the subject of Love by the emperor Frederic the Second, who was born in 1194, are among the most ancient that have been preserved (*d*).

Though the French began to write in their own dialect much sooner than the Italians, yet their language was brought to no perfection before the last century ; but the writings of the Italians, of the fourteenth century, are still regarded as models of perfection, with respect to diction, and construction.

According to Crescimbeni, the Italian written language was not wholly formed till the thirteenth century, though it was colloquially used much earlier. Many verses and memorials still remain of the Italian tongue during this period. But the Sicilians, says the same writer, were the first who committed to paper verses in Italian, whose success excited other poets in Italy, especially the Tuscans, to imitate them ; and Petrarca was in doubt whether the Sicilians imitated the Provençals, or the Provençals the Sicilians in their poetical compositions. But as both these countries were long under the same sovereigns, the inhabitants would naturally cultivate and encourage the same arts and language (*e*). If the Sicilians were the first poets in the vulgar tongue, they were at least very negligent in preserving sufficient examples of their ancient poetry to ascertain its title to priority. Indeed Muratori (*f*) says that the most ancient Sonnets in the Italian language were written by the Sicilians ; but he neither gives specimens, nor names the authors of them.

(*b*) Crescembeni fixes it at the same period. *Pref. alla Stor. della Volg. Poesia.*

(*c*) Crescembeni has inserted this early essay of Italian Versification in the first volume of his *Comment. Intorno all' Ist. della Volg. Poes.* lib. i. p. 12.

(*d*) Ib. tom. III. lib. i.

(*e*) The Counts of Barcelona were Sovereigns of Provence from 1102 to 1245, from which time it was possessed by the Kings of Sicily, till 1480. This accounts for the Spanish words which frequently occur in the Provencal language, as well as for the great number of words of that dialect to be found in the Italian tongue.

(*f*) *Dissert.* 40 *&* *della Perf. Poes.* tom. I. p. 7.

Crescimbeni (*g*) however confesses, as Bembo, Redi, and many Italian writers of eminence had done before, that the Provençals were regarded by his countrymen as the fathers of their poetry (*h*) ; and that Dante, Cino da Pistoia, Guido Cavalcante, Petrarca, and Bocaccio, allowed them to have formed their own language, and produced an infinite number of poems, long before the Italians could boast of either. Indeed by a comparison of the most ancient Italian poems now subsisting with those of Provence, it appears that they imitated the forms and structure of the poetical compositions of the ancient Troubadours, who furnished them likewise with their poetical terms of art which are the same in both languages (*i*).

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries all the nations of Europe began to cultivate their language and poetry ; but the fruits of none have retained their taste and sweetness, except the Italian. Latin, at this time, was but rarely used for common purposes, and in the two following centuries it was almost wholly confined within monastic walls (*k*).

With respect to the music of the middle ages in Italy, Muratori (*l*) asserts, with seeming truth, that it did not wholly perish: and mentions from the History of Malaspina (*m*) a chorus of women singing through the streets accompanied with Cymbals, Drums, Flutes, Viols, and other musical instruments, in the year 1268, when Prince Conrad was marching against Charles the First, King of Sicily. He likewise gives an account (*n*) of the continuation of the Pagan custom of hiring women, *præficæ*, to sing and weep over the dead at their funerals, till the fourteenth century (*o*) ; at which time, and afterwards, it was customary among the Lombards to have an epithalamium sung at the weddings of all persons who could afford it.

Innumerable bands of tumblers, buffoons, rope-dancers, musicians, players on instruments, and actors were then retained in the courts of princes, who, by their gambols, farces, sports, and songs, diverted the company (*p*). These were called in Tuscany

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(*g*) *Introd. alle Vite de' Poeti Provenzali*, p. 2.

(*h*) *Come di padri della sua Poesia.*

(*i*) The Provencal poets had no *versisciolti*, or blank verse, like the Italians; all their poetry was in rhyme, so that it seems as if the Italians in their blank verse had imitated the Latins, and in rhyming the Provencals.

(*k*) As the Latin language was in use, and generally understood longer in Italy, its native country, than elsewhere; it seems to account naturally for the cultivation of the *vulgar tongue* there, at a later period than in some other parts of Europe.

(*l*) *Dissert.* 24.

(*m*) Lib. iv.

(*n*) Dissert. 23.

(*o*) See the word *computatrix* in Du Cange: "In their dirges they used to enumerate the virtues and celebrate the nobility, riches, beauty, and fortune of the deceased; hence *computatrices*, computers, counters, enumerators of the qualities and perfections of the person whose funeral they attended." The practice is still continued in Ireland, and, according to Le Brun, among the Turks.

(*p*) Dissert. 29.

Giullari and *Giocolari*, and, by those who mentioned them in Latin, *Joculares* and *Joculatores*. These fabricators of amusement never departed without being well rewarded. But what appears the most extraordinary and different from our present customs, is, that the costly and gorgeous robes which it was usual for princes to receive from other great personages who visited their courts at feasts, or upon their marriage, as marks of their friendship and respect, were bestowed on these people. Benvenuto Aliprando, an old rustic poet in his Chronicle (*q*) describes a marriage at the *great court* of Mantua, in the year 1340, while under the dominion of the Gonzaga family. "At that time," says he, "the different princes and nobles of Italy, whose names he mentions, presented the Gonzaghi with a variety of rich and precious vestments, which were called *robe*, robes, and which were afterwards given to musicians and buffoons," as the old poet informs us in the following lines:

Tutte le robe sopra nominate
Furon in tutto trent' otto e trecento,
A buffoni e sonatori donate (*r*).

The family of Gonzaga in return reciprocally exercised munificence towards the nobles who visited them, as the same old poet informs us in the following rude verses:

Otto giorno la corte si durare
Torni eri, giostri, bagordi facia.
Ballar, centar', e sonar facean fare.
Quattro cento sonator si dicia
Con buffoni alla corte si trovoe.
Roba e danar donar lor si facia.
Ciascun molto contento si chiamoe, &c. (*s*).

With what magnificence the princes of the house of Visconti supported their court at Milan during the same century is frequently described by Corio the historian (*t*); but he particularly excites our wonder by his account of the solemn pomp with which the nuptials of Lionel duke of Clarence, son of Edward the third

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(*q*) Lib. ii. cap. 53.

(*r*) And all these costly robes of state
In all three hundred thirty-eight,
To fidlers and buffoons were given.

(*s*) Eight days these sports were held, where valiant knights
In tilts and tournaments their prowess show,
And minstrels, full four hundred, crown the rites,
While dance and song teach ev'ry heart to glow.
To these and each buffoon who here was found
Or gold was giv'n, or robes of costly sort;
And all so well their spritely arts were crown'd,
Depart contented from the splendid court.

(*t*) Bernardo Corio, the author of a History of Milan, was born in that city, 1460.

king of England, was celebrated in 1368, with Violante the daughter of Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan. This event is circumstantially related by several other ancient historians of Italy; and Aliprando of Mantua tells us that Lionel gave five hundred superb dresses to the minstrels, musicians, and buffoons who were then assembled at Milan; that Galeazzo presented them with many more, and Bernabo, his brother, rewarded them munificently with money on the occasion.

The splendid robes and gorgeous attire of Bards and Minstrels at all times are upon record. The flowing vest of Orpheus in the triple capacity of Priest, Legislator, and Musician, is specified by Virgil (*u*); Arion is related by Herodotus (*x*) to have leaped into the sea in the rich vestments he usually wore in public; Suidas speaks of the saffron robe and Milesian slippers worn by Antigenides (*y*); and the performers in the Tragic Chorus, which used to be furnished at the expence of some wealthy citizen of Athens, wore also a splendid and costly uniform.

In France the *Jongleurs*, and in Provence the *Troubadours*, or Minstrels, during the middle ages, had frequent presents of costly robes from their patrons. In the *Fabliau, Conte*, or Tale of the red Rose, a female complains to a *vavassar*, or yeoman, of his having taken from her a robe, to give to the Minstrels.

Bien doit estre vavassor vis,
Qu'il vuet devenir menestrier;
Miez voudroi qui fussiez rez, (rasé)
Sans aigue (eau) *la teste & le coul,*
Que ai n'y remansist chevoul,
S'apartient à ces Jongleours
Et à ces autres Chanteours,
Qu'ils ayent de ces Chevaliers
Les robes, car c'est lor Mestiers (*z*).

Fabliau de la Rose vermeille.

The custom of presenting Musicians with superb and expensive dresses during the fourteenth century, in the manner already related, seems to have travelled into England, and to have

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(*u*) *Æn.* lib. vi. 645.

(*x*) *Clio.*

(*y*) *In Antigenid.*

(*z*) I would not own the wretch for kin
Who wou'd the Minstrel trade pursue,
He'd better *dry* shave head and chin,
And, with the hair, cut off the skin,
Than herd with such a worthless crew.
Let splendid knights with usual pride
On Fidlers lavish such rewards,
But 'tis to meaner fools denied
To strip themselves for vagrant Bards.

continued here till after the establishment of the king's band of four-and-twenty performers: part of their present salary being still paid at the wardrobe office as an equivalent for the annual dress with which they used to be furnished at his Majesty's expence. To this we may add, that the Waits, or Musicians who attend on the Mayor and Aldermen, in most of our incorporate cities and towns, are furnished with splendid cloaks.

The most ancient prose writings that have been preserved in the Italian language, except books of accounts, are the Letters of Fra Guittone d'Arezzo [1215-94], who flourished about 1250, and who was likewise a Poet, and celebrated both by Dante and Petrarca (*a*). But Dante himself has long been regarded by the Italians as the great founder of their language and versification; and indeed he seems to have been as much the father of Epic Poetry in the Italian language, as Shakespeare is of the English Drama, for by preceding every other Poet of eminence in his country, his licences either of language or imagery became laws; and there is a certain boldness in his sentiments as well as diction, which very much resembles that of our Dramatic Bard. His penetration into the secret recesses of the human heart, his happiness in supplying the defects of historical narration, his pursuit of the human passions and affections through all their secret windings and doublings, and his invention of infernal tortures adequate to every species of crime, as well as the chief part of the poetical language in which he has described them, help to fortify the parallel; and if to such excellencies as are in common with both these writers we add the simplicity of his expression, and that he is sublime in imagery and ideas more than in words, that he is utterly free from the *concetti* of which many of his countrymen have been accused, and that he has neither borrowed from Homer like Virgil, nor from Virgil as Tasso has done, though he modestly calls him his master (*b*); that neither chivalry, romance, nor Gothic manners have furnished him with the incidents or machinery of his poem, as was afterwards the case with Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, he will appear justly entitled to the praise and admiration which have long been bestowed upon him by his countrymen.

This great poet, like our own Milton, had the misfortune to live at a period when his countrymen, divided into implacable factions, were mutually meditating the destruction of each other, under the names of Guelfs and Ghibellines. The Guelfs were partizans of the Papal power, and the Ghibellines of the Imperial; and Dante by joining the latter, who were unfortunate, was driven from Florence, the place of his nativity, and obliged to end his days in exile and misery. He tells us himself that he began his

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(*a*) *Vide Supra*, p. 103.

(*b*) *Tu se' lo mio maestro*—Inf. Cant. i. 85. But it seems only to have been in point of *style* and *expression*:

Tu sci solo col i, da cu' io tolsi
Lo BELLO STILE *che m'a fatto onore.*

Commedia at the age of thirty-five, before his misfortunes, and finished it in banishment (*c*).

Franco Sacchetti (*d*), one of the most ancient writers of Italy, tells us (*e*) that the first part of Dante's work, which was written before his exile, was not only read by his countrymen during his life-time, but known by heart, and sung through the streets by the common people. And in one of this author's novels it is said, that a certain ballad-singer called Manescalco, and a country fellow, so provoked Dante as he was passing by, with their vulgar and corrupt manner of pronouncing the words, that he could not refrain from severely chastising them for their ignorance. We may easily imagine that the music of such singers was not more refined than their pronunciation, and that the melody to which they sung the *terze rime* of Dante was equally simple and rustic with that to which the Gondolieri of Venice still sing the *ottave rime* or stanzas of

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(*c*) Why a Poem on such grave subjects as Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, should be called *Commedia,* has never yet been satisfactorily accounted for by the critics. If Dante had not given it that title himself in the body of the work, where, *Inf.* 16. 127, he swears by the notes of his Comedy

——— *e per le note*
Di questa COMEDIA *lettor ti ginro,*

and if Boccaccio in his life had not continued it, we might have supposed such an appellation to have been a fantastic conceit of some later editor; but we are sure that the word *Commedia* in the time of Dante did not imply the same kind of composition as at present; for there were no plays, called Tragedies and Comedies, written or exhibited in Italy for a long time after the death of Dante. It would indeed fill many pages if I were to quote the different reasons that have been assigned by the learned in Italy for this appellation; but if we may believe the venerable author himself, it was in pure humility that he entitled his poem *Commedia;* for in his Latin Essay on the Italian Language, *de Vulgari Eloquio,* lib. ii. cap. 4, he divides eloquence into three styles or classes, the great, the less, and the plaintive: or the Tragic, Comic, and Elegiac. Whence we may discover his reason for calling his Poem a Comedy. However, in dedicating the third Canticle or Book to Can Grande della Scala, he says: *Io chiamo l'Opera mia* Commedia, *perche scritta in umile modo, e per aver usato il parlar volgare, in cui communicano i lor sensi anche le donnicciuole.* "I call my work a Comedy on account of its being written in a simple and humble style, and in the vulgar tongue, in which even unlettered women express their thoughts." Very few of the learned in Dante's time condescended to use any other language than Latin; and it was his first idea to write his Poem in that language.

As Dante in humility calls his own Poem a Comedy, so for a different reason, he makes Virgil style his Eneid a Tragedy:

Euripilo ebbe nome, e cosni'l canta
L'alta mia TRAGEDIA *in alcun loco.*—Inf. 20. 112.

Chaucer, in his definition of Tragedy, used the word in a vague sense, merely to imply a melancholy story:

Tragedie is to sayn a certain storie
As olde book is makin us memorie,
Of him that stood in gret prosperitee,
And is yfallen out of high degree
In to miserie, and endeth wretchedly.
And they been versified communly
Of six feet, which men clipen *examitron*:
In prose eke bin endited many on,
And eke in metre, in many a sondry wise.
v. 13979.

Thus a ballad in Dr. Percy's Collection (Reliques of Anc. Eng. Poetry) is called *The Lady Isabella's* TRAGEDY. Chaucer's monk calls each of his little tales *Tragedies*:

— *Tragedies* first I wol telle
Of which I have a hundred in my celle.

The monk, to give a specimen of his learning, not content in telling the company in plain English, that tragedies are composed of verses of *six feet,* adds the technical Greek term, *Exametron*: now the iambic verse of tragedy was called *Trimetron; Hexameter* being always confined to *Heroic, Epic,* verse. It seems therefore, as Chaucer makes no mention of *Dialogue* in describing such *Tragedies* as the monk is about to relate, which are merely sorrowful tales, that by *Exametron,* he meant the *Heroic* verse used in Epic or narrative Poetry, when grave and tragic stories were told in the learned languages.

(*d*) This author was born 1310, and died 1390.

(*e*) *Novella* 114 *&* 115 *della prima parte.*

Tasso, and which is little more than a species of canto fermo. However, it is discoverable in many parts of Dante's writings, that he was not insensible to the power of such music and musical talents as his age afforded.

Scochetto was the cotemporary and friend of Dante, and not only a Poet but an able Musician, as is concluded from the title of an ancient MS. of a *Ballatella,* which informs us, that the *words* were by Dante, and the *tune* by Scochetti: *Parole di Dante, e Suono di Scochetti* (*f*). And it is said by the commentators of Dante that his friend Casella, whom he meets in purgatory, was an excellent Musician.

Dante was born in 1265, and died 1321. In the Vatican Library (*g*) a Ballatella, or Madrigal, of Lemmo da Pistoja, who flourished about the year 1300, is preserved; upon which there is the following memorandum: *Lemmo da Pistoja; e Casella diede il Suono*. Implying that the words by Lemmo, were set to Music by Casella; which agrees very well with the time when Dante feigns to have met him in Purgatory. The Poet tells us that he began to write his Inferno in 1300, when he was thirty-five years of age (*h*).

There is something in the description of this imaginary rencontre so simple and affectionate, that I cannot help wishing to convey an idea of it to my English reader. Dante, after visiting the infernal regions with Virgil, is conducted by the same poet into purgatory; where, soon after his arrival, he saw a vessel approach the shore laden with departed souls under the conduct of an angel, who brought them thither to be cleansed from their sins, and rendered fit for Paradise: as soon as they were disembarked, says the poet, " they began like beings landed on a foreign shore, to look around them:

On me when first these spirits fix their eyes,
They all regard me with a wild surprise,
Almost forgetting that their sins require
The purging remedy of penal fire:
When one of these advanc'd with eager pace,
And open arms, as me he would embrace;
At sight of which I found myself impell'd
To imitate each gesture I beheld.
But vain, alas! was ev'ry effort made,
My disappointed arms embrace a shade:
Thrice did vacuity my grasp elude,
Yet still the friendly phantom I pursued.

Cosè al viso mio s'affisar quelle
Anime fortunate tutte quante,
Quasi obbliando d'ire a farsi belle.
I' vidi una di lor trarresi avante,
Per abbracciarmi, con sì grande affetto,
Che mosse me a far lo simigliante.
O ombre vane, fuor che nell' aspetto!
Tre volte dietro a lei le mani avvinsi,
E tante mi tornai con esse al petto.

My wild astonishment with smiling grace
The spectre saw, and chid my fruitless chase.

Di maraviglia, credo, mi dipinsi:
Perchè l'ombrà sorrise, e si ritrasse,
Ed io, seguendo lei, oltre mi pinsi.
Soavemente disse, ch'i posasse:

The voice and form now known, my fear suspend,
O stay, cried I, one moment with thy friend!
No suit of thine is vain, the vision said,
I lov'd thee living, and I love thee, dead.

Allor conobbi chi era; e pregai,
Che parlarmi un poco s'arrestasse.
Risposemi: così, com'i t'amai
Nel mortal corpo, così t'amo sciolta:

(*f*) *Crescembeni, Ist. del'a Volg. Poes.* p. 409.

(*g*) No. 3214, p. 149.

(*h*) *Nel Mezzo del Cammin di nostra vita.*

But whence this haste?—not long allow'd to stay, Back to the world thy Dante takes his way— Yet let this fleeting hour one boon obtain, If no new laws thy tuneful pow'rs restrain, Some song predominant o'er grief and woe As once thou sung'st above now sing below;	*Però m'arresto: ma tu perchè vai?* *Casella mio, per tornare altra volta* *Là dove i' son, fo io questo viaggio:* *Diss' io*——— ———*Se nuova legge non ti toglie* *Memoria, o uso all' amoroso canto,* *Che mi solea quetar tutte mie voglie,*
So shall my soul, releas'd from dire dismay, O'ercome the horrors of this dreadful way.	*Di ciò piaccia consolare alquanto* *L'anima mia, che con la sua persona.* *Venendo quì è affannata tanto.*
Casella kindly deign'd his voice to raise, And sung how *Love the human bosom sways,* In strains so exquisitely sweet and clear, The sound still vibrates on my ravish'd ear; The shadowy troops, extatic, listening round, Forgot the past and future in the sound.	Amor, che nella mente mi ragiona (i), *Cominciò egli allor sì dolcemente,* *Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.* *Lo mio maestro, ed io, e quelle gente,* *Ch'eran con lui, parevan sì contenti,* *Com' a nessun toccasse altro la mente.*

Milton has addressed a Sonnet to Henry Lawes, on his Airs, in which he alludes to Dante's affection for Casella:

Harry, whose tuneful and well measur'd Song
First taught our English Music how to span
Words with just note and accent, not to scan
With Midas' ears, committing short and long;
Thy worth and skill exempts thee from the throng,
With praise enough for envy to look wan:
To after age thou shalt be writ the man,
That with smooth air could'st humour best our tongue,
Thou honour'st verse, and verse must lend her wing
To honour thee, the priest of Phœbus quire,
That tune'st their happiest lines in hymn or story.
Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
Than his Casella, whom he woo'd to sing
Met in the milder shades of purgatory.

This Sonnet, one of the best of twenty-three which were written by our great poet Milton, shews how difficult and unnatural the construction of this species of poem is in the English language; whereas from the great number of similar terminations in the Italian tongue, and the success of Petrarca, it has long been the favourite measure of Italy for short compositions. However, Muratori (*k*) thinks it extremely difficult for his countrymen to make a good Sonnet; and compares this kind of Poem to the bed of Procrustes, where the legs of those that were too short were stretched, and those too long were cut to the size of the bed. Antonio à Tempo, a Civilian at Padua, in his Treatise on Poetry 1332, distinguishes sixteen different kinds of Sonnet.

Dante however regarded the *Canzone* as the most perfect species of lyric composition (*l*). For this Poem he establishes laws which are less rigid than those of the Sonnet. Indeed he defines poetry in general, " rhetorical fiction, *set to music*."

(i) This is the first line of one of Dante's own odes, as he tells us himself: *Convito*, Canzone II.

(*k*) *Della Perfetta Poesia.*

(*l*) *Della volg. Eloq.* cap. 4.

Among the definitions of this writer I find the word *Cantilena* used as a diminutive of *Canzone*. When the Song is written on a grave or tragic subject, says he, it is called *Canzone*, and when comic, by diminution, *Cantilena*. This word is now appropriated as a musical term to distinguish the treble part, or principal melody of any composition, from the base and other inferior parts. *Canto*, too, which was applied very early in the Italian poetry to different portions of a poem, was taken from *Cantus*, Lat. and *Canto*, Ital. the upper part or melody in a composition of many parts.

What was afterwards called *Madrigale*, Dante terms *Madriale*, the etymology of which word has been much disputed; but it seems as if its first application was to religious poems, addressed to the Virgin, *alla Madre*: whence *Madriale* and *Madrigale*: but being afterwards applied to short poems upon love and gallantry, by the Italians and French, the original import has been forgotten. Indeed it does not seem probable that the word *Madrigal* should originally have implied a *Morning-Song*, as some have imagined, the Italians having been long in possession of the term *Matinata*, a lover's matins under the window of his mistress, as they have of *Serenata*, for an *Evening-Song*.*

The most ancient melodies that I was able to find in Italy which had been originally set to Italian words, were in a collection of *Laudi Spirituali*, or sacred songs, preserved in a large MS. of the Magliabecchi Library, at Florence.

It was the opinion of Father Menestrier (*m*) that Hymns, Canticles, and Mysteries in the vulgar tongues of Europe had their origin from the pilgrims who went to the Holy Land. St. Francis d'Assise, born 1182, is mentioned by Crescimbeni and other Italian writers among the first pious persons of that country who exercised their genius in composing Hymns and Spiritual Songs called *Laudi*, in the form of Canzonets. *Le Laudi*, which were likewise called *Lalde, Lodi, Cantici*, or *Canticles*, are compositions in praise of God, the Virgin Mary, or the Saints and Martyrs. They resemble Hymns as to the subject, but not the character and versification: Hymns having been originally constructed on Greek and Roman models; but the *Laudi*, or Spiritual Songs, are entirely of Italian invention.

A society for the performance of these religious poems was instituted at Florence so early as the year 1310, the members of which were called *Laudesi*, and *Laudisti*. In the fifteenth century this species of sacred poetry was very much esteemed and practised, as is manifest by the various collections that were made of them, one of which was printed 1485. In the next century several volumes of them were published, among which there are many poetical compositions on sacred subjects by Politian, Bembo,

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(*m*) *Sur les Drames en Musique.*

* It is probable that the word *madrigal* is derived from the mediæval Latin *matricale*, which was a pastoral song in the vernacular. Madrigals, often in the form of canons, were being written by Italians as early as the 14th century.

Lodovico Martelli, and other eminent poets (*n*). In the last century, though their favour was somewhat diminished, yet besides a large volume composed by Serafino Razzi, and published by the author, 1608, there were many collections of these Spiritual Songs printed.

Crescimbeni tells us, that the company of *Laudisti* of St. Benedict at Florence went to Rome during the time of the grand jubilee in the year 1700, and sung through the streets in procession several *Laudi* that were written by the celebrated Filicaia. In most of the ancient collections Melodies were prefixed to each of these Songs. They were at first little more than Chants, and without Base. However, according to the commentary on Boccaccio by Sansovino, published at Venice 1546, they were afterwards sung in many different parts. " There are in Florence," says he, " several schools of artizans and mechanics, among which are those of Orsanmichele, and Santa Maria Novella. Every Saturday after nine o'clock these assemble in the church, and there sing five or six *Laudi,* in four parts, the words of which are by Lorenzo de'Medici, Pulci, and Giambellari; and at every *Laud* they change the singers, and to the sound of the organ discover a Madonna, which finishes the festival. And these singers, who are called *Laudesi,* have a precentor whom they denominate their captain or leader."

This company still subsists, and during my stay at Florence in 1770, I frequently heard them sing their Hymns through the streets in three parts, and likewise in their church, accompanied by an organ (*o*).

Of the antiquity of this institution, as the MS. volume of *Laudi Spirituale* which I found in the Magliabecchi Library at Florence is an indisputable proof, I shall here insert the preface to the collection, which is an historical account of the establishment of a company of *Laudisti,* who sing in the church of the humble Fraternity of All Saints, at Florence ; which company was ordained and established by the will and authority of the Friar William, master general of the aforesaid order, Nov. xi. MCCCXXXVI. to the honour and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed Virgin Mary his Mother, as well as of all the holy and venerable Saints of Paradise. And may all those who are or shall be of this company, enjoy the fruits of grace in this life, and after death be rewarded with divine and eternal glory, Amen (*p*).

(*n*) *Quadrio, Storia d'Ogni Poes.* vol. ii. p. 446.

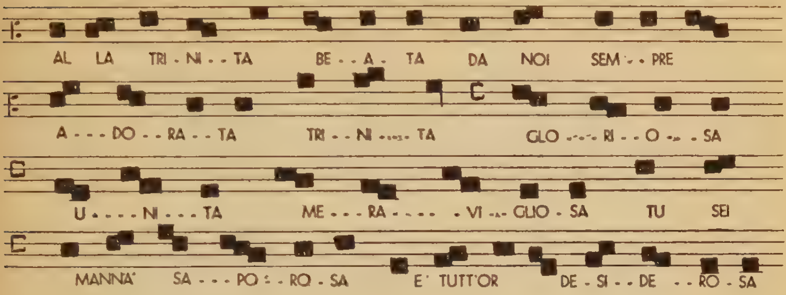
(*o*) Present State of Music in France and Italy. Art. FLORENCE.

(*p*) *In nome di Dio Amen. Questo Libro e de la Compagnia de le Laude che si cantano ne la Chiesa di frati dogni Sancti di Firenze dell ordine degli umiliati. La quale compagnia fue ordinata e comi ciata per auctoritate e volonta di missere Frate Guilielmo maestro generale del sopradetto ordine degli umiliati, net* M.CCC.XXXVI. *a di* xi. *del mese di Novembre ad honore e a riverenzia del nostro Signore Idio, e de la Virgine gloriosa Maria sua madre, e di missere Sancto Benedecto e di missere Sancto venerando et di Madonna Sancta Lucia Virgine, e di tucti Sancti e le Sancte di Paradiso, et a fructo di gratia in questa vita a tucti coloro che sonno e saranno de la decta compagnia, e dopo la loro morte a beala gloria divina et erna. Amen.*

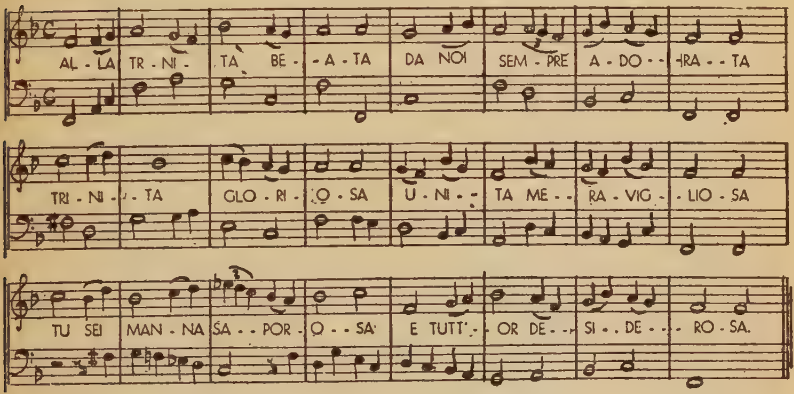
Queste sonno le Laude le quagli sonno inscripte e publicate e ordinate per gli nobili e Sancti Huomini de la predicta compagn a di Frati degni Sancti di Firenze secundo che in questa Tavola si contiene. In prima alla Trinita beata.

"These are the Hymns which are written, published, and ordained by the noble and holy members of the said company of Friars of All Saints at Florence, according to the table of contents: and first,

*Alla Trinità.**


AL LA TRI - NI - - TA BE - - A - TA DA NOI SEM - - PRE
A - - - DO - - RA - - TA TRI - - NI - - - TA GLO - - - RI - - O - - - SA
U - - - - NI - - - TA ME - - - RA - - - - - VI - - GLIO - SA TU SEI
MANNA' SA - - - PO - - RO - SA E' TUTT'OR DE - SI - - DE - - RO - SA

To the blessed Trinity.


AL - LA TR - NI - TA BE - - A - TA DA NOI SEM - PRE A - DO - - RA - - TA
TRI - NI - - TA GLO - RI - O - SA U - NI - - TA ME - - RA - VIG - - LIO - SA
TU SEI MAN - NA SA - - POR - O - - SA E TUTT' - OR DE - - SI - - DE - - RO - SA.

But few memorials remain relative to Secular Music, during this dark and Gothic period, equally indisputable and interesting with the use that was made of it in Rome at the time when the poet PETRARCH was crowned laureat; a circumstance not wholly unconnected with the subject of musical history.

The custom of crowning persons who had distinguished themselves in Poetry and Music, which was almost as ancient as the arts themselves, subsisted till the reign of the emperor Theodosius, when the Capitoline games being regarded as remnants of Pagan superstition were utterly abolished (*q*). These arts being

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(*q*) See page 412.

* The first word of this hymn should be *Alta*. It is to be found is a MS. collection of *Laudi Spirituali* in the Bib. Nat. Cent. at Florence (MS. II. i. 1222). Under the name of "Florence" it is included in many collections of Hymns. In Hymns Ancient and Modern it is No. 203 of the Historical edition of 1909 (No. 379 in the original and 440 in the revised edition).

afterwards involved in the ruin and desolation of Italy, and every other civilized part of Europe, by the irruptions of Barbarians, were but little cultivated or encouraged: yet, now and then a Poet seemed to arise from the ashes of former Bards ; but as few were able to read their productions, and, indeed, as few of them deserved to be read, it removes all surprize at the little honour that was bestowed upon poets in Italy for many ages after the subversion of the Roman empire.

It was not till near the time of Petrarch that poetry recovered its ancient lustre and importance, or was invested with its former prerogatives. However, at this period the union that had so long subsisted between Poetry and her twin-sister Music was so entirely dissolved that she shared none of her honours, and only performed the part of an humble attendant on the occasion. But the time was not then very remote when Music triumphed in her turn, over her insolent relation, by setting up a separate interest, and delighting the public without her aid or assistance. For, in consequence of additional characters being invented for the different duration of sounds, a new species of instrumental composition was cultivated, which was capable of affording great delight to the lovers of harmony, without the help of poetical numbers, or even the tones and articulations of the human voice in its performance. And, since this period, a poet has been more in need of the assistance of others to exhibit his productions than the Musician ; who, after he has finished a composition suited to his own powers, executes it frequently himself in such a manner as is seldom equalled by future performers.

In the year 1340, Petrarch had the honour of receiving two letters on the same day: one from the Roman senate, and the other from the university of Paris, inviting him to accept the laurel crown ; and having given the preference to Rome, on his arrival in that city, in 1341, during the pontificate of pope Benedict XII, he found every thing prepared for the ceremony of his coronation, by the senator count Orso dell' Anguillara. The design was announced in the morning, by the sound of trumpets, when the people, curious to see a festival which had been interrupted for so many ages, assembled in great crowds from all quarters.

Petrarch marched to the Capitol, preceded by twelve youths, dressed in scarlet, and of the best families in Rome, singing verses composed by the poet ; who was attired in a robe, presented to him by Robert the Good, king of Naples, who had taken it off his own back and desired him to wear it on the day of his coronation. The principal citizens of Rome, habited in a green uniform, and crowned with flowers of different kinds, attended Petrarch in procession. After these marched the senator, accompanied by the chief members of the Roman Council. When he was seated, Petrarch, being summoned by a herald, pronounced a short oration. Afterwards, when he had thrice cried out *long live the Roman people ! long live the senator ! may God preserve their liberty* (*r*) *!* he kneeled before

(*r*) *Viva lo popolo Romano! viva lo senatore! Dio lo mantenga in libertade!*

the senator, who, after a short speech, took from his own head a crown of laurel, and placed it on that of Petrarch, saying, "The crown is the meed of virtue (*s*)." The poet, then, recited a beautiful poem upon the heroes of Rome, which is not in his works; and the people expressed their approbation by repeated shouts, and exclamations of "Long live the poet! and long may the Capitol endure!" Stephen Colonna, as the poet tells us himself, afterwards spoke; and, having a great affection for Petrarch, bestowed on him such praise as flowed from the heart. His friends who were present on the occasion shed tears of delight; "and though," says Petrarch of himself, "I was almost overcome with joy, I was not unconscious that these honours were superior to my desert; I blushed at the applause of the people, and at the excess of praise with which I was loaded."

At the termination of the ceremony, Petrarch was conducted, with the same attendants, and the same pomp, to the church of St. Peter, where, after returning thanks to the Supreme Being for the honour which had been bestowed on him, he laid down his crown, in order that it might be placed among the offerings that were suspended to the roof of the temple.

The same day, count Anguillara had letters patent drawn up (*t*), by which the senators, after a very flattering preamble, declare Petrarch to have merited the title of great poet and historian; "and that, as an especial mark of his poetical abilities they had placed a crown of laurel on his head, granting him, as well by the authority of king Robert, as by that of the senate of Rome, full power and licence to exercise the arts of poetry and history, to read, dispute, explain ancient books, make new, compose poems; and to wear at all times a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, at his pleasure, as well as the poetical habit (*u*). Finally, he is declared by these presents, a Roman citizen, entitled to all the privileges annexed to that honourable appellation, as an acknowledgment for the affection which in his works, as well as in his public professions, he has always manifested for the city and its republic."

Thus ended the pomps and vanities of this memorable day, during which Petrarch appears to be nothing less than a philosopher. All the wisdom, modesty, and even delicacy of sentiment with which his writings are filled, seem on this occasion to have been wholly laid aside and forgotten. To become a public spectacle, and exhibit his person for the gratification of his own vanity, and the idle curiosity of an ignorant multitude, in these days would rather qualify a man for Bedlam, than for the sovereignty of Parnassus. The blame can only be laid on his youth; or, rather, on the practice of the times, which abounded with romantic customs, derived from Gothic institutions of chivalry; in compliance with which, knights,

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(*s*) *Corona premia la virtu!*

(*t*) An extraordinary homage, says Voltaire, which the astonishment of his age bestowed upon his uncommon genius. *Hist. Univ.* tom. II.

(*u*) There was, at this time, a dress peculiar to Poets, as well as Musicians. Dante, according to Villani, his cotemporary, was buried in the poetical habit. lib. ix. cap. 33.

nobles, kings and emperors, frequently exhibited their persons in tilts, tournaments, and pageants, with as little concern as veteran actors by profession.

I was curious to know Petrarch's own opinion, in his old age, of the transactions of this day ; and have found, in a letter written a little before his death, the following passage,—which seems to disarm censure.

" Those laurels with which my brows were bound were too green ; if I had been of a more mature age and understanding, I should not have sought them. Old men only love what is useful, while the young pursue every thing splendid, without any regard to intrinsic worth. This crown rendered me neither more learned nor more eloquent ; it only drew upon me the envy of the malignant, and robbed me of my wonted repose. Ever since that time, I have been constantly under arms: every tongue, every pen has been pointed against me; my friends are become my enemies; and I now suffer for my audacity and presumption."

Yet, however childish and frivolous such a pageant might now be thought, the want of appetite for it in the present age is, perhaps, more the effect of satiety, than of superior wisdom and good taste ; and the eagerness with which the Romans in Petrarch's time feasted on such gew-gaws may be ascribed to long fasting, and privation of every elegance and refinement in the polite arts. The same love of novelty which represses our curiosity after common spectacles, impelled the Roman citizens to regard Petrarch as a divinity, and the honours bestowed on him as effusions of justice and discernment. If we compare his productions with those of his cotemporaries (*x*), we shall find the superiority greater than in those of any other poet, Shakspeare excepted, who has been the favourite of our own country. The elegant and captivating author of his Memoirs (*y*) justly regards him as " the greatest genius which Italy, so fertile in men of superior talents, has produced ; and as a writer to whom literature in general, and the Tuscan language and poetry in particular, have the greatest obligations. He dissipated the clouds of barbarism," continues this admirable biographer, " which covered all Europe, and may be said to have dug up and re-animated the good authors who had long lain buried and forgotten. He has purified and enriched the Italian tongue, and furnished its poetry with such sweetness, harmony, and grace, as preclude all envy at the perfection of Greek and Latin compositions." He may have been sometimes too much admired by his countrymen, and, like other great models, too frequently imitated ; yet, when literary zeal has such an object of admiration, its excess only becomes reprehensible.

It seems from several passages in Petrarch's Sonnets and Canzone that Laura had cultivated music, or at least that her

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(*x*) Among whom Dante can hardly be numbered, as Petrarch was but seventeen years old when that poet died.

(*y*) *Memoire pour la Vie de Francois Petrarque.* Tom. I. Dedic. ii.

singing had helped to rivet his chains. In the twentieth Canzone or Ode, indeed, he uses the word *notè*, notes, figuratively, for words, lines, or verses.

Continuando L'Amorose notè.

But in Sonnet 104 he distinguishes song from speech:

ELANGELICO CANTO, e le parole
Del dolce spirto.

Sonnet 124, written on the subject of Laura weeping at the news of some calamity which had happened in her family, is full of allusion to music.

Sonetto.	Sonnet.
I vidi in terra angelici costumi,	I saw on earth angelic virtues beam
E celesti belezze al mondo sole,	And blaze with such celestial charms and grace
Talchè di remembrar mi giova, e dole:	That since, no other excellence I trace,
Che quant'io miro, par sogni, ombre, e fumi:	But all appears a shade, a smoke, a dream:
E vidi lagrimar que duo bei lumi	When Laura's eyes with tears began to teem,
C'han fatto mille volte invidia al sole:	Eyes which the sun oft envies in his race;
Ed udì sospirando dir parole	When with such sighs and words she wail'd her case
Che farian gir i monti, e star i fiumi.	As mountains sure would move, or stop a stream:
Amor, senno, valor, pietate, e doglia	Then love, worth, wisdom, grief, and pity join'd
Facean piangendo un più dolce CONCENTO.	In such a CONCERT, as, however skill'd,
D'ogni altro che nel mondo udir soglia:	No sons of Harmony e'er yet combin'd;
Ed era'l cielo all'armonia si'ntento,	No Zephyr stir'd, each flutt'ring leaf was still'd
Che non si vedea in ramo mover foglia,	Unwilling to disturb such sounds refin'd
Vanta aoicezza avea pien l'aere, e'l vento	As all around the tuneful æther fill'd.

In his 177th Sonnet, Petrarch speaks with enthusiasm of Laura's voice, which when she sung went to his soul.

E'l cantar che nel anima si sente.

And in Sonnet the 188th he mentions with rapture her singing to a large company of ladies, (*dodici donni*) during a party of pleasure ; and in another place, (*z*) speaking of her vocal powers, he says:

Era possente	The voice of Laura could controul
Cantando d'acquetar gli sdegni e l'ire,	The tyrant's rage, or bend the proud;
Di serenar la tempestosa mente	Could calm the tempests of the soul,
E sgombrar d'ogni nebbia oscura e vile.	And dissipate each low'ring cloud.

But it would be endless to enumerate all the passages in which he celebrates the sweetness of her voice ; I shall therefore only instance Sonnet the 135th, which turns wholly on its enchanting powers.

Sonetto.	Sonnet.
Quando amor i begli occhi a terra inchina,	When Laura's timid looks to earth incline,
E i vaghi spirii in un sospiro accoglie	And love in sighs the vagrant air has bound,
Con le sue mane; e poi in voce gli scioglie	Then lets it free expand and float around
Chiara, soave, angelica, divina:	In her clear, sweet, angelic voice divine;
Sento far del mio cor dolce rapina,	Now could I quit the world and not repine:
E sì dentro cangiar pensieri, e voglie;	I eager cry, if kill'd by such a wound,
Ch'i' dico: hor fien di me l'ultime spoglie	For now the soul, charm'd by the soothing sound,
Se'l ciel sì honesta morte mi destina:	Its present tenure willing would resign.

(*z*) *Canzone* II. P. M.

Ma'l suon, che di dolcezza i sensi lega,	But more and more attach'd to life, those strains
Col gran desir d'udendo esser beata	With which my soul is so completely blest
L'anima al dipartir presta raffrena.	Deprive it soon with agency and choice;
Così mi vivo, e così avvolge, e spiega	For still the slave of sense and bound in chains,
Lo stame della vita, che m'è data,	I find my heart by no fond wish imprest,
Questa sola fra noi del ciel Sirena.	But still to live, and hear her Siren voice.

I have but one circumstance more to mention relative to Petrarch ; which is, that it appears by his will, inserted in the Venetian edition of his Poems published by Giorgio Angelieri, 1586, that he was himself a practical musician ; and, as Swift bequeathed his first " best beaver-hat to the reverend John Worral," Petrarch leaves his good lute to master Thomas Bombasio of Ferrara, that he may play on it, not for the vanity of a fleeting life, but to the praise and glory of the eternal God (*a*).

With respect to the peculiar kind of vocal music which was prevalent in the time of Petrarch, as, unfortunately, none of the melodies to which his exquisite sonnets were originally set, are come down to the present period, it must rest upon conjecture: if we could imagine them to have been then as much superior in grace and smoothness to all other melodies, as his poetry was to that of his cotemporaries, they must have contributed considerably to the effect of these sonnets on the public ear. But it has never appeared in the course of my enquiries that poetry and music have advanced with equal pace towards perfection, in any country. Almost every nation of Europe has produced *good poetry* before it could boast of such an arrangement of musical sounds as constitute *good melody* ; and in Italy itself, according to a late writer (*b*), music was the last cultivated of any of the polite arts ; " nor is it yet, perhaps, furnished with true principles, like painting, sculpture, and architecture, as well as eloquence and poetry, which are established on the laws and examples of the ancients." This author complains with Gravina and Muratori of the degeneracy and corruption of music in Italy, and of its having ceased to imitate nature and the passions. For the passions, it were to be wished that they could be more frequently excited and expressed in our music than they are ; but for copying nature, it may be asked, What is there in nature for a musician to copy? Is there such a thing as *natural music,* except that of birds? And is that pleasing, when imitated by an Agujari, or a Le Brun? All melodies but the cries of nature are the productions of art: the most simple, if formed upon the musical scale or gamut, are artificial; for the scale is unknown to all people in a state of nature.

In an account of Petrarch's coronation, first published at Padua, 1549, under the name of Sennuccio Delbene, which was eagerly read, and afterwards reprinted in several editions of his works, it is said that there were two choirs of music, one vocal,

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(*a*) *A maestro Tommaso Bambasio da Ferrara, lascio il mio* buon liuto, *affine ch'egli lo suoni non per vanita del fugace seculo, ma a lode e gloria dell' eterno iddio.*

(*b*) *Risorgiamento d' Italia,* Tom. II. p. 176.

and the other instrumental, employed in the procession, which were constantly singing and playing by turns in sweet harmony. This seems to imply some progress in figurative counterpoint, and singing and playing in concert (*c*). It is the earliest and most favourable account of any thing like music in parts that has come to my knowledge. The time-table had been constructed more than two centuries before, by Franco; *musica mensurabilis* had likewise received great improvements from the writings of Marchetto da Padua in the preceding century; and by those of John de Muris but a few years before this period, as has been already related: and, about twenty years after, it seems as if this artificial and complicated music had spread over great part of Europe: for in 1360, it is observed in the Chronicle of Frankfort, "that music was amplified by new singers, and a figurative kind of composition unknown before (*d*)."

I know that the authenticity of Sennuccio's account has been doubted, though so long received as genuine by all Petrarch's biographers, commentators, and editors, among whom were Tomasini, Catanusi, Crescembeni, Muratori, Angelieri, Menage, and Niceron. But, without disputing this point, or relying on the authority of Sennuccio, sufficient proofs are to be found in Petrarch's works, and elsewhere, of the practice of counterpoint, or music in parts, in the fourteenth century; when the improvement of the time-table had brought measured music, or airs, into favour (*e*). Petrarch himself frequently uses the word *concento* (*f*), which the Crusca Dictionary defines *armonia,* harmony resulting from the consonance of voices and instruments. *Concento* was long used in Italy for *concerto,* which was sometimes called *conserto,* as *concert* is written by the old English authors *consort* (*g*).

Of the state of Music during the same period, much may be collected from the Decamerone of BOCCACCIO, who survived Petrarch but two years. This work has always been regarded as a natural and faithful delineation of the manners and customs of

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(c) *Dui cori v'erano di Musica; l'uno di voce, l'altro di strementi, che l'uno avviconda dell' altro, sempre con dolce concento suonava o' cantava.*

(d) *Observatum quoque reperimus ex chronico Francofurtensi, hoc anno* (1360) *Musicam ampliatam esse: novos enim cantores surrexisse, et componistas et figuristas cæpisse alios modos assuere.* Annal. Eccles. Card. Baronii. Continuatio. Per Hen. Spondanum. tom. I. 1678.

(e) *Voyez Le Beuf, Traite Hist. sur le Chant Eccle. p.* 105.

(f) *Vide supra,* p. 234.

(g) *Vid Petr. Sonetto,* 124. *Canz.* 42. *Consort* for *concert,* was not erroneously written, but a word differently derived, *Concert,* from *concertare, consort,* from *consors, consortium.* Now as *concertare* is never used in classic authors to signify *agreement, friendly* union, but always *rival* contention; and *consors, consortium,* on the contrary, are appropriated to friendly union, sympathy, &c. it seems as if the old English writers, who denominated musical *symphony* a *consort,* had propriety on their *side.* But unluckily the word is irrecoverably disgraced by its being used now only in ignorance or derision. At present, *Consort* has an established and unequivocal meaning appropriated to it: companion; partner; concurrence; union; and *Concert,* from *concerto,* Italian, from implying rival contest, struggle, dispute, quarrel, is now generally understood to signify exactly what *consort* did mean: the *friendly* and *harmonious union* of voices and instruments; an assembly of musical performers. Who knows but this word had its origin from the musical games, when musicians *contended* with each other for victory? and it must be allowed that sometimes a still greater portion of this rivality, contention, struggle, dispute, and quarrel, still continues to actuate the champions in musical exhibitions, than of that *agreement* and *friendly union,* which the word *concert* should now imply.

Italy at the time when it was written; and though it is composed of novels, in which fable is blended with real history, yet the bounds of probability has been seldom exceeded in the exercise of imagination, nor truth violated, in the recital of real events. That the virtues and vices in which he has clothed the several characters whose adventures he pretends to relate, are such as prevailed at the time they are supposed to have lived, can the more readily be believed, as through all the modifications and vicissitudes of human affairs many of them are still prevalent. And in all the excursions in which he is carried out of his own country, he has never explored ideal regions, nor been transported beyond the haunts of men.

With respect to *Music*, which is my excuse for mentioning this author, whether the personages he assembles together after the plague at Florence, 1348, and the stories they tell, are real or imaginary, the amusements he assigns them in his ritual must have been such as were usual to the Florentines, among whom he lived at that time; and indeed the poems that are pretended to have been sung, and the instruments with which they were accompanied, subsisted before this period, and still subsist.

In his admirable description of the plague at Florence, he tells us, that during the horrors of that dreadful calamity, two methods, extremely opposite, of preservation from the disease were adopted by those who at first escaped infection: some imagining that by temperance, abstaining from superfluities, and wholly separating themselves from the sick; shutting out all intelligence concerning the sufferings of others, and amusing themselves with *Music*, and every other innocent recreation which their confinement would allow, they should preserve themselves from contagion; others, on the contrary, being of opinion that despising all regimen or restraint, indulging appetite, seeking dissipation, laughing, *singing*, and sporting from morning till night, would be the most efficacious medicines against the present evils (*h*).

Music, therefore, we find, was not silenced even in the midst of horror and despair: the Florentines thinking with Euripides, who, in his Medea, complains that the exquisite pleasure arising from this charming art is usually lavished on the happy, at convivial festivities; whereas, it should be administered to the afflicted and miserable, as a balm and cordial to mitigate the ills of life.

The rites deriv'd from ancient days
With thoughtless reverence we praise,
The rites that taught us to combine
The joys of music and of wine,
And bad the feast, and song, and bowl,
O'erfill the saturated soul;

(*h*) ——*Con* suoni *e con quelli piaceri, che haver potevano, si dimoravano. Altri in contraria opinione tratti-affermavano il bere assai, e il godere, e l'andar* cantando *attorno, e sollazzando, e il sodisfare d'ogni cosa allo appetito, che si potesse, e di cio che avveniva ridersi e baffarsi, essere medicina certissima a tanto male;—&c.* Decam. Giornata prima.

But ne'er the Flute or Lyre apply'd
To cheer despair, or soften pride.
Nor call'd them to the gloomy cells
Where Want repines, and Vengeance swells—
Where Hate sits musing to betray,
And Murder meditates his prey.
To dens of guilt and shades of care,
Ye sons of Melody, repair;
Nor deign the festive dome to cloy
With superfluities of joy.
Ah, little needs the Minstrel's pow'r
To speed the light convivial hour;
The board, with varied plenty crown'd,
May spare the luxuries of sound (*i*).

The company however which Boccaccio assembles together, after the plague had swept away all their relations and friends, were better entitled to such amusements as innocence could furnish, than those who could inhumanly detach themselves from their fellow-creatures, when their dreadful sufferings called aloud for assistance. And this author tells us that all the ladies and gentlemen of his party could dance and sing, and that some of them were not only well skilled in song, but able to perform extremely well on several musical instruments (*k*).

At the end of every *Deca*, or ten Novels, which he tells us were related by the Company, each Day, he has given a Canzon, or Ode, which was sung by one of the party, and generally accompanied by some instrument; and as this species of Lyric Poetry was invented by the Troubadours of Provence, who had generally Musicians to accompany them that were called *Violars*, we may suppose the music of these songs, and the performance to have been equally simple with those of the Provençal Bards, and little superior to the tunes now used by the *Improvisatori* of Italy. For we have no proofs that Melody had as yet been much diversified by its inventors, or embellished by the performers, who were retained as servants of the poet.

(*i*) I am obliged to a learned friend for this elegant translation, of which the following is the original, from the Medea of Euripides, v. 190.

Σκαιους δε λεγων κ'ουδεν τι σοφους
Τους προσθε βροτους, ουκ αν αμαρτοις,
'Οιτινες υμνους επι μεν θαλιαις,
Επι τ'ειλαπιναις, και παρα δειπνοις
Ευροντο, βιου τερπνας ακοας.
Στυγεους δε βροτων ουδεις λυπας
Ευρετο μουση και πολυχορδοις
Ωδαις παυειν, εξ ων θανατοι
Δειναι τε τυχαι σφαλλουσι δομους.
Και τοι ταδε μεν κερδος ακεισθαι
Μολπαισι βροτους ινα δ'ευδειπνοι
Δαιτες, τι ματην τεινουσι βοαν;
Το παρον γαρ εχει τερψιν αφ' αυτου,
Δαιτος πληρωμα βροτοισιν.

(*k*) ——*Et levate le tavole, concio fosse cosa che tutte le donne* carolar *sapessero, et similemente i giovani, et parte di loro ottimamente et* sonare *et* cantare——*&c.*
Decam. Gior. prima.

Boccaccio tells us at the end of his *prima giornata,* or first day, that after supper the instruments were called in, when " the Queen, for the day, ordained that there should be a dance ; and after one had been led off by Lauretta, Emilia sung a song, in which she was accompanied by Dion, a gentleman of the party, on the lute (*l*)." There is nothing new or extraordinary in this quotation, for the human voice has never been silent in civilized states, when men have been assembled together, in order to amuse themselves ; and indeed in the most savage countries, the voice of joy is generally accompanied by instruments. However in Italy, whence all the liberal arts have travelled to the rest of Europe, it is curious to know in what rank music was held at this early period, and what use was made of it in polite assemblies, by the inhabitants. And here a writer, justly celebrated for the exactness with which he has described the customs of his cotemporaries in all situations, tells us that in an assembly of persons of birth and education, who passed ten days together during summer in a constant succession of innocent amusements, each evening was closed by Dance and Song ; in which the whole company, consisting of seven ladies and three gentlemen, of different characters and acquirements, were able to perform their parts.

In the musical recreations of the first day, the two circumstances which are here most worthy of observation are the accompaniments of the voice by an instrument ; and that this instrument was the Lute. Of what the accompaniment consisted, whether it only fortified the voice-part by playing the same melody, or more elaborately furnished a base and different treble, arising out of its harmony, is not easy to determine.

On the second day we find that one of the company leading off a Carol, a song was sung by another, which was answered in a kind of chorus by the rest (*m*).

(*l*) *Doppo la qual cena fatti venir gli stormenti comando la Reina che una danza fosse presa, et quella menandola Lauretta, Emilia* cantasse *una* canzone *dal* Leuto *di Dioneo aiutata.* Ib.

(*m*) ——*Menando Emilia la Carola, la segunnte Canzone da Pampinea, rispondendo l'altre, fu Cantata, &c.*—Boccaccio. Giornata Seconda, Nov. x.

It may, perhaps, be necessary to observe that the word *Carola* in Boccaccio is synonimous with *Ballata,* which the Crusca Dictionary defines, *Canzone, che si Canta Ballando*: a Song which is sung during a Dance.

This is the sense by which the word Karole is constantly used by Chaucer.

These folke, of which I tell you so.
Upon a Karole wentin tho,
A ladie karoled hem, that hight
Gladness the blissful and the light,
Well cou'd she sing and lustily
None half so well and semely
Lothe make in song such refraining. †
It sate ‡ her wonder well to sing;
Her voice ful clere was and ful swete,
She was not rude, ne yet unmete,
But couthe enough for such doing
As longith unto Karolling.—Rom. of the Rose, 743.

† From Refrain, the burden of a song, or return to the first part, as in a *Rondeau.* It is imagined that the *Ritornel,* or symphony to a song, had its origin from the repetitions of particular strains of a Carol, or Ballad, by instruments, for the dancers, after they had been sung.

‡ Suited.

At the close of the second day Boccaccio tells us that after the Song, of which he gives the words, had been performed, many others were sung, and many Dances danced to different tunes (*n*), by which we may gather that besides Carols and Ballads, the singing of which marked the steps of a Dance, there were at this time Songs without Dances, and Tunes without Songs.

Though Boccaccio informs us that his novellists finished every day's amusement by singing and dancing, I shall only describe the manner in which they are introduced when such expressions or terms of art occur as I can explain to my purpose. At the end of the fifth day, after a dance, the queen orders Dion, one of the gayest and most facetious of the company, to sing, who proposes several, at that time, well known songs, to which the ladies seem to object, on account of the licentiousness of the words. He tells them he would sing others, which he names, if he had a *Cembalo ;* by which some have imagined is meant a Harpsichord, that instrument being now called *Cembalo* in Italian. However the harpsichord is certainly of later invention than the time of Boccaccio, who in the passage where the word *Cembalo*, or *Ciembalo* is used, probably meant only a kind of *Tambour de Basque,* or drum in the shape of

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The word likewise occurs three times in the Canterbury Tales; and in each of these this sense of the word is confirmed.

Festes and instruments, Caroles and dances. v. 1933.
What ladies fayrest ben or best dancing
Or which of hem can carole best or sing. v. 2203.

Here carole is plainly distinguished from dancing; and if it is also distinguished from singing, it must be only because it implied more than mere song: that is, song accompanying dance.

Was never none that list better to sing
Ne lady lustier in carolling.—Cant. Tales, v. 16811.

Here it has a meaning as distinct from singing as, in the other citations, it has from dancing. Again, v. 759.

Tho[†] mightest thou *karollis sene*
And folke daunce, and merie ben——

In the first line of this couplet, when Chaucer speaks of the karole being visible, it can no longer be imagined that it implied only a song. In his Dreme, speaking of the Duchess of Gaunt, he says:

I saw her daunce so comily
Carol and sing so swetily———

Both the Carol and the Ballad, which came to us from Italy, have long lost their original acceptation in England. The word Carol is now only to be met with in our elder poets, or among the provincial minstrels at Christmas. But no poet since the time of Spencer seems to have used it in the double acceptation of the Italian *Carola,* or the Latin *Chareola,* whence Dr. Johnson derives it.

And let the Graces dance unto the rest
For they can do it best:
While the maidens do their Carol sing,
To which the woods shall answer, and their eccho ring.—Spencer's Epithal

Dryden seems to distinguish the Carol from the dance:

Oppos'd to her, on t'other side advance
The costly feast, the Carol and the Dance,
Minstrels and music, poetry and play,
And balls by night, and tournaments by day.—Fables.

Ballata, whence the French had their word *Balade,* and the English Ballad, has long been detached from Dancing, and indeed confined to a low species of song, though Solomon's song was once called the Ballad of Ballads. In Shakspeare's time, however, this species of vulgar and popular poetry was wholly degraded and turned into the streets:

"An' I have not Ballads made on you all, and sung to filthy tunes, may a cup of sack be my poison"—Hen. IV.

(*n*) *Appresso questa* (canzone) *piu altre se ne cantarono, e piu danze si fecero, e sonarono diversi suoni.*—Bocc. Giorn zda.

[†] Also, therefore, then, at that time.

a sieve, with small bells and bits of tin jingling at the sides of it: a tinkling Cymbal, but not the modern harpsichord, nor the *Cymbalum* of the ancients, which has been described in the first book, and which consisted of two parts resembling basons, which being forcibly clashed together marked the steps in Bacchanalian processions, and the measure in singing the orgies ; and which at present is in general use as a military instrument.*

The two instruments chiefly used by the gentlemen and ladies in the Decamerone are the Lute and Viol ; and upon this last, some of the ladies are said to perform. This was the instrument which, two centuries after, became so general in England that there was hardly a considerable family which had not a complete chest of viols ; by which is to be understood, a treble, tenor, and base viol, each with six strings, fretted neck, and played with a bow, in the same proportion to each other as the violin, tenor and violoncello. When the company wanted music merely instrumental, for dancing, a servant was called, in, with his bagpipe (*r*).

It is, however, manifested from the writing of Boccaccio that there were two kinds of music and performers in his time, as well as at present. One species of music was a plain, simple and popular melody, generally understood and practised by all persons well educated, on whom nature had bestowed good ears; and the other an elaborate and artificial species of music which professors only, or persons of equal genius and application, were able to execute. Of the first kind were doubtless the *carols, ballads,* and little songs that are mentioned at the close of the ninth day, which pleased more from the merit of the words, than the artifice of the melody (*s*). But as Dante had his Casella, Petrarch his Bambisio, Boccaccio likewise celebrates among eminent professed musicians, the talents of Minuccio d'Arezzo, who was, he tells us, an exquisite singer and player on the viol, in great favour with Peter of Roan, King of Sicily (*t*).

Though the fame of Boccaccio has been built upon his prose productions, he was perhaps the best poet of his time, if we except Dante and Petrarch. He is allowed by many to have been the inventor of the *ottava rima,* or heroic stanza, which was afterwards adopted by Pulci, Boiardo, Berni, Ariosto, Tasso, and all the epic poets of Italy. But if he be denied the merit of the invention, he was at least the first who used the stanza successfully in a work of any length. In this kind of verse two of his poems remain, *Theseus,* and *Phlostratus,* on which the Italian critics, and Antonio Maria

(*r*) *Il Re fatto chiamar Tindaro, gli comando; che fuori trahesse la sua cornamusa; al suono della quale esso fece fare molte danze,* Decam. Gior. 6.

(*s*) *Canzonnette piu sollazzevoli di parole, che di canto maestrevoli,*——Gior. 9.

(*t*) —*Era in quei tempi Minucio* (D'Arezzo) *tenuto un finissimo Cantatore, e Sonatore, e volontieri dal Re Pietro veduto.*—Gior. dec.

* The *cembalo* was an instrument of the dulcimer type. In more modern times the word was used as a diminutive of *clavicembalo*.

Salvini among the rest, bestow great praise (*u*). And it is said of our countryman, Chaucer, by his late admirable editor, " That he was to the full as much obliged to Boccace in his Troilus, as in his Knightes Tale (*x*)."

That the instrumental as well as the vocal music of the middle ages, was so simple and inartificial as to require no great abilities or dexterity in the execution, seems deducible from the little notice that is taken of the talents of musical performers, by writers who are very lavish in their praises of music, singing, and playing, in general.

The organ being the most complicated instrument in use during these times, and capable of producing greater effects than any other, seems to have excited the first amazement at the performer's skill, which modern history has recorded.

Philip Villani, who flourished about the year 1343, and who lived till 1405, among the lives of illustrious Florentines, chiefly of his own times, has given that of FRANCESCO CIECO (*y*).

" Many," says this writer, " are the Florentines who have rendered themselves memorable by the art of music; but all those of former times have been far surpassed by Francesco Cieco, who still lives (*z*); and who during childhood was deprived of sight by the small-pox. He was the son of Jacopo, a Florentine painter, of great probity and simplicity of manners; and being arrived at adolescence, and beginning to be sensible of the misery of blindness, in order to diminish the horror of perpetual night, he began in a childish manner to sing; but advancing towards maturity, and becoming more and more captivated with music, he began seriously to study it, as an art, first by learning to sing, and afterwards by applying himself to the practice of instruments, particularly the Organ, which he soon played, without ever having seen the keys, in so masterly and sweet a manner, as astonished every hearer. Indeed his superiority was soon acknowledged so unanimously, that, by the common consent of all the musicians of his time, he was publicly honoured at Venice with the laurel crown for his performance on the organ, before the King of Cyprus and duke of Venice, in the manner of a poet laureat. Cieco died in 1390, and is buried in the church of St. Laurence." Christopher

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(*u*) Dr. Percy, in the second volume of his venerable and captivating Relics of Ancient English Poetry, and Mr. Warton, in his History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 103, et seq. have inserted an elegy on the death of our Edward the First in 1307, which is in the *octave rhyme;* if this was written at the time of Edward's death, though it may prove nothing with respect to Italian Poetry, yet it would acquit English writers of having been obliged to the Italians for the invention of the stanza. Dr. Percy thinks it was written soon after Edward's death.

(*x*) See Essay on the Lang. and Vers. of Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 85.

(*y*) Philip Villani was the son of Mathew and nephew of John Villani, the celebrated Florentine historians. John died at Florence in 1348, of the plague, which Boccaccio has described; and Mathew, who continued his brother's history, till the year 1360, died likewise of the same disease, in 1363. The lives written by Philip, *Le Vite d'Uomini illustri Fiorentini,* remained in MS. till the year 1747, when they were published at Venice by the count Mazzuchelli.

(*z*) The author either wrote this life at different periods of time, or else meant only to say that Cieco still lived in the memory of his surviving friends; for he afterwards fixes the time of his death.

Landino, in his commentary upon Dante, after telling us (*a*) that music had long been cultivated in Florence, and that Francesco Cieco, his grandfather's brother, had been indemnified for the loss of sight by the superior perfection of his ear; gives the same account of his coronation as Philip Villani had done. "But," adds Landino, "we have seen and heard in our own times (*b*) the celebrated Antonio, sirnamed *dagl' Organi,* of whom it may be said that, as many persons went from Cadiz, the remotest part of Spain, to Rome, in order to see the historian Livy; so many most excellent musicians have come from England, and the most distant regions of the North: crossing the sea, Alps, and Appenines, in order to hear the performance of Antonio."

Among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum (*c*), there is a very ample Treatise on Music, in Latin, which by several internal marks appears to have been written in Italy, about the latter end of the fourteenth century. The Rubric titles of chapters and initials in this beautiful MS. are very neatly written, as are the Diagrams, in ink of different colours, but chiefly red and blue. There are some of them written on vellum, but the text is on a thick, silky paper, called *Bombyx.* If there were no other proofs of the time when this tract was transcribed, it would be nearly ascertained by the numerous abbreviations, and the oblique stroke instead of the point over the letter i, which prevailed for near a century before the invention of printing.

The title of this MS. of which there is likewise a copy in the Vatican library (*d*), is the following: *Libellus Musicales de ritu canendi vetustissimo et novo,* pr. *Omnium quidem artium etsi varia sit introductio ducit.*—It consists of two parts: the first is divided into three books, which treat, first, of plain Song; second, of the Division of the Monochord; third, of Concords and their species, as well as of the Ecclesiastical Tropes or Modes. The second part likewise contains three books: In the first, the author explains the manner in which the ancient fathers taught music by the mere Letters of the Alphabet; the second treats of Solmisation; and the third of the mixture of voices, vulgarly called Counterpoint.

Though this tract, in the Vatican library, as well as the British Museum, is said to be anonymous, yet, by an entire and attentive perusal, it is discovered from the work itself, to have been written by John the Carthusian of Mantua (*e*). The author himself telling us (*f*) that he was born at Namur, where he learned to sing, but that it was under his excellent master Victorinus of Feltri, that he

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(*a*) *Apologia, nella quale si difende Dante e Firenze da' falsi Caluniatori.*

(*b*) The first edit. of Landino's Comment. on Dante was published in 1481.

(*c*) 6525

(*d*) No. 5904.

(*e*) *Gallia namque me gennuit et fecit Cantorem, Italia vero qualemcumque sub Victorino Feltrensi viro tam literis Græcis quam Latinis affatim imbuto Grammaticum & Musicnm,* Mantua *tamen Italiæ civttas indignum Carthusiæ Monachum.* Pars. 1 ma. lib. 3.

(*f*) *Paris ii. lib. 3 cap.* 12.

studied Boethius, whose writings are the pure fountain, and acquired a real knowledge of music.*

He mentions Marchetto di Padua as the first who had written upon any other genus than the Diatonic, since the time of Boethius; and speaks of him as having flourished about a century before: that is, about the latter end of the thirteenth century. But though he does not subscribe to his doctrines, this passage will nearly point out the time when John the Carthusian produced the treatise under consideration, as the writings of Marchetto, which are preserved in the Vatican, are dated 1274, and 1283 (*g*). Franchinus (*h*), in a musical controversy with Spataro, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, cites our author, as a censurer of Marchetto, by the title of Joannes Carthusinus.

Besides the usual information which still more ancient treatises furnish, there are many curious points of musical history and erudition cleared up in this MS. particularly the characters used by Hubald and Odo, which though at the first glance they seem but little to differ from each other, yet, upon a careful examination, some specific difference is observable in the form of each. And the Carthusian gives a triple scale or gamut, expressed in notes on the lines and spaces, in the letters of the alphabet, and in the characters of Hubald and Odo, which were used in the Greek and Latin church before the time of Guido. But as this tract, which includes almost all the knowledge of the art and science of music, which subsisted at the time it was written, is in our own country, and accessible, I shall extend my description of it no farther.

The next Italian theorist, whose writings have been preserved, is PROSDOCIMO DI BELDEMANDIS.

This author's commentary on the *Practica Mensurabilis Cantus* of John de Muris has been already mentioned (*i*). However, a tract upon Counterpoint (*k*), of which I procured a transcript from the Vatican library, deserves particular notice here, as it was written in the year 1412, when those rules for the combination of sounds began to be established, upon which, in less than a century, many compositions were produced, which still subsist, and which, if performed, would still afford pleasure to the lovers of pure and simple harmony.

This tract, which is comprised in about sixteen folio pages, is drawn up with the method, clearness, and precision of an author who is master of his subject, and accustomed to write.

The initial sentence is: *Scribit Aristotiles Secundo elenchorum cap. ultimo, facile fore inventis addere.* After declaring that he pretends not to give rules of his own invention, but to explain those

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(*g*) Vide supra, p. 162.

(*h*) *apolog. Adversus* Jo. Spatarium.

(*i*) P. 548.

(*k*) *Contrapunctus Magistri Prosdocimi de Beldemandis Patavini.* Ex. MS. Vat. 5321, fol. 8.

* He is better known as Johannes Gallicus. In the B.M. (Add. MSS. 22315) there is a treatise, *Prefatio Libelli musicalis de ritu canendi,* by Johannes Gallicus. This MS. is in the hand of N. Burtius, a musician and poet of Bologna, who was a pupil of Gallicus. On f. 65 is the date 1478. As Gallicus lived from 1415—1473, Burney dates this MS. (Harl. MS. 6525) too early.

already established, he proceeds to define Counterpoint, simple, and florid. After which he gives a catalogue of musical intervals, concords, discords, and their octaves, with the number of semitones in each.

But as his rules differ but little from those of John de Muris (*l*), and as we shall soon have more ample and comprehensive treatises to examine, I shall only select from this author an account of what he and the harmonists of early times call *Musica Ficta*.

The ecclesiastical modes which were so rigidly confined to the Diatonic scale as to admit of no semitones but those from *e* to *f*, *a* to *b* flat, and *b* natural to *c*, were so religiously observed, even in Secular Music, that the use of any other was regarded as heterodox and licentious ; and it was not till the beginning of the present century that transposed keys, as they are still frequently called, became general.

Philip de Vitry, or Vitriaco, is the first author who speaks of this deviation from the natural scale, which he says is placing semitones where they ought *not* to be, and calls it *Musica Falsa* (*m*).* John Tincter says, it is using such intervals as are *not* to be found in the Harmonic Hand (*n*) ; and Franchinus calls it *Musica ficta, seu colorata,* from the *chromatic* semitones that are used in it. By other old writers it is denominated *conjuntca* and *alterata* ; but Prosdocimo, who bestows three or four pages on the subject, proves it to imply nothing more than music in which flats and sharps are necessary (*o*). In the examples given by this author, the character for a sharp, or artificial semitone, ascending, differed but little from the B *quadrum*. or square B, ♮, which we now call a natural, and which by raising B-flat half a tone, was long used to render other sounds a semitone more acute. Prosdocimo's sharp was a Gothic square B, or imperfect natural with four points in the centre, which resembles the character for expressing an ascending chromatic semitone in the Vatican MS. of Marchetto. But enough has been said of the elements and state of music and poetry in Italy during the period included in this chapter ; it is now time to trace their progress in our own country.

Whoever reads the history of the most ancient inhabitants of this island, the CAMBRO BRITONS, will find innumerable instances of the reverence which they paid to their poet-musicians, the bards, both of Pagan and Christian times ; and songs of very high antiquity have been preserved in the Welsh language, though not all the tunes to which they were sung. The Harp, with which these songs used to be accompanied, was in such general favour in

(*l*) See above, p. 552.

(*m*) *Aliquando per* falsam Musicam *facimus semitonium uti non debet esse.* Cap. de Semiton.

(*n*) *Ficta Musica est cantus præter regularem manus traditionem editus.*

(*o*) Ficta Musica *est vocum fictio, sive positio in loco ubi esse non videntur, sicut ponere* mi *ubi non est* mi, *et* fa *ubi non est* fa *et sic de ultra.*

* *Musica Ficta* is mentioned by John Garland (*c.* 1180—*c.* 1252) although not under that name and by the Pseudo-Aristotle (12th cent.).

WALES, as to be regarded among the possessions necessary to constitute a gentleman (*p*). The most ancient Welsh poetry that is now intelligible was written about the year 1100, and some of the tunes that are preserved in the late Mr. Morris's MS. which were transcribed from the music-book of William Penllin, the harper in Queen Elizabeth's time, are supposed by Dr. Davies (*q*) to be coeval with the verses to which they were sung, when he composed his Grammar and Catalogue of ancient Cambro-British songs. Unluckily the notation, or tablature, in which these tunes have been written, is so uncommon and difficult to reduce to modern characters (*r*), that though the gravity or acuteness of the several notes can be ascertained, yet their lengths, or duration, cannot be established with any degree of certainty, by any rule which I have been yet able to devise ; however, in a future chapter, when National Music becomes the principal subject of discussion, a farther investigation of these characters will be attempted.

The harp was no less in favour with the Saxons and Danes than with the Britons ; and historians never fail to point out the fragments of heroic songs which were sung to it for the victory obtained by Athelstan in 938, and on the death of Edgar 975, which are recorded in the Saxon Chronicle. Nor is the Saxon poet Cœdmon, of whom Venerable Bede makes such honourable mention, forgotten, any more than the musical abilities of our great Alfred, and the romantic use he made of them, in gaining admission as a harper, or minstrel, into the Danish camp.

The northern annals abound with pompous accounts of the honours conferred on music by princes who were themselves proficients in the art, and the Cambro-British institutes, with laws and privileges in favour of its professors. As the first musician, or Bard, was the eighth officer in dignity at the court of the Welsh kings, and had a place in the royal hall next to the steward of the household, so the respect and dignity with which Bards in general were treated about this time, in all the courts of Europe, were equal to those which Homer tells us their predecessors, Demodocus and Phemius, enjoyed in Greece. Music was now a regal accomplishment, as we find by all the ancient metrical romances and heroic narrations in the new formed languages of the times; and to sing to the Harp was necessary to a perfect prince, and complete hero.

Eustace, or Wace, the author of *Le Brut d'Angleterre,* or the Metrical History of Brutus, the pretended founder of the British nation, represents Gabbet, one of our kings, as the most able musician of his time: one who

De tous estrumens sot maistrie
Si sot de toute chanterie,
Molt sot de lais, molt sot de notes, &c.

Ev'ry instrument could play,
And in sweetest manner sing,
Chanting forth each kind of lay,
To the sound of pipe or string.

(*p*) *Leges Wallicæ.*

(*q*) *In Præf. ad Gram. Brit.*

(*r*) See above p. 486, where a specimen of this notation is given.

The poet afterwards specifies six of the instruments upon which the British monarch could perform, in the following rhymes:

De vieles sot et de rote,
De harpe sot et de chorum,
De lire, et de psalterium:
Por ce qu'il ot de chant tel sens,
Disoient la gent en son tems,
Que il est dieux des jongliours,
Et dieux de tous les chanteours, &c.

He to *psaltry, viol, rote,*
Chorus, harp, and *lyre* could sing;
And so sweet was ev'ry note
When he touch'd the trembling string,
That with love and zeal inflam'd,
All who join'd the list'ning throng,
Him with ecstacy proclaim'd
God of minstrels, god of song.

But it is ever with Music as with other arts,
The less the public understand
The more they admire the slight of hand (*s*).

The first Greek musicians were Gods; the second, Heroes; the third, Bards; the fourth, Beggars! During the early times of music, in every country, the wonder and affections of the people have been gained by surprize; but when musicians became numerous, and the art was regarded of easier acquirement, they lost their favour, and from being seated at the table of kings, and helped to the first cut, they were reduced to the most abject state, and ranked among rogues and vagabonds.

The fluctuating favour of minstrelsy in ENGLAND very much resembles that of France, of which the reader has already had an account in the present chapter: I shall, however, give a summary of its progress and encouragement during the first dawning of our literature, avoiding every circumstance that does not necessarily appertain to my subject; for the formation of our language as been so amply traced by Dr. Johnson, in the History of it prefixed to his Dictionary, that I have neither courage nor inclination to meddle with it; and the late judicious and diligent enquiries into the early state of our poetry, by Dr. Percy, Mr. Warton, and the Editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, have left me no excuse for entering upon *that* ground, unless in pursuit of my own game. But though I may sometimes have hunted on the same manor as these excellent literary sportsmen, and during the chace have accidentally *run into them*; yet the chief objects of our pursuits have been extremely different. Indeed Music and Poetry, during the infancy of their cultivation, in every country, are so closely connected, that it is impossible to speak of one without the other; yet in proportion as those arts advance towards perfection, they will not only become more and more independent, but have a legislation and a language of their own, which will severally furnish their historians with sufficient employment, without seeming to encroach upon each other.

We are certain that British Harpers were famous long before the Conquest, and the bounty of our first Norman sovereign to his *Joculator*, or Bard, is recorded in Doomsday-book (*t*); nor should that of Henry the Third be forgotten, who, in the thirty-sixth year

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(*s*) See Book I, p. 161.

(*t*) GLOUCESTERSCIRE. Berdic. *Joculator Regis, habet* iii. *Villas et ibi* v. *car. nil redd.* See Anstis, Ord. Gart. ii. 304.

of his reign, not only gave forty shillings and a pipe of wine to Richard, his Harper, but another pipe of wine to Beatrice, the Harper's wife (*u*). All our most ancient poems, whatever was their length, were sung to the harp on Sundays, and on public festivals (*x*). Yet in the legendary life of St. Christopher (*y*), written about the year 1200, we find mention made of the fiddle:

> ———Cristofre hym served longe;
> The kynge loved meloyde of *fithele* and of songe (*z*).

The harp however seems for many ages to have been the favourite instrument of the inhabitants of this island, whether under British, Saxon, Danish, or Norman kings. Many disgraceful circumstances are blazoned of the poor Minstrels; it is therefore but just to relate those that redounded to their honour, and the Chronicle of Walter Heming (*a*) furnishes an incident that well deserves to be recorded.

Edward the First, according to this historian, about the year 1271, a short time before he ascended the throne, took his harper with him to the Holy Land; and this musician must have been a close and constant attendant on his master, for when Edward was wounded with a poisoned knife at Ptolemais; the harper, *Citharœda suus,* hearing the struggle, rushed into the royal apartment, and killed the assasin (*b*).

The learned and pious Grosteste, Bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1253, is said, in some verses of Robert de Brunne, who flourished about the beginning of the next century, to have been very fond of the metre and music of the Minstrels. The good prelate had written a poem in the Romanse language, called *Manuel Peche,* which Robert de Brunne translated into English, with a design, as he tells us himself, that it should be sung to the harp at public entertainments.

> For lewed (*c*) men I undertoke
> In Englishe tonge to make this boke,
> For many beyn of suche manere
> That talys and rymys wyle blithly here,
> In gamys and festy's at the ale
> Love men to listene trotonale (*d*).

(*u*) *Rot. Pip. an.* 36 *Hen. III. Et in uno dolio vini empto et dato Magistro Richardo Citharistæ Regis, xl. sol. per. Br. Reg. Et. in uno dolio empto et dato Beatrici uxori ejusdem Ricardi.*

(*x*) See Warton's Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. i. p. 12. 18, and elsewhere.

(*y*) MS. Vernon, Bodl. Lib. f. 119.

(*z*) Skinner derives the Anglo Saxon word *fithele,* from VEDEL and *vedele, vele,* Dutch, *Fioline* Germ. and all from *Fidicula,* Lat.

(*a*) Cap. xxxv. p. 591. apud. v. *Histor. Anglic. Scriptor,* vol. ii. Oxon. 1687. Fol.

(*b*) This signal service from his Bard did not, however, incline the monarch afterwards to spare his brethren in Wales. See Grey's Ode, "Ruin seize thee, ruthless king!"

(*c*) Laymen, ignorant.

(*d*) **Truth and all.**

The following anecdote concerning the love which his author, bishop Grosteste had for music, seems to merit a place here, though it is related in rude rhymes.

> Y shall you tell as I have herd
> Of the byshop Seynt Roberd,
> Hys toname (*e*) is Grosteste
> Of Lyncolne, so leyth the geste,
> He loved moche to here the *Harpe,*
> For mans witte yt makyth sharpe
> Next hys chamber, besyde his study,
> Hys Harper's chamber was fast the by.
> Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
> He had solace of notes and layes,
> One askede hem the reson why
> He hadde delyte in Mynstrelsy?
> He answerde hym on this manere
> Why he helde the *Harpe* so dere.
> "The virtu of the *Harpe,* thurgh skyle and ryght,
> Wyll destrye the fendys (*f*) myght ;
> And to the cros by gode skeyl
> Ys the *Harpe* ylykened weyl.
> Thirefore, gode men, ye shall lere,
> When ye any *Gleman* (*g*) here,
> To worshepe God at your power,
> And Davyd in the Sauter (*h*).
> Yn harpe and tabour and *symphan* (*i*) gle
> Worship God in trumpes and sautre:
> In cordes, yn *organes*, and bells ringyng,
> Yn all these worship the hevene Kyng, &c."

In pursuing the history of English Minstrels I am frequently obliged to recount circumstances which have lately been rendered familiar to many of my readers; but these circumstances are such as seem so naturally to belong to my work, that those who peruse it would have cause to complain should they be put to the trouble of seeking them elsewhere. There are certain events which every writer *must* relate, however they may have lost the charms of novelty by frequent repetition ; for by omitting them he would be equally absurd with that historian, who in writing the annals of Charles the First, should suppress the circumstance of that unfortunate prince's decapitation, because it has been already so often related (*k*).

A singular privilege granted to itinerant musicians of the lowest class, during the time of Chester fair, is of this kind, and though well known is too important to be omitted.

(*e*) Surname.

(*f*) Fiends, the *devils*.

(*g*) Harper, minstrel.

(*h*) Psalter.

(*i*) Symphony.

(*k*) A French writer, M. de la Beaumelle, says of his *bons mots,* that though they have been often said, they are still good things to say. *Mes Pensees.*

The Midsummer fair at Chester, from the vicinity of that city to Ireland and Wales, has long supported its reputation by the amusement it affords to the neighbouring gentry, and the profits accruing to traders, who assemble there from all parts of his majesty's dominions. The institution of this fair is traced up to the time of Edward the Confessor, when Leofric, earl of Chester, among other grants in favour of the Abbey of St. Werburg, in that city, established a fair on the festival to the saint to whom it was dedicated, and in his honour ordained that the persons of whatever vagabonds, or even culprits, should assemble there during that solemnity, should be safe, provided they were guilty of no new offence.

Which special privilege, say the authors from whom I extract the following account (*l*), as in process of time it drew an extraordinary confluence of loose people thither at that season, so it happened to be of singular advantage to Randal, one of the succeeding earls ; who, in 1212, during the reign of King John, being suddenly besieged by the Welsh in Rhydland, or Rothelan Castle, in Flintshire, was relieved, rather by their number and appearance than prowess, under the conduct of Robert de Lacy, constable of Chester, who, with pipers and other kinds of minstrels assembled them together, and marching towards the castle, so terrified the Welsh that they instantly fled. " In memory of which notable exploit, that famous meeting of such minstrels hath been duly continued to every Midsummer fair, at which time the heir of Hugh de Dutton, accompanied with diverse gentlemen, having a penon of his arms born before him by one of the principal Minstrels, who also weareth his surtout, first rideth up to the east gate of the city, and there causing proclamation to be made that all the Musicians and Minstrels within the County Palatine of Chester do approach and play before him. Presently so attended he rideth to St. John's Church, and having heard Solemn Service, proceedeth to the place for keeping of his court, where the steward having called every Minstrel, impanelleth a jury, and giveth his charge: first, to enquire of any treason against the King or Prince (as Earl of Chester) ; secondly, whether any man of that profession hath ' exercised his Instrument ' without licence from the lord of that court, or what misdemeanour he is guilty of ; and thirdly, whether they have heard any language amongst their fellows, tending to the dishonour of their lord and patron, the heir of Dutton. Which privilege was anciently so granted by John de Lacy, Constable of Chester, son and heir to the before specified Roger, unto John de Dutton and his heirs, by a special charter in these words, *Magisterium omnia liccatorum et meretricum totius Cestrishire,* And hath been thus exercised time out of mind."

This privilege has been confirmed to the Dutton family in a statute so late as the 17th of George the II. cap. 5. where exceptions are made in favour of him and his heirs " concerning the liberty,

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(*l*) See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 42, 101. Sir Peter Leycester's Antiq. of Cheshire, part ii., chap. 6, but chiefly Daniel King's Vale Royal of Eng., illustrated, part ii. p. 29.

privilege, pre-eminence, authority, jurisdiction, or inheritance, which they, their heirs or assigns now lawfully use, or have, or lawfully may or ought to use within the county palatine of Chester, and county of Chester, or either of them, by reason of any ancient charters of any kings of this land, or by reason of any prescription or lawful usage or title whatsoever."

Dr. Plot, in his History of Staffordshire, has minutely related the origin and effects of another ancient and curious though barbarous privilege in favour of English Minstrels, granted by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, at his castle of Tutbury in the year 1381, at the inauguration of the first English King of the Minstrels (*m*).

The account is long, and yet I should be unwilling to abridge it, though I can but ill spare the room it will occupy.

" During the time of which ancient earls and dukes of Lancaster, who were ever of the blood royal, great men in their time, and had their abode, and kept a liberal hospitality here, at their honour of Tutbury, there could not but be a general concourse of people from all parts hither ; for whose diversion all sorts of Musicians were permitted likewise to come to pay their services ; amongst whom, being numerous, some quarrels and disorders now and then arising, it was found necessary, after a while, they should be brought under rules, divers laws being made for the better regulating of them, and a governour appointed them by the name of a KING, who had several officers under him to see the execution of those laws, full power being granted them to apprehend and arrest any such Minstrels appertaining to the said honour, as should refuse to do their services in due manner, and to constrain them to do them ; as appears by the charter granted to the said King of the Minstrels, by John of Gaunt, King of Castile and Leon, and Duke of Lancaster, bearing date the 22d of August, in the 4th year of the reign of King Richard II. entituled *Carta le Roy de Minstralae,* which being written in old French, I have here translated, and annexed it to this discourse, for the more universal notoriety of the thing, and for satisfaction how the power of the King of the Minstrels, and his officers is founded ; which take as follows:

" John, by the grace of God, King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, to all them who shall see or hear these our letters, greetings—Know ye, we have ordained, constituted, and assigned to our well-beloved the King of the Minstrels in our honour of Tutbury, who is, or for the time shall be, to apprehend and arrest all the Minstrels in our said honour and franchise, that refuse to do the services and Minstrelsy as appertain to them to do from ancient

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(*m*) Du Cange gives several more early instances of Minstrels having arrived at the honour of sovereignty in France: particularly *Jean Charmillons Rex Juglatotorum* at Troyes in Champagne, 1296. *Robert Cavaron, Roi des Menestriers du Royaume de France*, 1338; and others in 1357 and 1362. *Copin de Brequin Roi des Menestriers du Royaume de France. Computum de auxiliis pro redemptione Regis Johannis*, A.D. 1367. *Pour une COURONNE D'ARGENT quil donna le Jour de la Tiphaine au Roi des Menestriers.* And one about six years later than John of Gaunt's institution is mentioned in Rymer, tom. VII. p. 555, where John Caunz, King of the Minstrels, condescends to supplicate for leave to visit foreign countries.

times at Tutbury aforesaid, yearly on the days of the Assumption of our Lady ; giving and granting to the said King of the Minstrels for the time being, full power and commandment to make them reasonably to justify, and to constrain them to do their services, and Minstrelsies, in manner as belongeth to them, and as it hath been there, and of ancient times accustomed. In witness of which thing we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Given under our privy seal, at our castle of Tutbury, the 22d day of August, in the 4th year of the reign of the most sweet King Richard the II."

" Upon this, in process of time, the defaulters being many, and the amercements by the officers perhaps not sometimes over-reasonable, concerning which, and other matters, controversies frequently arising ; it was at last found necessary that a court should be erected to hear plaints, and determine controversies between party and party, before the steward of the honour, which is held there to this day on the morrow after the Assumption, being the 16th day of August ; on which day they now also do all the services mentioned in the abovesaid grant, and have the bull due to them anciently from the Prior of Tutbury, now from the Earl of Devon ; whereas they had it formerly on the Assumption of our Lady, as appears by an *Inspeximus* of King Henry the VI. relating to the customs of Tutbury, where amongst others, this of the bull is mentioned in these words: ' Item est ibidem quædam consuetudo quod histriones venientes ad matutinas in festa Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ, habebunt unum *Taurum* de Priore de Tuttebury, si ipsum capere possunt citra aquam Dove propinquiorem Tuttebury ; vel prior dabit eis 40d. proqua quidam consuetudine dabuntur domino ad dictum festum annuatim 20d.' i.e. that there is a certain custom belonging to the honour of Tutbury, that the Minstrels who came to Matins there on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, shall have a bull given them by the prior of Tutbury, if they can take him on this side of the River Dove, which is next Tutbury ; or else the prior shall give them 40d. for the enjoyment of which custom they shall give to the lord, at the said feast, yearly 20d.

" Thus, I say, the services of the Minstrels were performed, and privileges of the Bull enjoyed anciently on the feast of the Assumption ; but now they are done and had in the manner following: on the court day, or morrow of the Assumption, being the 16th of August, what time all the Minstrels within the honour come first to the bailiff's house of the manner of Tutbury (who is now the Earl of Devonshire), where the steward for the court to be holden for the King, as Duke of Lancaster (who is now the Duke of Ormond), or his deputy meeting them, they shall go from thence to the parish church of Tutbury, two and two together, music playing before them, the King of the Minstrels for the year past, walking between the steward and the bailiff, or their deputies ; the four stewards or under officers of the said King of the Minstrels, each with a white wand in their hands, immediately following them, and then the rest of the company in order. Being come to the church, the vicar reads them divine service, choosing psalms and lessons suitable to the occasion. The Psalms when I was there, An. 1680, being the 98th, 149th, 150th ; the first Lesson 2 Chron. V ; and the second the Vth. chap. of the Epistle to the Ephesians, to the 22d verse. For which service every Minstrel offered one penny, as a due always paid to the vicar of the church of Tutbury, upon this solemnity.

" Service being ended, they proceed in like manner as before from the church to the castle hall or court ; where the steward, or his deputy, taketh his place, assisted by the Bailiff or his deputy, the King of the Minstrels sitting between them ; who is to oversee that every Minstrel dwelling within the honour and making default, shall be presented and amerced ; which that he may the better do— An *O Yes*, is then made by one of the officers, being a minstrel, three times, giving notice by direction from the steward, to all manner of Minstrels dwelling within the honour of Tutbury, viz. within the counties of Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, and Warwick, owing suit and service to his Majesty's Court of Musick here holden as this day, that every man draw near and give his attendance upon pain and peril that may otherwise ensue ; and that if any man will be essoined of suit or plea, he, or they, should come in, and they should be heard. Then all the Musicians being called over by a court-roll, two juries are impanelled, out of twenty-four of the sufficientest of them, twelve for Staffordshire, and twelve for the other counties ; whose names being delivered in court to the steward, and called over; and appearing to be full juries, the foreman of each is sworn, and then the residue, as is usual in other courts upon the Holy Evangelists.—Then, to move them the better to mind their duties to the King, and their own good, the steward proceeds to give them their charge: first commending to their consideration the original of all music, both wind and string music, the antiquity and excellency of both, setting forth the force of it upon the affections, by divers examples ; how the use of it has always been allowed (as is plain from Holy Writ) in praising and glorifying God ; and the skill in it always esteemed so considerable, that it is still accounted in the schools one of the liberal arts, and allowed in all Godly Christian commonwealths ; where by the way he commonly takes notice of the statute, which reckons some Musicians amongst rogues and vagabonds, giving them to understand that such societies as theirs, thus legally founded and governed by laws are by no means intended by that statute, for which reason the Minstrels belonging to the manor of Dutton, in the county palatine of Chester, are expressly excepted in that act. Exhorting them upon this account, to preserve their reputation, to be very careful to make choice of such men to be officers amongst them, as fear God, are of good life and conversation, and have knowledge and skill in the practice of their art. Which charge being ended, the jurors proceed to the election of the said officers, the King being to be chosen out of the four stewards of the preceding year, and one year out of Staffordshire, and two out of Derbyshire, three being chosen by the jurors, and the four by him that keeps the court, and the deputy steward, or clerk.

"The jurors departing the court for this purpose, leave the steward with his associates still in their places, who in the mean time make themselves merry with a banquet, and a noise of musicians playing to them, the old King still sitting between the steward and bailiff as before ; but returning again after a competent time, they present first their chiefest officer by the name of their King ; then the old King arising from his place, delivereth him a little white wand in token of his sovereignty, and then taking a cup filled with wine, drinketh to him, wishing him all the joy, and prosperity in his office. In the like manner do the old stewards to the new, and then the old King riseth, and the new taketh his place, and so do the new stewards of the old, who have full power and authority by virtue of the king's steward's warrant, directed from the said court, to levy and destrain in any city, town corporate, or in any place within the king's dominions, all such fines and amercements as are inflicted by the said juries that day upon any Minstrel, for his or their offences, committed in the breach of any of their ancient orders made for the good rule and government of the said society. For which said fines and amercements so destrained or otherwise peaceably collected, the said stewards are accountable at every audit ; one moiety of them going to the King's majesty, and the other the said stewards have for their own use.

"The election, &c., being thus concluded, the court riseth, and all persons then repair to another fair room, within the castle, where a plentiful dinner is prepared for them, which being ended, the Minstrels went anciently to the abbey-gate, now to a little barn by the town-side, in acceptance of the Bull to be turned forth to them, which was formerly done (according to the custom above mentioned) by the prior of Tutbury, now by the Earl of Devonshire; which Bull, as soon as his horns are cut off, his ears cropt, his tail cut by the stumple, all his body smeared over with sope, and his nose blown full of beaten pepper; in short, being made as mad as it is possible for him to be. After solemn proclamation made by the steward that all manner of persons give way to the Bull, none being to come near him by forty feet, any way to hinder the Minstrels, but to attend his or their own safeties, every one at his peril. He is then forthwith turned out to them (anciently by the prior) now by the Lord Devonshire, or his deputy, to be taken by them, and none other, within the county of Stafford, between the time of his being turned out to them, and the setting of the sun the same day; which, if they cannot do, but the Bull escapes from them untaken, and gets over the river into Derbyshire, he remains still my Lord Devonshire's Bull; but if the said Minstrels can take him, and hold him so long, as to cut off but some small matter of his hair, and bring the same to the Mercat cross, in token they have taken him, the said Bull is then brought to the Bayliff's house in Tutbury, and there collared and roped, and so brought to the bull-ring in the high street, and there baited with dogs. The first course being allotted for the King; the second for the honour of the town; and the third for the King of the Minstrels; which after it is done, the said Minstrels are to have him for their own, and may sell or kill and divide him amongst them, according as they shall think good.

"And thus this rustic sport, which they call the bull-running, should be annually performed by the Minstrels only, but now-a-days they are assisted by the promiscuous multitude, that flock hither in great numbers, and are much pleased with it, though sometimes, through the emulation in point of manhood, that has been long cherished between the Staffordshire and Derbyshire men, perhaps as much mischief may have been done in the trial between them, as in the *Jeu de Taureau,* or bull-fighting, practised at Valentia, Madrid, and many other places in Spain, whence perhaps this our custom of bull-running might be derived, and set up here by John of Gaunt, who was King of Castile and Leon, and lord of the honour of Tutbury; for why might not we receive this sport from the Spaniards, as well as they from the Romans, and the Romans from the Greeks? Wherein I am the more confirmed, for that the *Ταυϱοϰαφηψηων ημεϱας* amongst the Thessalians, who instituted this game, and of whom Julius Cæsar learned it, and brought it to Rome, were celebrated much about the same time of the year our bull-running is, viz. *pridie Idus Augusti,* on the 12th of August; which perhaps John of Gaunt, in honour of the Assumption of our Lady, being but three days after, might remove to the 15th, as after-ages did (that all the solemnity and court might be kept on the same day, to avoid farther trouble) to the 16th of August." (*n*).

Every lover of Minstrelsy must shudder at the name of Edward the First,* who so cruelly extirpated the patriotic Bards of Wales; but patriots are at all times, perhaps, troublesome to kings, and this martial and political prince seems to have limited his persecution of Bards to the principality of Wales, for we are told that in England a MULTITUDE of MINSTRELS attended at his court at the solemn ceremony of knighting his son (*o*).

However, in 1315 [1316], during the reign of Edward the Second, such extensive privileges were claimed by the Minstrels, and so many dissolute persons assumed their character, that their conduct became a public grievance, which it was thought necessary to reform by the following express regulation, which a few years after was imitated in France (*p*).

(*n*) Plott's History of Staffordshire, chap. x. sect. 69.

(*o*) ——*Eodem die cum sedisset rex in mensa, novis militibus circumdatus, ingressa MINSTRELLORUM MULTITUDO, &c.* Vide Nic. Triveti Annale, Oxon. 1719, 8vo. p. 342.

(*p*) See above, p. 596.

* "The fabled massacre of the Welsh Bards is, as is well known, a poetical injustice to Edward's memory. . . . History, however, offers no hint of anything more than what may be termed fair and free fight."—Edmondstoune Duncan, *The Story of Minstrelsy* (*London,* 1907).

"Edward by the grace of God, &c. to sheriffes, &c. greeting. Forasmuch as . . . many idle persons, under colour of MINSTRELSY, and going in messages and other faigned business, have ben and yet be received in other mens houses to meate and drynke, and be not therewith contented yf they be not largely consydered with gyftes of the lordes of the houses, &c. . . . We wylling to restrayne suche outrageous enterprises and idlenes, &c. have ordeyned . . . that to the houses of prelates, earls, and barons none resort to meate and drynke, unlesse he be a Mynstrel, and of these Mynstrels that there come none except it be three or four MYNSTRELS OF HONOUR at the most in one day, unlesse he be desired of the lorde of the house. And to the houses of meaner men that none come unlesse he be desired; and that such as shall come so, holde themselves contented with meate and drynke, and with such curtesie as the maister of the house wyl shewe unto them of his owne good wyl, without their askyng of any thyng. And yf any one do against this ordinuance, at the firste tyme he to lose his MINSTRELSIE, and at the second tyme to forsweare his craft, and never to be receaved for a MYNSTREL in any house . . . Yeven at Langley the 6th day of August, in the 9th yere of our raigne (*q*)."

Stowe, in giving an estimate of the annual expences of the Earl of Lancaster about this time, assigns a very considerable sum for the liveries of the Minstrels (*r*).

The same writer (*s*) in giving an account of a mummery exhibition for the entertainment of the young Prince Richard, son to the Black Prince, on the Sunday before Candlemas, 1377, tells us that "in the night, one hundred and thirty citizens, disguised and well horsed, in a mummery, with sound of Trumpets, Sackbuts, Cornets, Shalmes, and other Minstrels, and innumerable torch lights of ware, rode from Newgate through Cheape, over the Bridge through Southwarke, and so to Kennington besides Lambeth, where the young prince remained with his mother, and the Duke of Lancaster, his uncle, the Earles of Cambridge, Hertford, Warwicke, and Suffolke, with divers other lords."

The instruments just mentioned, if well played, were suitable to a public *procession,* though they would be rather too powerful in a room; but a good Concert or Chorus might be made out from the vocal and instrumental parts mentioned in the Romanse of the *Squire of low Degree,* written before the time of Chaucer, and consequently about the period of Richard the Second's minority. The King of Hungary, in order to console his daughter for the loss of her paramour, says,

> Ye shall have *Harpe, Sautry,* and *Songe*
> And other mirthes you amonge.

(*q*) Hearne's Append. ad Lelandi Collectan. vol. vi. p. 36.

(*r*) Survey of London, edit. of 1618, p. 134. (*s*) P. 148.

And after promising her wine, sweetmeats, and field sports, returning to Music, he adds:

> Than shal ye go to your evensong
> With *Tenours* and *Trebles* among—
> Your quere nor *Organ* Songe shal want
> With *Countre* notè and dyscaunt
> The other halfe on Orgayns playing
> With young children ful fayn singing—

From these materials a Band and even Orchestra might be formed equal to the execution of almost every species of Composition where Violins are not wanted, especially as he afterwards throws in a couple of wind instruments: " the Trumpets and Claryowne."

So that we have now

Treble voices, *Counter-tenour,* and *Tenour,*
With the Harp, Psaltry, Trumpet, Clarion, and Organ, for accompaniment.

We are now arrived at an important period of English Literature, when CHAUCER, the father of our genuine poetry, augmented our vocabulary, polished our numbers, and enriched our knowledge with acquisitions from France and Italy, that were, perhaps, more useful to our country than the gold to Spain, which was poured into it by the first discoveries of Mexico and Peru. Literary plunder seems the most innocent kind of depredation that can be made upon our neighbours: as they are deprived of nothing but what they can well spare, and which it is neither dishonourable to lose, nor disgraceful to take.

It is in vain to dissemble the wretched state of our literature, arts, manufactures, and commerce, before the 16th century. So many ages had passed in subjection to the different powers which had invaded us from the continent: Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, enslaving us by turns, had found us other employments than the care of refining our language, or cultivating the arts of peace: and when we had freed ourselves from these chains, and might be said to have a language and king of our own, the fatal factions into which we were divided during the struggles between the houses of York and Lancaster stopped improvements in all the arts, except those of vengeance, carnage, and desolation!

This accounts for the slow progress of science and of every art which is fostered by tranquility, and matured by encouragement; and whoever looks into the history of printing in this country, will be surprised, and, if an Englishman, perhaps mortified, to find how few original works in our vernacular tongue issued from the press for more than fifty years after its invention: the chief part of the books that were printed by *Caxton* and *Wynken de Werde,* our first Typographers, being Latin, French, or Translation (*t*).

If the Romances of chivalry in verse and prose, which concern the story of Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, did not

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(*t*) See Amos's Typograph. Antiq. Lond. 1749.

come originally to us from France, but were carried thither by the fugitive Britons who took refuge in Armorica or Britany, I fear our Saxon ancestors in after-times had them back again from their Gallic neighbours, through the medium of the French language; for from our long dependance on France, from the Norman partiality, and indeed from the fashion of the times, which inclined all Europe to make the Romanse, or rising French language, the general vehicle of literature, almost all our early productions, particularly metrical Romances, were Translations from the French. But there is the less disgrace in this acknowledgement, as it has been the case with all other countries. The French themselves began to try their force in their own language by translations from the Latin, when it was just wearing out as a living language in their own country, as we did from French, under the like circumstances. The Germans have but lately formed themselves upon French models, from Translation; the Spaniards are now in the act. If our first literature was derived from France, our second was from Italy; and our third and that of the present times has been drawn from still purer sources, the classics; from which doubtless the most enlightened and polished nations of Europe are likewise drawing as well as ourselves. A literary intercourse with our neighbours will therefore be reciprocally useful, as long as these fountains are kept open and accessible. As I should be always ready to claim any depredations that had been made upon us by the French, so I shall ever be equally ready to acknowledge our obligations to them in the infancy of our literature, particularly our Poetry and Romances: and why should not every Englishman do it with equal alacrity? We are not at present in that kind of literary indigence which makes it an act of necessity to commit such petty larcenies as these: we are now in circumstances that not only enable us to be honest, but even generous: as works have been produced in our language, in almost every species of writing that the most learned nations of the world have been able to boast.

The most ancient of our poets perhaps that can be read with pleasure, is CHAUCER, who, as the candid Caxton says, "for his ornate wrytyng in our tongue, maye well have the name of a Laureat Poete; for to fore that he, by hys labour, embellyshyd, ornated, and made faire our Englishe, in thys royame was had rude speeche, and incongrue, as yet it appiereth by olde bookes, whyche at thys day ought not to have place, ne be compared emong ne to his beauteous volumes, and aournate wrytynges, of whom he made many bokes, and treatyces of many a noble historye, as wel in metre and ryme as in prose, and them so craftyly made, that he comprehended hys maters in short, quick, and hye sentences, eschewing prolygyte, castyng away the chaf of superfluyte, and shewyng the pyked grain of sentence, uttered by crafty and sugred eloquence (*u*)."

(*u*) See Ames's Account of the first edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, p. 55.

Indeed he was so superior to Gower, Lydgate, Occleve, and all his cotemporaries, and even successors, as low down as Spenser, for language, clearness, and versification, that his equal is not to be found; and for wit, humour, and other poetical excellencies, perhaps not till a much later period.

If we may judge of the estimation in which Music was held by our countrymen during the fourteenth century from the writings of Chaucer, it must have been at least equal to that of any other epoch of its history (*x*): for throughout his works, he never loses an opportunity of describing or alluding to its general use; and of bestowing it as an accomplishment upon the pilgrims, heroes, and heroines of his several tales and poems, whenever he can do it with propriety.

But as this venerable bard was frequently an imitator and translator of French and Italian writers, whose works have already been shewn to abound with passages relative to Music, both Vocal and Instrumental, some deduction should perhaps be made for what he says of it in stories not of his own invention, and where the scene is laid in foreign countries; however, in the Prologue to his Canterbury tales, as all the characters he so nicely delineates and discriminates are English, we may safely regard as national, and take to ourselves, all the virtues, vices, defects, and accomplishments, whatever they may be, with which he has invested them.

In Chaucer's description of the 'Squire, a young gentleman to whom he assigns every courtly qualification which was thought necessary to a man of the world, he tells us not only that

> *Singing* he was, or *floyting* all the day,

but

> He coudè songès make, and well endite,
> Juste (*y*) and eke dance, and wel pourtraie and write.

And as he ridicules the affectation of the dainty and finical, or as Dryden calls her, the *mincing* Prioress, throughout, her chanting does not escape:

> And she was clepèd Madame Eglantine,
> Ful wel she *sangè* the service divine,
> Entuned in hire *nose* ful swetèly.

The Monk, too, a jolly fellow, and great sportsman, seems to have a passion for no Music, but that of hounds, and his horse's bridle:

> And when he rode, men mighte his bridel here
> Ginge'ling in a whist'ling wind as clere,
> And eke as loud as doth the chapel belle. (*z*)

(*x*) Chaucer was born 1328 and died 1400.

(*y*) Fence.

(*z*) An ample account of this fashionable folly, which is now consigned to waggoners and carriers, is given in Mr. Warton's History of English poetry, vol. I. p. 164, and addit. to p. 208.

But then of his Mendicant Friar, whom he calls a *Limitour* (*a*), and whose arts of pleasing were such as rendered him an universal favourite, he says:

> And certainly he hadde a mery note,
> Wel coude he *singe* and *plaien on the Rote* (*b*).

This was not his only instrument, for

> —In his harping, when that he had *songe*
> His eyen twinkeled in his head aright
> As don the Starrès in a frosty night.

The Oxford Clerk indeed was so fond of books and study, that he loved Aristotle better, and his Philosophie,

> Than robès riche, or *Fidel* (*c*), or *Sautrie.*

There is not a line in our language perhaps more comprehensive and beautiful, than the last of this description:

> Souning in moral virtue was his speech,
> And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach.

He however makes his *Miller* a Musician.

> A *Baggèpipe* wel couthe he blowe and soun,
> And therewithal he brought us out of town.

The *Sompnour* and *Pardoner* are both singers. To the one Chaucer gives a coarse base voice, while the other, just come from Rome, without a beard, sings in Falset.

> A vois he had as smale as hath a Gote.—

And after telling us that he sung "Come hither love to me," which was probably the beginning of a favourite song at that time, he adds:

> This sompnour bare to him a stiff *bourdoun* (*d*)
> Was never *trump* of half so great a soun.

The poor scholar Nicholas, in the Miller's Tale, is a notable performer on the Psaltry. In speaking of his talents and possessions, Chaucer says,

> And all above there lay a gay *sautrie* (*e*),
> On which he made on nightès melodie,
> So swetèly, that all the chambre rong:
> And *Angelus ad Virginem* (*f*) he song.
> And after that he song *the Kingès note* (*g*);
> Full often blessed was his mery throte.

(*a*) A friar licensed to beg within a certain district.

(*b*) *It is the Lyra Mendicorum* of Kircher, the *Vielle* of the French, and the English Hurdy-Gurdy. See above, p. 594.

(*c*) See above p. 649. *Fidle* is a Saxon word of considerable antiquity, the present German name for a Fiddle or Violin is Geige.

(*d*) *Burdoun* is here used for the *Basepart,* and *Bourdon,* Fr., is still not only in use for the drone of a Bagpipe, whence the *burden* of a song, but for the *double Diapason,* or lowest stop in French and German Organs.

(*e*) The ancient Psaltry has been described Book i. p. 385, and delineated pl. V. No. 4. The modern is a kind of square *Dulcimer,* played sometimes with the naked fingers, and sometimes with quills.

(*f*) The angel's salutation to the virgin, Luke ii. 28. *Ave Maria,* &c.

(*g*) *The Chant Royal* was an appellation given to Poems on lofty subjects in the early times of Fr. Poesy.

The Parish Clerk's instruments, in the same Tale are worthy of his profession: He

Coud playen Songès on a smale *ribible* (*h*);
Therto he song sometime a loud *quinible* (*i*);
And as wel coud he play on a Giterne.

In the Pardonner's Tale, we have the first mention of the Lute, which I have met with in any English author:

In Flanders whilom was a Campagnie
Of yongè folk, that haunteden folie,
As hazard, riot, stewès and tavèrnes;
Whereas with Harpès, *Lutès*, and Gitèrnes,
They dance and play, &c.

The lute, however, appears in the Illumination of a MS. at Oxford, 1200. See (*m*) 2 Bodl. B. 264. And as the mere outline of this Tale is to be found in the *Cento Novelle Antiche* (*k*), we may suppose that instrument to have been then in common use in England (*l*).

What Chaucer says in the *Prioresses Tale* of the " Litel Scole of *Cristen Folk* " in Asia, where

—Children learned yere by yere
Swiche manere doctrine as men used there:
This is to say, to *singen* and to ride.—

Seems merely to imply, that the chants of the church were taught then in common with reading.

In the *Rime* of *Sire Thopas*, as Chaucer is manifestly ridiculing the marvellous tales of the ancient *Jongleours, Gestours,* and *Minstrels,* he speaks of music and musical instruments in the manner of the French fabliaux and romances cited above; and here he tells us, in very plain terms, that the King's jester was orginally neither a man of wit and humour (like Yorick) nor a Jack-pudding or buffoon (like the King's fool in Lear), but a *diseur,* an heroic story-teller, a relater of the *gestes,* deeds, and adventures of knights and illustrious champions.

Do come, he sayd, my *ministrales,*
And *gestours* for to *tellen tales.*—

In his *Nonnes Preestes Tale* of the Cock and the Fox, speaking of his hero, *Chaunticlere,* he tells us that

His vois was merrier than the mery *orgon* (*m*),
On massè days that in the churches gon.

(*h*) The diminutive of *Rebec,* a small viol with three strings.

(*i*) It seems as if this good Clerk had preserved the ancient manner of singing by 5ths, expressed by the verb *Quintoier.*

(*k*) *Nov.* lxxxii.

(*l*) It is again mentioned in the Manciple's Tale, V. 17217, Edit. of 1775.

(*m*) From *Organa,* Lat. and *Orgues,* Fr. The description of the cock's vocal abilities was probably intended as a sarcasm on the fine singers of the times.

Which is a proof that organs were very general in our abbeys and cathedrals at the latter end of the fourteenth century. Chaucer, could he have found a rhyme, would probably have written *Organs* in the plural, as the French still do, and as he himself has done in the second *Nonnes Tale*, which follows; where, in the History of St. CECILIA, we have the two following lines:

> And while that *Organs* maden melodie,
> To God alone thus in hire hert song she.

It was natural to expect, in the life of this titular and pious patroness of Music, that some farther mention would be made of her own performance, or at least protection of the art; but neither in Chaucer, nor in any of the Histories or legendary accounts of this saint which I have been able to consult, does any thing appear that can authorise the religious veneration which the votaries of Music have so long paid to her; nor is it easy to discover whence it has arisen. Chaucer's account is almost literally translated from the life of St. Cecilia, in the *Legenda Aurea* of *Jacobus Januensis*. Bede in his Ecclesiastical History (*n*), mentions her church at Rome, as the place where Vilbrod was ordained Pope in 696; and in his Martyrology, he tells us, that her intended spouse, Valerian, and his brother Tiburtius, suffered martyrdom in the time of the Emperor Alexander Severus. Mabillon (*o*) has proved, that the festival of this saint was celebrated in France before the time of Charlemagne, by a *Gallican* Missal, which he has published, and which must have been in use before the Gregorian chant was received in that country (*p*). Fortunatus of Poitiers, (*q*) the most ancient author who speaks of her, says, that she died, or rather suffered martyrdom in Sicily. Fortunatus wrote at the end of the sixth century; but even this was at too remote a period from that in which tradition tells us the saint lived, as Alexander Severus reigned from 194 to 211.

There was a great Festival at Rome in 1599, during the pontificate of Clement VIII. for the finding the body of St. Cecilia among other relics. Cardinal Baronius, who was himself a witness of this Transaction, has left an ample account of it (*r*).

But to return to Chaucer: in his *Persones Tale*, the good priest says, " Wel may that man that no good werk ne doth, sing this new Frenshe song, *J'ay tout perdu mon temps, et mon labour.*"

What where the other lines of the song, or by whom it was written or composed, the commentators do not inform us, though Chaucer has introduced the same initial verse in his Balade to

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(*n*) Lib. v. cap. 2.

(*o*) *De Liturgia Gallicana*, p. 175.

(*p*) Cardinal Bona, *De divina Psalmod*, says, that the MS. of this Mass, which was in the possession of the late Christina, Queen of Sweden, had belonged to the learned Patavius, and was written in the ninth century, as was discovered by the learned from the square form of the letters and the capitals.

(*q*) Lib. vii. cap. 4.

(*r*) *Voyez la Vie des Saints*, Tom. 3t. 3 Edit. fol. p. 369. Par. 1715.

Fortune: however it was doubtless well known at the time, or he would not have made so grave and respectable a character point it out to such a mixed company as the pilgrims he has assembled together.

Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose*, is only a Translation of a part of the celebrated allegorical and satyrical Poem, called, *le Roman de la Rose*, which was begun by William de Lorris, who, according to Fauchet, died about the year 1260, and finished by Jean de Meun about 1310 (*s*). His account therefore of the Music which he heard in the gardens of *Mirth*, v. 763, however ample, is not applicable to England. But a passage occurs which is not very favourable to the Music of France, and for which it is difficult to account, as it is not to be found in the original; for after describing a very gay dance to the Carol of *Gladness*, he says:

> There mightest thou se these Flutours,
> Minstrallis and eke Jugèlours
> That wel to singing did their pain
> Some songen *songès of Loraine*;
> For in Loraine their Notès be
> Ful sweter than in this Contrè.

What reason the Bard had for his partiality to the songs of Lorraine, I know not; as neither the national Music of that Country, nor the superior learning and abilities of its Musicians at any period of time, has ever arrived at my knowledge.

In his Troilus and Cresseide, Chaucer (*t*) advising the timid lover to send his Mistress a letter, gives an excellent lesson, both to him and the *Musician*, against prolixity and repetition.

> —And if thou write a godely word all soft,
> Tho' it be gode, reherce it not too oft.
> For though that the best Harper upon live,
>   Would on the bestè sounid jolly Harpe,
> That evir was, with all his fingirs five,
>   Touche aie o string, or aie o warble Harpe, (*u*)
>   Were his nailis poincted never so sharpe,
>   It shuldè makin every wight to dull,
>   To hear his gle, and of his strokis full.

It has been observed (*x*) that this Poem, though almost as long as the Æneid, was intended to be *sung to the Harp*, as well as read:

> And redde whereso thou be, or ellis *songe* (*y*).

(*s*) The original consists of 22734 lines, of which John de Meun was author of only the first 4149. Chaucer's whole translation is comprised in 7698 verses.

(*t*) L. 2. v. 1028.

(*u*) To keep always thrumming the same string, or harping upon the same passage. In this stanza the verb rhimes to the substantive.

(*x*) Hist. Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 388.

(*y*) L. ult v. 1796.

Though no English Music in parts is preserved, so ancient as the time of Chaucer, yet by the manner in which he describes a Concert of Birds (*z*) *full services* seem then to have been common.*

And everiche song in his wise
The most swete, and solempne *servise*
By note, that evir man I trowe
Had herde, for some of 'hem *songe lowe,*
Some *high,* and *all of one accorde.*—

In the third Book of his *House of Fame,* Chaucer bestows near sixty lines in describing Music, Musicians, and Musical Instruments (*a*): The whole passage is curious to a Musical enquirer, and deserves a comment: but it would occupy more space than can be spared in this chapter, of which poetical concerns have perhaps already had too considerable a share. I shall, therefore, only add a few words on his Songs, or *Balades*, which must have been originally intended for Music. And though many short poems of this kind were ascribed to him, which it would be difficult to prove of his writing, yet he tells us himself (*b*) that he had made

Many an Hymnè, for your holy daies
That highten *balades, rondils, virelaies,*—
—And hath made many a *ley,* and many a thing.

Both Gower, his Master, and Lydgate, his scholar, speak of his songs of various kinds; and Gower puts the following eulogium of his Love Songs into the mouth of Venus:

Of *Ditees* and of *Songès* glade,
The which he for my sakè made,
The Londe fulfilled is over all (*c*).—

And Lygate, in the prologue to his Translation of the *Fall of Princes,* has the following stanza on his songs:

This saied Poete my Master in his dayes
Made and compiled ful many a fresh Ditè,
Complaintès, *Ballades, Roundels,* Virelaies ;
Ful delectable to herin and to se,
For which men shulde of right and equitè.
Sith he of English in *making* was the best,
Pray em to God to yeve his soul good rest.

(*z*) Dream of Chaucer, v. 391.

(*a*) See Urry's Edit. p. 466, from v. 107 to 164.

(*b*) Legende of Gode Women, v. 422.

(*c*) *Confessio amant.*

* There is a number of pieces of English music in parts. The Rota *Sumer is icumen in* was, of course, known to Burney, but he puts the date of this work much later than is now accepted. Apart from this there may be mentioned a beautiful "*Salve virgo* in 3 parts and also the *Angelus ad virginem* which Chaucer mentions in the Canterbury Tales (The Prologue). Both these are given in the Oxford History of Music, Vol. I., pp. 166 and 311.

In the Cambridge University MS. 1354 (Ff. vi. 16) and MS. 1940 (Kk. i. 6) there are some pieces for three voices and in the Bodleian Library (MS. 7E, Musæo) there is a piece in four parts. The date of these MSS. is about the middle of the 14th cent.

See Sir John Stainer's *Early Bodleian Music* for further examples.

Stowe collected many of the Ballads that went under Chaucer's name, which were printed in the edition of 1561 ; and John Shirley, in 1440, made a large collection of Songs, by Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and others, which are still extant in the Ashmolean Collection at Oxford ; (*d*) but none of the tunes to these are preserved ; nor have I ever been so fortunate as to meet with a single tune to an English Song, or Dance, in all the Libraries and MSS. which I have consulted, so ancient as the 14th century (*e*). *Musical Tracts*, indeed, and Ecclesiastical *Chants* abound of that and a still higher period ; but till the beginning of the 15th century, all our secular music has perished.* However, if we may judge by what has escaped the ravages of time, of a later date, the loss of our musical compositions of this period may be supported without much affliction. We may perhaps heighten that affliction considerably by censuring modern refinements, and extolling the charms of ancient simplicity ; but simplicity in melody, beyond a certain limit, is unworthy of the name that is bestowed upon it, and encroaches so much upon the rude and savage boundaries of uncouthness and rusticity, as to be wholly separated from proportion and grace, which should alone characterise what is truly simple in all the arts: for though they may be ennobled by the concealment of labour and pedantry, they are always degraded by an alliance with coarse and barbarous nature.

All our early poets, and Chaucer particularly, seem to have received great pleasure from the music of their time, whatever it was, and never lose an opportunity of describing its beauties and effects (*f*); but *Examples* of the melodies of our old Songs, our popular tunes, and our counterpoint, if we had them to exhibit, would give the musical reader a more perfect idea of their merit, than all that the most minute descriptions can do, either in prose or verse. Such examples are, however, very difficult to find ; and when found, still more difficult to decypher.

At the coronation of Henry V. in 1413, we hear of no other instruments than harps: but one of that prince's historians (*g*) tells us, that their number in the hall was prodigious. Henry, however, though a successful hero, and a conqueror, did not seem to take the advantage of his claim to praise ; and either was so modest, or so tasteless, as to discourage and even prohibit the poets and

(*d*) A Boke cleped the Abstracte Brevyarie, compyled of divers balades, roundels, virelays, tragedyes, envoys, complaintes, moralities, &c., collected by John Shirley. Ashmol, 59, ii. vide Tann. Biblioth. p: 668.

(*e*) Mr. Warton, Hist. Eng. Poet vol. i. p. 26, has given a very ample account of a MS. collection of the most ancient songs in our language, which is preserved in the British Museum. MSS. Harl. 2253, but without Music.

(*f*) See Chaucer's Contention between *the Cuckow and the Nightingale*, and *the Flower and the Leaf*, besides the Poems already mentioned, for passages concerning Music.

(*g*) *Thomæ de Elmham Vit. et Gest.* Hen. V. edit. Hearne, Oxon, 1727, cap. xii. p. 23.

* In *Music of early times*, edited by W. Apel (Schott and Co., Ltd.) there are two 1400 century dance tunes from the Robertsbridge Codex [B.M. Add. MS. 28550]. The Douce MSS. (*Bodleian Lib.*) contains a 13th cent. dance tune, and in the MS. which has *Sumer is i-cumen in*, there is a piece which appears to be a dance tune.

musicians from celebrating his victories, and singing his valiant deeds. When he entered the city of London, after the Battle of Agincourt, the gates and streets were hung with tapestry, representing the history of ancient heroes ; and children were placed in temporary turrets, to sing verses. But Henry, disgusted at these vanities, commanded, by a formal edict, that for the future, no songs should be recited by Harpers, or others, in honour of the recent victory (*h*). It seems, however, the business of a hero, after becoming a subject of praise, to receive it with a good grace ; and Poetry and Music are perhaps never better employed than in expressions of national joy and gratitude for the safety of the state, and defeat of its foes, by which tranquillity is restored, and attention secured to the arts of peace.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that in spite of Henry's edicts, and prohibitions, the only English song of so early a date, that has come to my knowledge, of which the original music has been preserved, is one that was written on his victory at Agincourt in 1415. It is preserved in the Pepysian Collection at Magdalen College, Cambridge, and has been printed in the second volume of the Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. The transcribers of ancient MSS. seem in general to have been utterly ignorant of Music, and so indifferent as to the place and form of Notes as to have made them unintelligible ; and indeed, though I made a journey to Cambridge, in order to see the original Music of the song which had been transcribed for the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, it was not till after I had tried to write it many different ways that I was able to disentangle the parts, and form it into a score (*i*).

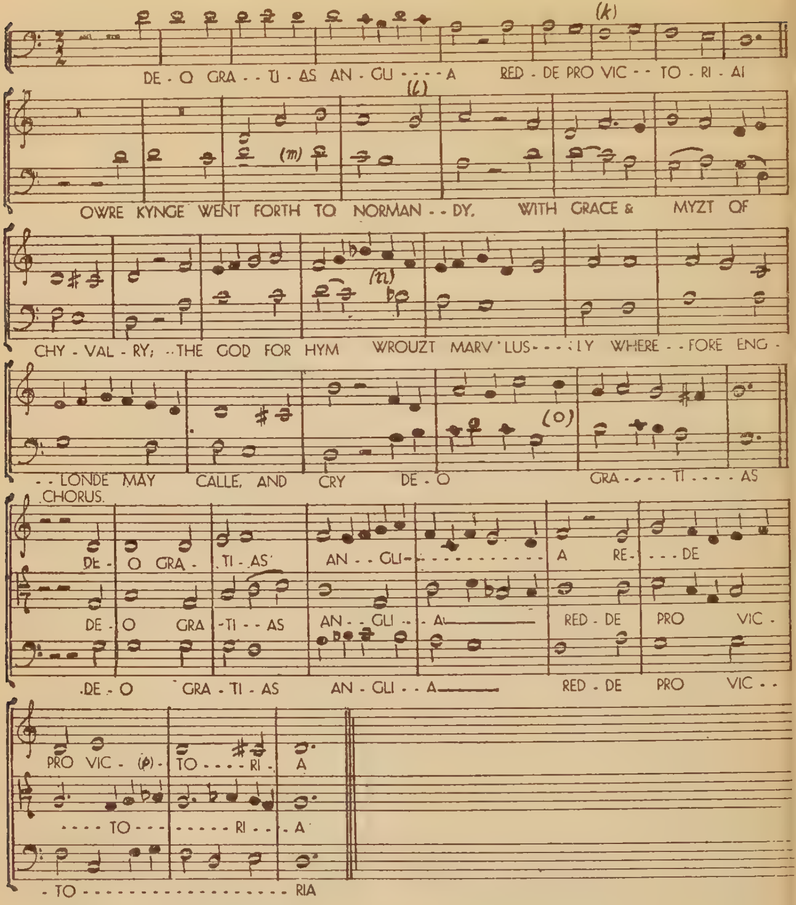
The Copy in the Pepysian Collection is written upon Vellum in Gregorian Notes, and can be little less ancient than the event which it recorded. There is with it a paper which shews that an attempt was made in the last century to give it a modern dress ; but too many liberties have been taken with the melody, and the drone base which has been set to it for the Lute is mere jargon. I shall therefore present my reader with a faithful copy of this venerable relic of our nation's prowess and glory, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, from which we are perhaps entitled to more honour than from the poetry and Music with which they were then celebrated.*

(*h*) *"Cantus de suo triumpho fieri, seu per Citharistas, vel alios quoscunque, Cantari, penitus prohibebat."* ib. p. 71. And *Hærnii Præfat* p. xxix. seq. § viii. See also Hollingsh. Chron. iii. p. 556, col. i. 40.

(*i*) Since my journey to Cambridge, Mr. Stafford Smith has given an accurate copy of this composition in his "Collection of ancient English Songs, for three and four voices in score," which, if I had been so fortunate as to have seen before I visited the University, would have saved me much trouble. Indeed, specimens of Musical compositions at such an early period, are so scarce, and this in particular seems so much to belong to my subject, that a History of English Music would be deficient without it; and scrupulously to omit all that has previously been published by others, would be reducing my book to a mere *Supplement*. All I can promise is not to copy with servility, or without examining the original sources of their acquisitions with my own eyes, which will sometimes perhaps see them in a different light, and occasion a difference of opinion. The greatest difficulty, till the end of the fifteenth century, is to *find* Examples of Composition, which, in the next century, will be so encreased as to perplex by their multiplicity.

* The MS. in the Pepysian Collection has been lost, but Mr. Fuller Maitland has demonstrated that it was an incomplete copy from a MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge.

SONG on the Victory obtained at Agincourt, 1415.


(k)
DE - O GRA - - TI - AS AN - GLI - - - - A RED - DE PRO VIC - - TO - RI - AI
(l)
(m)
OWRE KYNGE WENT FORTH TO NORMAN - - DY. WITH GRACE & MYZT OF
(n)
CHY - VAL - RY; - THE GOD FOR HYM WROUZT MARV'LUS - - - - LY WHERE - - FORE ENG -
(o)
- - LONDE MAY CALLE, AND CRY DE - O GRA - - - - TI - - - - AS
CHORUS.
DE - O GRA - TI - AS AN - - GLI - - - - - - - - - - - - - - A RE - - - - DE
DE - O GRA - TI - - AS AN - - GLI - - - A RED - DE PRO VIC -
DE - O GRA - TI - AS AN - GLI - - A RED - DE PRO VIC - -
PRO VIC - (p) - TO - - - - RI - A
- - - - TO - - - - - - - - RI - - - A
- TO - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - RIA

He sette a sege, the sothe to say,
To Harflue town, with royal array,
That toune he wan, and made a fray,
That Fraunce shall rywe tyl domes day.
Deo gratias, &c.

Than for sothe that knyzt comely,
In Agincourt feld fauzt manly,
Thorow grace of God most myzty,
He had bothe felde, and victory.
Deo gratias, &c.

(*k*) It would have answered the expectation of a modern ear better, if this and the next F had been sharp.

(*l*) A sharp seems wanting to this G.

(*m*) I ventured to make this note d, upon a supposition, that it had been written C in the Pepys Copy, by a mistake of the scribe.

(*n*) The composition in this place is very incorrect, there being a succession of three fifths between the voice part and the accompaniment; but I can discover nothing in the manuscript to authorise a change.

(*o*) I ventured to correct this passage, as the present reading in the old copy must have been offensive at every period of counterpoint.

(*p*) Though the flats are omitted in the counter-tenor part of this line, yet I have ventured to insert them, as they seem as necessary here as in the Base.

Then went owre kynge, with all his oste.
Thorowe Fraunce for all the Frensshe boste;
He spared for drede of Leste, ne most
Till he come to Agincourt coste.
Deo gratias, &c.

Ther dukys, and earlys, lorde, and barone,
Were take, and slayne, and that wel sone,
And some were ledde into Lundone,
With joye, and merth, and grete renone.
Deo gratias, &c.

Now gracious God he save owre kynge,
His peple, and all his well wyllinge;
Gef him gode lyfe, and gode endynge,
That we with merth may safely synge.
Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria.

The number of tracts that were written on the subject of music, from the time of John de Muris to the middle of the fifteenth century, is so considerable, as not only to make us believe that it was in great favour, but incline us to expect more perfection than we find in the specimens of composition that have been preserved.

The *Speculum Musicæ* of John de Muris, which is only to be found in the king of France's library at Paris, is a treatise so ample, that I shall step back a little, in order to give my readers a more satisfactory account of it than I was able to do when I mentioned it before, as I have procured large extracts from it, and a complete table of its contents, since I closed the article in the preceding chapter concerning this celebrated and voluminous musical writer ; and shall be the more minute in my account of this scarce MS. as it seems to have been the ground work of all the musical treatises that were produced by others writers, till the time of Franchinus Gaforius, in the latter end of the fifteenth century.

This work, which is written on vellum, in folio, contains six hundred pages. The first sentence of the original is, "*Libro tertio de Philosophica Consolatione Boetius volens reddere Causam,*" &c. It is divided into seven books: the first of which treats of the invention of music, and of its divisions, and contains seventy-six chapters ; the second, of musical intervals, an hundred and twenty-three ; the third, of harmonics, or musical proportion, fifty-six; fourth, of concords and discords, fifty-one; fifth, of the ancient tetrachords, division of the monochord, and doctrines of Boethius, fifty-two chapters ; sixth, of the modes and notation of the ancients, of the changes made in their system by Guido, and of the ecclesiastical tones, one hundred and thirteen. Book the seventh, of measured music ; of discant, in treating of which he has the chapter *de ineptis Discantoribus,* part of which has been given in the preceding chapter ; of the time-table, moods or divisions of Time, of the folly of placing a tail to the semibreve, by which he seems to mean the minim, without naming it ; of perfect and imperfect measures ; and lastly. a parallel between ancient and modern music, which occupies the last five of the forty-five chapters into which this book is divided, the concluding sentence of which is "*Exempli causa describere tibi volo quorum figuræ sunt in hoc ordine consequentes.*

Explicit Tractatus Musica, Magistri
Johannis de Muris."

Notwithstanding all the nice and subtle divisions and subdivisions of his seven books into nine hundred and seventeen chapters, the practical musician would at present profit but little from the study of them, as almost all the doctrines contained in the first five books are speculative, and such as may be found in Ptolemy, Boethius, and other ancient authors, whom almost all the musical writers of later times have copied in pure pedantry, without understanding themselves what they read, and, consequently, without conveying any useful science to their readers by what they have written. It is only in the two last books that de Muris condescends to speak of the *Practical Music* of his own times: in the sixth book he treats of the Ecclesiastical Tones, Notation, and Chants, which John Cotton and Walter Odington had done before ; and in the seventh he defines *Cantus Mensurabilis,* Discant, Moods, Characters of the different duration of Sounds, as the *Long, Breve, Semi-breve,* and their perfection and imperfection. Here he employs several chapters in refuting such as have disputed his doctrines ; and lastly, he draws a parallel between the Music of the ancients and that of the Moderns, in order to ascertain their several degrees of perfection.

It is in mere charity to the curious in Musical Antiquities that I have bestowed so much pains in examining and describing this Book; which, though of difficult access, and more difficult perusal, might tempt them from the celebrity of the Author, to explore its dark regions, and impair their eyes and patience in search of scientific treasures, which it does not contain.

A very curious collection of Musical Tracts was preserved among the MSS. of the Cotton library; but unfortunately they were nearly destroyed by a fire which happened in 1731, while Ashburnham House was its repository. Of this collection, consisting of seven treatises in Latin, the late Dr. Pepusch had luckily procured copies, which are now lodged in the British Museum, as are fragments of the originals (*q*).

I shall not be very diffuse in my account of these MSS. as the chief part of the doctrines they contain, has already been considered in speaking of the writings of Guido, Franco, Walter Odington, and others, which are still more ancient. The insertion and explanation of rules which are no longer worth adopting, and upon which scarce any of the Music was composed which is now subsisting, would be swelling my volume with that, which if any one had patience to peruse, could afford neither profit nor pleasure; and for which the highest reward I could hope, would be the pity of my readers, for not having found in all my researches any thing better to give them. Unfortunately it was not here the custom for writers on Music, to illustrate their rules with examples of Composition, either by themselves or others; and this omission has rendered almost every Treatise produced before the sixteenth century, equally dry and unprofitable with those which are come down to us of the ancient Greeks and Romans. A commentary

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(*q*) See in the Cat. Dr. Smith's Description of *Tiberius,* Book IX. The compiler of these Tracts is unknown, but the time when they were transcribed is ascertained by the Scribe himself in a note at the end of the first tract: ***Expliciunt Regulæ cum additionibus; finitæ die Veneris proxima ante Pentecost, anno Domini millesimo tricentisimo vicesimo sexto, et cætera, Amen.***

therefore upon such works, whatever idea it may impress of an author's erudition and patience, would be very likely to fright a reader from attempting the perusal of more interesting and intelligible parts of the book in which it is inserted, upon a supposition that the sequel will be equally dark and unintelligible.

Of such musical MSS. therefore as are in our own public libraries, and of easy access, I shall give a less minute account than of others preserved on the Continent, which but few may have opportunities of consulting. However, though it is my business to spare no trouble myself, it is incumbent upon me to give my readers as little as possible; I shall therefore point out the road to such tracts as are most scarce and valuable, in order that those who wish to know more of their contents than the limits of my work will allow me to give, may themselves be enabled to consult the originals.

Among the transcripts from the Cotton MS. No. I. which is a Commentary upon Franco, by Handlo, has been already described (*r*); a considerable part of this tract is still legible in the ancient Copy (*s*).

II. *Tractatus diversarum Figurarum per quas dulcibus modis discantantur*. This is a compendium apparently of the doctrines of John de Muris; but in the old copy it was called *Tractatus de Musica, incerto authore*. Here the black Minim in the Lozenge form appears.

III. *Pr.* "*Pro aliquali Notitia de Musica habenda.*" This Tract, which is of a considerable length, is likewise anonymous. The author imitates Boethius, as most musical writers have done down to the good Padre Martini, in the division of Music into Mundane, Humane, and Instrumental, as well as in several other particulars. This Author uses the same kind of literal notation as Guido, in his Micrologus, before lines were applied to the Ecclesiastical Characters. We find in it the ♮ and ♭ Hexachords; and Harmonic hand, with diagrams of the Mutations, seemingly taken from a treatise in the Bodleian Library, intitled *Quatuor principalia Artis Musicæ,* of which a farther account will be given below. He compares the Minim to a Unit, as the beginning of measured time; tells us that Vitriaco was the most famous musician in the whole world; and speaks of the *Semiminim or Crutchetam* as a useless innovation, which he had rejected. We have here an explanation of the *Plicæ, Ligatures,* and six Moods, in imitation, as he says, of the Roman School, but little differing from those of Franco (*t*). However this author confesses, that the five Moods of Franco, and the six which he exhibits in his work, are all reducible to two. the perfect and imperfect; or to those as they are now called of triple and common time. The point is mentioned by this author as of common use; and the thirds and sixths are both denominated imperfect Concords. The fourth he ranks among perfect Concords; though he agrees with the present age in thinking that it has not a

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(*r*) P. 543. (*s*) *Tiberius,* B. IX. (*t*) See p. 535.

good effect when used by itself, and requires more than two parts to be admitted in composition. He forbids the use of Discords, which proves that their laws were not yet established. He gives rules for Discant, or extemporaneous Harmony; for written Harmony; and speaks of the Organ as an Instrument necessary in the Cantus Ecclesiasticus. The Hocket is described, either as a rest or cutting a note short, without accelerating the general measure. *Staccato, Sciolto,* seem to correspond with this term more than a rest; for why should a rest in an inward part offend?* And it was severely censured by grave churchmen about this time (*u*).

IV. The next Tract in the Cotton MS. is likewise one of three Musical Treatises contained in another volume of the British Museum, which formerly belonged to the Monks of St. Edmonsbury (*x*). It begins *Cognita Modulatione secundum viam octo Troporum et secundum usum et consuetudinem fidei Catholicæ.* Of this Tract, which treats very amply of the Cantus Mensurabilis, and of the chief parts of practical Music then known, the Author is not named. By the eight tropes he does not mean the eight modes, or tones of the Church, but eight moods with respect to time. The author clearly explains the term Organum to imply the harmonical accompaniment to a chant, as it has been already often defined in this volume; Discant, Triples, Quadruples, and Copulæ, are treated of in the same manner as by former writers; but of Discord he is rather more explicit than his predecessors, for he says, that many good Composers of Hymns, Antiphons, and Organic Parts, use discords instead of concords, particularly the Musicians of Lombardy.

V. Consists only of fragments or detached extracts from an entire treatise. It begins *Sequitur de Sinemenis,* and explains the manner in which the Synemmenon Tetrachord is formed. Here the author speaks of a cross being put to F to obviate the false fifth between that sound and B. This has been thought the first time that a sharp has been used; But *Marchetto da Padua* 200 years before had used the same expedient. The first sharp was only a square ♮, whence B *quadrum;* then a line was drawn on each side ♯ (*y*). This character, and the round b, were used for *Musica Ficta,* which was another name for Transposition from the natural scale into such keys as required sounds different from those which the three hexachords furnished (*z*).

(*u*) See above, p. 512.

(*x*) Bibl. Reg. xii. cap. vi. 5, 3.

(*y*) *Prosdocimo* and *Marchetto* use this mark with four points in the middle, for a sharp ♮, and the latter sometimes this ♯.

(*z*) This was likewise long called *Musica falta finta, Colorata, Congiunta, alterata.* See above, p. 518. And as the Ecclesiastical chants are all confined to such sounds as the different species of Octave in the key of C or A natural can supply, it is still thought licentious in the Romish Church to compose in such keys as require flats and sharps: a restraint that long extended to secular Music.

* The Hocket was a rest during the singing of a word.

VI. Is a short tract in which no new doctrines appear; it begins *Est autem unisonus quando duæ voces manente uno et eodem loco sive uno et eodem sono*; and treats in a summary way of Consonances, Discant, and Solmization: illustrating the doctrines advanced by examples in Notes.

VII. The last Tract beginning *Cum in isto tractatu de Signis sive de Notis quæ sunt et de earum proprietatibus*, &c. is chiefly confined to time, Measure, or the relative proportions of such notes as were then in use. There are duplicates of this and the preceding tract in the volume already mentioned (*a*). Minims appear in this fragment; and at the end there is an old French Song in two parts: *Faus semblant tiel estes vous,* already inserted in the present chapter (*b*). The words *Hæc Odyngtonus,* written at the back of this Tract in the Cotton Collection, has inclined many to believe that Walter Odington, of whom an account has already been given, was the author of it; but they mean nothing more than that the doctrine of Walter of Evesham had been followed by the author: as *Secundum Guidonem—Johannem de Muris—Franconem,* &c. has been found to have the same meaning.

The most considerable Musical Tract which I have been able to find of nearly the same date as the Cotton MS. is a Treatise in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (*c*), entitled *Quatuor principalia Artis Musicæ,* which has been ascribed to several authors. As this work is written with more clearness and precision, and is of a greater length than any other that was produced in the fourteenth century, except the *Speculum Musices* of John de Muris, I was very desirous to discover by whom it was written. Anthony Wood (*d*) ascribes it to Thomas Tewksbury, a Franciscan of Bristol, to whom it is likewise given in the Oxford Catalogue of MSS. for no other reason that is easy to discover, but that the name of Tewksbury occurs on an outside leaf. However, there a testimonial at the end of the Table of Contents, which has helped to fix the work upon an author of the name of Tewksbury; but this is *John* of Tewkesbury, a Friar; who seems only to have presented the book called the four principles of Music to the Minor Friars of Oxford, by the Authority and consent of Master Thomas of Kingsbury, then *Magister* of all England, in the year 1388 (*e*). As no person of the name of Tewkesbury appears in the list of English Musicians or Musical Writers, if we were reduced to conjecture it might be imagined from the similarity of names, that John Torksey, a Musical Author of the same period, had been corrupted into John Tewkesbury: but there is no occasion for such an expedient, nor for adopting the opinion of Bishop Tanner, who assigns it to

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(*a*) *Tractatus Musici,* 3 Bibl. Reg. xii. cap. vi. 6. 182. (*b*) P. 616.

(*c*) Digby 90. (*d*) Hist. and Antiq. Oxon, Lib. ii. p. 5.

(*e*) *Ad informationem scire volentibus principia Artis Musicæ, istum Libellum qui vocatur Quatuor principalia Musicæ, Frater* Johannes de Teukesbury *contulit comitatui Fratrum Minorum Oxoniæ, auctoritate et assensu Fratris Thomæ de Kyngusbury Magistri tunc Magistri Angliæ. Anno Domini* 1388. This advertisement ends, as usual, by anathematising any one who shall sacrilegiously steal the MS. from the said Minor Friars.

Dr. John Hambois, a writer on Music, who flourished more than a century after the time when it appears from the testimony of the Scribe himself, that the Oxford MS. was finished.*

There is however among the MSS. at Oxford, another Volume of Musical Tracts (*f*), which has not been sufficiently examined by any of the Catalographers who have mentioned it: for upon a careful perusal and collation, I find in it, besides two other Tracts, by Simon Tunstede, or Tustede, a duplicate of the *Quatuor Principalia,* attributed by some to Thomas or John of Tewksbury, and by others to Hambois; and as no doubt is thrown upon Tunstede having been the author of the two first tracts in this volume, it seems as if we might venture, without hesitation or doubt, to assign him this ample, and, for the time when it was written, excellent treatise. That Simon Tunstede was a man of Science, and an able Musician, as well as a Doctor of Divinity, appears at the end of MS. Digby, 90 (*g*). Pits, Bale, Tanner, and all our Biographical writers speak of him as a learned Musician, and Pits enumerates the *Quatuor Principalia* among his writings (*h*).

The title of the Tracts in the Oxford Catalogue of MSS. has occasioned the great diversity of opinions about the writer of the *Quatuor Principalia*; for No. 515, is entitled *De Musica continua et discreta, cum Diagrammatibus, per* Simonem Tunstede, A.D. 1351. However, in the beginning of the volume, the author proposed to treat *De Quatuor principalibus in quibus tocius Musica radices consistunt,* &c. which exactly agrees with the other MS. and there is no difference from the beginning to the end, except in the omission of a kind of prologue, or argument to the work, which appears in the Tract ascribed to Tewkesbury (*i*), beginning *Quemadmodum inter triticum,* and is omitted in that to which the name of Tunsted is prefixed (*k*).

What the author calls the Four Principals of Music will best appear from his own manner of dividing the work. In the first part or principal, consisting of nineteen chapters, he treats of Music in general, its constituent Parts and Divisions. II. of its Invention, Intervals, and Proportions, twenty-four chapters. III. of Plain Chant, and the Ecclesiastical Modes, fifty-eight chapters. IV. of

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(*f*) Bodl. 515.

(*g*) After saying that the book was finished in 1351, we have the following passage: *Ille autem anno regens erat inter Minores* Oxoniæ *Fratres,* Simon de Tunstede, *Doctor Sacræ Theologiæ, qui in Musica pollebat, et eciam in septem liberalibus artibus.*

(*h*) *De illust. Angl. Script.* Simon Tunsted, a Franciscan Friar, born at Norwich, was in such favour for his learning and piety, as to be unanimously chosen Provincial Master of all England. He died at Bruzard in Suffolk, in 1369.

(*i*) Digby 90.

(*k*) Bodl. 515.

* The only work which is now ascribed to Hamboys is the "*Summa super musicam continuam et discretum* (*B.M. Add. MSS.* 8866). It is a commentary upon the work of the two Francos and was written probably about 1450.

The *Quatuor principalia* is usually attributed to Tunstede, who flourished in the 14th cent. It is preserved in three MSS.:

(i) Bodleian MS. No. 515;
(ii) Bodleian MS. Digby 90;
(iii) B.M. Add. MSS. 8866 (short of 3 leaves).

The Digby MS. contains a prologue which is not found in the other Bodleian copy.

Both the above works were reprinted by Coussemaker.

Measured Music, or Time; of Discant, and their several divisions. This last Principal is divided into two sections, of which the first contains forty-one chapters, and the second forty-nine. The whole treatise fills a hundred and twenty-four folio pages: the Diagrams, which are very numerous, are beautifully written, and illuminated with different coloured inks; and it seems to be in all respects the most ample and complete work of the kind which the fourteenth century can boast.

A MS. on Music, of nearly the same period, as that of Simon Tunsted, is preserved at Oxford (*l*), consisting of three books. It was written by our countryman Theinred, Precentor of the Monastery of Dover, about the year 1371.*

The first book treats of Musical Proportion, *De Proportionibus Musicorum Sonorum.* This is a very early treatise on Harmonics, in which, when he speaks of the major and minor semitone, and of the different portions into which they are divisible, his doctrine is illustrated by many numerical tables, and nice splittings of tones into commas: *de Comatis; alia Proportio ejusdem Comatis,* &c. which prove a Temperament of the Scale to have been then in use.

The Second Book treats of Musical Concords, *De Consonantiis Musicorum Sonorum.* Here, after specifying the different kinds of Concords, he informs his reader that in organising, major and minor thirds, as well as sixths, are admissible in succession.

Book III. contains Diagrams and Scales innumerable of different species of Octave, in a literal notation. No Musical characters, or examples of practical Music in common notes, appear throughout the treatise.

The praises bestowed by Pits, Bale, Tanner, and others on Theinred, whose name is sometimes written Thaured, and Thinred, make it necessary to acquaint such of my readers as may be inclined to take the trouble of examining this Tract themselves, that, like many other Musical writings of the middle and lower ages, it but ill rewards the drudgery of an entire and careful perusal ; for after perseverance has vanquished the abbreviations, and the barbarism and obscurity of the Latin, the vain speculations and useless divisions of the scale with which this work so much abounds, and which could have been but of small utility to practical Music, at the time when it was written, are such, that now, since the theory of Sound is so much better understood and explained by the writings of Galileo, Mersennus, Holder, Smith, and many others, our old countryman, Theinred, may henceforth remain peaceably on his shelf, without much loss to the art or science of Music.

The reign of Henry VI. though turbulent and unhappy, seems never to have been wholly unpropitious to Minstrelsy ; for it has

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(*l*) Bodl. 842. I. *De legitimis ordinibus Pentachordorum et Tetrachordorum,* Pr.: *Quoniam Musicorum de his Cantibus frequens est dissensio, &c.* 46 Folios, small size. Walther in his Musical Dictionary calls this work a Phœnix.*

* A writer, Boston of Bury, augmented the title so that it read *De musica et de ligitimis ordinibus Pentachordorum.* Bale, believing this to be another work by Theinred, calls him "*Musicorum sui temporis phœnix.*"
The Bodleian MS. is the only known copy of the work.

been observed by a late diligent enquirer, that Minstrels in the fifteenth century were often better paid than the clergy (*m*). Many of them are so now: but though the high salaries of favourite Musicians, like the revenues of our Bishops, are sufficiently known and blazoned to the world, yet the number of subalterns in want of bread, though greater than of the clergy, is not known to the public. The clergy have almost always some stated annual stipend on which to depend, and which, though often small and insufficient for the support of their families, is a resource unknown to innumerable obscure Musicians. In the time of Henry the VIth, the Clergy were all *single* men, and generally members of some fraternity, or Monastery, which afforded them a house, and a subsistence.

It has been observed with some degree of obloquy, by Hearne (*n*), that during many years of this reign, particularly in 1430, the annual feast of the Fraternity of the HOLIE CROSS, at Abingdon, a town in Berkshire, twelve priests received only four pence each for singing a dirge: and the same number of Minstrels were severally rewarded with two shillings and four pence, besides diet and horse-meat. Some of these Minstrels we are told, came only from Mayden-hithe, or Maidenhead, a town at no great distance in the same county (*o*). "In the year 1441, eight priests were hired from Coventry, to assist in celebrating a yearly Obit in the Church of the neighbouring Priory of Maxtoke ; as were six Minstrels, called *Mimi* (*p*), belonging to the family of Lord Clinton, who lived in the adjoining castle of Maxtoke, to sing, harp, and play, in the hall of the Monastery, during the extraordinary refection allowed to the Monks on that Anniversary. Two shillings were given to the Priests, and four to the Minstrels, and the latter are said to have supped in *Camera picta,* or the painted chamber of the Convent, with the Sub-prior (*q*), on which occasion the Chamberlain furnished eight massy tapers of wax (*r*). That the gratuities allowed to priests, even if learned, for their labours, in the same age of devotion, were extremely slender, may be collected from other expences of this Priory (*s*). In the same year, the Prior gives only sixpence (*t*) for a sermon, to a *Doctor Prædicans,* or an itinerant Doctor in Theology of one of the Mendicant orders, who went about preaching to the religious houses (*u*)."

(*m*) Hist. Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 105. (*n*) *Lib. Nig. Scacc.* Appendix p. 598.

(*o*) Abingdon is, however, at least thirty miles from Maidenhead, and besides the time necessarily spent on the road, some part of this magnificent gratuity must have been dissipated in horse-hire.

(*p*) *Ex computis Prioris Priorat. de Maxtock. "Dat Sex Mimis domini Clynton cantantibus, Citharisantibus, et ludentibus; in aula in dicta Pictantia,* iiii. s."

(*q*) *"Mimis Cenantibus in Camera picta cum subpriore eodem tempore,"* the sum obliterated.

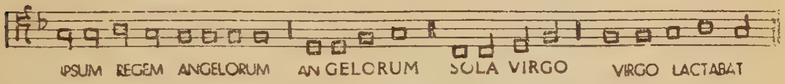
(*r*) *Ex comp. Camerarii, ut supr.* (*s*) *Ex comp. prædict.*

(*t*) Worth about five shillings of our present money.

(*u*) Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 106.

About this time two eminent Musicians flourished in England, whose names are come down to us with a considerable degree of celebrity ; these were John Dunstable, and Dr. John Hambois.

DUNSTABLE [d. 1453] was the Musician, whom the Germans from a similarity of Name, have mistaken for St. Dunstan, and to whom, as erroneously, they have ascribed the invention of counterpoint in four parts. He was author of the Musical Treatise *De Mensurabilis Musicâ*, which is cited by Franchinus (*x*), Morley (*y*), and Ravenscrofte (*z*).* But though this work is lost, there is still extant in the Bodleian library (*a*), a Geographical Tract by this Author ; and, if we may believe his epitaph, which is preserved by Weaver (*b*), he was not only a Musician, but a Mathematician, and an eminent astrologer (*c*). Of his Musical compositions nothing remains but two or three fragments in Franchinus, and Morley. He is very unjustly accused by this last writer of separating the syllables of the same word by *rests*. But I believe Master Morley was so eager to make a wretched pun on the name of Duns-table, that he did not sufficiently consider the passages which he censured ; the errors in which seem to be only those of the Transcriber or Printer: for the last syllable of *Angelorum* belongs to the last note of the first Musical phrase, *before* the rests, and not to the first note of the second groupe.



The words and syllables in this manner fall on the right notes.

Dunstable seems to have acquired a great reputation on the continent: for he is not only cited by Franchinus, but John Tinctor, a writer somewhat more ancient, who gives to the English the invention of the *New art of Counterpoint,* and places John *Dunstaple* at their head (*d*). It was in a MS. Latin Tract, in the

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(*x*) *Tract. Mus.* lib. ii. cap. 7, and lib. iii. cap. 3 under the name of *Donstaple*.

(*y*) *Introd.* p. 178.

(*z*) *Briefe disc.* p. i, *et al.*

(*a*) *Vide* Tanner, p. 239. in Dunstab.

(*b*) Funeral Monum. p. 577.

(*c*) Ib. ·See likewise Fuller's Worthies, p. 116.

(*d*) Speaking of counterpoint he says, *Cujus ut ita dicam novæ artis fons et origo, apud Anglos, quorum Caput* Dunstaple *exisrit faisse perhibetur.* John Tinctor, born at Nivelle in Barbant, flourished about the year 1474. He was long in the service of Ferdinand of Arragon, King of Naples and Sicily, who reigned from 1458 to 1504, and styles himself his Chaplain and Cantor. The title of one of his musical treatises is *Tract. Musices Explanat. Manus. De Tonor Natura et propriet. De notis ac Pausis. De regul. valore, imperfect. et alterat. Notar De arte Contrap.* There will be farther occasion to speak of this able writer and Musician in the next chapter.

* It is possible that Dunstable wrote a treatise, but the quotations made by Ravenscrofte are from the *Quatuor principalis* of Tunsted.

Since Burney's time a good deal of music by Dunstable has been discovered. The most important collection is at Modena in a MS. which contains a Magnificat and 30 Motets (Bibl. Estense VI. H. 15). Copies of these were made by the late W. Barclay Squire and are now in the B.M. (Add. MSS. 36,490). In a MS. now at Vienna there are 15 works by Dunstable, and a few are to be found in a MS. at Bologna (Liceo Musicale, Cod. 37). The works at Bologna were published in facsimile by the Plain Song and Mediaeval Music Society in *Early English Harmony* (1897). Other works are to be found at Trinity College, Cambridge; the Bodleian Library (Ash. MS. 191) and (Selden MS. b. 26). (Lansdowne MSS. 462), and at the B.M. (Add. MSS. 5666 and 31922).

possession of Padre Martini, that I saw this curious passage, which probably has done us some credit with those who have believed and transcribed it ; but he could not have been the inventor of that art concerning which several treatises were written before he was born. However this is but one proof more of what has been already remarked that when a mistake or a falsehood has once had admission into a book, it is not easily eradicated ; and this assertion concerning John of Dunstable's invention of counterpoint, as if it were not sufficiently false in itself, has been aggravated by the additional blunder of mistaking his name for that of St. Dunstan (*e*).

Dunstable, whom Stow calls a *Master of Astronomie and Musike* (*f*), was buried in the church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, 1453.

Dr. JOHN HAMBOIS is said to have possessed a considerable share of learning in all the arts, and to have been no contemptible Mathematician, but his biographers add, that Music held the first place among all his studies. It is related of him likewise, that he was remarkable for a fertile fancy, and a humour of a peculiar kind; and Pits, taking his ideas of Musical composition from a later period, tells us, that his knowledge in Harmony, in the combination of Concords, and preparation and resolution of Discords, was such as no other person of his own age and nation possessed. To these talents, Hambois is allowed to have joined a great knowledge in the Latin tongue, in which he wrote a Tract, entitled, *Summum Artis Musices;* and *Cantionum Artificialium diversi generis,* &c. Tanner was of opinion, that his Musical Treatise was the same as that in the Bodleian Library, Digby 90, *De Quatuor Principalibus Musicæ*; but that has already been proved to be the property of another writer.*

As Hambois has been imagined by some to be the first Musician who was honoured with the degree of Doctor, this seems the proper place to confirm or refute that opinion, and, if possible, to trace the origin of an institution, which is peculiar to the Universities of our own Country.

Anthony Wood (*g*) says, that the degree of Doctor in the faculty of Music was first given in the reign of Henry the Second; but this is fixing it at an earlier period than that in which such a title can be proved to have subsisted at Oxford or Cambridge, or to have been conferred on the Professors of other sciences. Spelman, a more nice and accurate sifter of facts, believes that the appellation of Doctor was not among the degrees granted to Graduates in England till the reign of King John, about 1207.

(*e*) Not only M. Marpurg, but the editors of the Supplement to the *Encyclopedie,* art. *Contrepoint,* have lately copied this error unexamined.

(*f*) Survey of London, edit. of 1618. Walbrook Ward.

(*g*) Hist. Acad. Oxon lib. i. p. 245.

* See editor's note, p. 674.

It is known that this title was created on the Continent, about the middle of the twelfth century, as more honourable than that of Master, which was become too common. Its original signification implied not only learning and skill, but abilities to teach, according to the opinion of Aristotle, who says, that the most certain proof of knowledge in any science, is the being able to instruct others (*h*).

The first degree of this kind which was conferred in a public school or academy, was at Bologna, about the year 1130, where, according to Bayle (*i*), it was an honour instituted in favour of Irnerius, Chancellor to the Emperor Lotharius, who was created Doctor of Civil Law. This ceremony soon after was adopted in other Universities, and passed from the Law to Theology.

Peter Lombard is the first Doctor in Sacred Theology upon record, in the University of Paris (*k*).

The precise time when this creation extended to the faculties of medicine and Music does not appear; nor can the names be found of those professors in either, to whom the title was first granted.

It has, however, been frequently remarked in this volume, that during the middle ages music was always ranked among the seven liberal arts, that it was included in the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, and studied by all those who aspired at reputation for learning throughout Europe. The *Trivium* comprised the three sciences of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, which teach us how to reason with accuracy and precision; and the *Quadrivium* comprehended arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, as the four branches of the mathematics, which silently contemplate what is capable of being numbered or measured. Now it is remarkable, that in our universities, music is the only one of these seven sciences that confers degrees on its students; and, in other countries, though theology, law, and medicine, bestow this honour, which are not of the seven, yet music, which is, can aspire at no such distinction.

However, it evidently appears that the music which was regarded as a science by our forefathers, was merely speculative, and such as concerned harmonics, the ratio of musical intervals, and philosophy of sound; and in this sense musical degrees are perhaps but seldom conferred in our universities according to the original spirit of the institution. But the present statutes, not wholly neglecting the gratification of the ear, are more favourable to practical music, and allow candidates for degrees to perform exercises, in which specimens may be furnished of their skill in melody, harmony, and composition, where those sounds are

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(*h*) John de Muris begins the second part of his Treatise upon Music, of which an account has been already given in this volume, p. 547, with the following passage:

Princeps Philosophorum Aristoteles ait in principio Mathematicæ suæ, omnino scientis, signum est posse docere.—Musices Tract. MS. Bodl. 300 *Suæ.*

(*i*) Dict. Art. IRNERIUS.

(*k*) Mathias, *Theatr. Hist. in Vita Lotharii* II.

arranged and combined, which science measures and fixes by calculation (*l*).

It is observed by the authors of the *Histoire litteraire de la France* (*m*), that in the semi-barbarous ages, music was in such high estimation, that no one could omit the study of it who cultivated letters. The learned Gerbert, who arrived at the Pontificate, by the title of Sylvester the second, and many other illustrious personages, regarded it as the second branch of mathematics. But if music does no honour to the sciences at present, it is little indebted to them for the distinction of being admitted into their company during so many ages, as ignorant artists of talents and sensibility have perhaps contributed more to her perfection, than all the sublime reveries and profound calculations of men of science.

The first qualification for the degree either of bachelor or doctor in music, was formerly, the reading and expounding certain books in Boethius, as the only writings whence knowledge in the principles of the science could be acquired (*n*). But the candidate for academical degrees is no longer put to this test; he is now to compose an exercise for voices and instruments in six or eight parts, which he is to submit to the inspection of the music professor, and to have publicly performed in the Music School of the University.

Wood, in his Fasti, has been able to produce no names of musicians that have been enrolled among the graduates of the University of Oxford before the sixteenth century, though we are told of several at Cambridge of an earlier period. Whether Hambois was a member of this university, or of Oxford, does not appear, nor indeed is it precisely known at what time he received his diploma (*o*). But academical honours in the faculty of Music may be traced up to the year 1463, when Henry Habengton was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Music at Cambridge, and Thomas Saintwix, Doctor in Music,* was made Master of King's College in the same University.

A curious composition in parts, of about this period, to words

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(*l*) By the Statutes of the University of Oxford, it is required of every proceeder to the degree of bachelor in music, that he employs seven years in the study or practice of that faculty, and at the end of that term, produce a testimonial of his having so done, under the hands of credible witnesses; and that previous to the supplication of his grace towards this degree, he compose a Song of five Parts, and perform the same publicly in the Music-School, with vocal and instrumental music, first causing to be affixed on each of the doors of the great gates of the schools a Programme, giving three days' notice of the day and hour of each performance. Of a bachelor proceeding to the degree of doctor, it is required that he shall study five years after the taking his bachelor's degree, and produce the like proof of his having so done, as is requisite in the case of a bachelor: and farther, shall compose a Song in six or eight Parts, and publicly perform the same *"tam Vocibus quam Instrumentis etiam Musicis,"* on some day to be appointed for that purpose, previously notifying the day and hour of performance in the manner before prescribed. Such exercise to be performed in the presence of Dr. Heyther's professor of music. This being done, the candidate shall supplicate for his grace in the Convocation-house, which being granted by both the Savilian professors, or by some master of arts deputed by them for that purpose, he shall be presented to his degree.

(*m*) Tom. vii. p. 142, and tom. ix. p. 200.

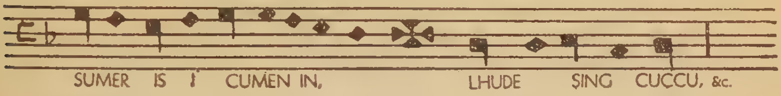
(*n*) See the statutes of the university.

(*o*) In Hollinshed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 1355, there is an enumeration of the most eminent men of learning in the reign of Edward IV. among whom the author includes John Hamboys, "an excellent musician," adding, that "for his notable cunning therein, he was made a doctor of music."

* The first record of the Mus. Bac. degree at Oxford is that given to Robert Wydow about 1499, and the first Mus. Doc. was Robert Fayrfax in 1511.

of a still higher date is preserved in the British Museum (*p*), concerning which it seems necessary here to give an account.

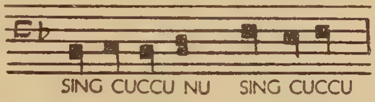
It is a descriptive song upon the approach of Summer, set in a canon of four parts in the unison: or as it is called, a *Rota* or round. It is written upon six red lines in square and lozenge black notes of three kinds: Longs, Breves and Semibreves in the following manner.



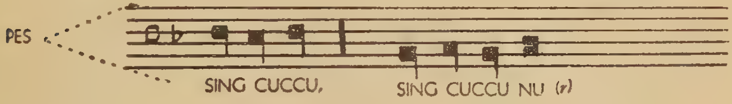
Besides the canon of four parts in one, there are two other free parts, which come in periodically with the same notes in a kind of drone or burden, to each of which the author gives the name of *Pes*. These are written separately, each upon a distinct staff.

Hoc repetit unus quociens opus est faciens pausacionem in fine.

(*q*)

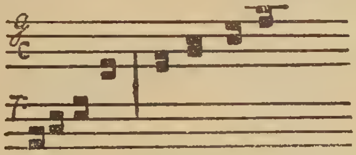


Hoc dicit alias pausans in medio et non in fine, sed immediate repetens principium.



(*p*) Bibl. Harl. 978.

(*q*) This ligature has been taken for a single note, and sometimes imagined to be G, and sometimes B; but neither will suit the harmony. I have restored the true reading by making the ligature consist of G and A, as, by a long study of ancient musical MSS. and a close inspection into this, I can venture to affirm was the author's invention. In the MS. of Waltham Holy Cross, John Wyldis notation of the Scale, or double Diapason, is the following.

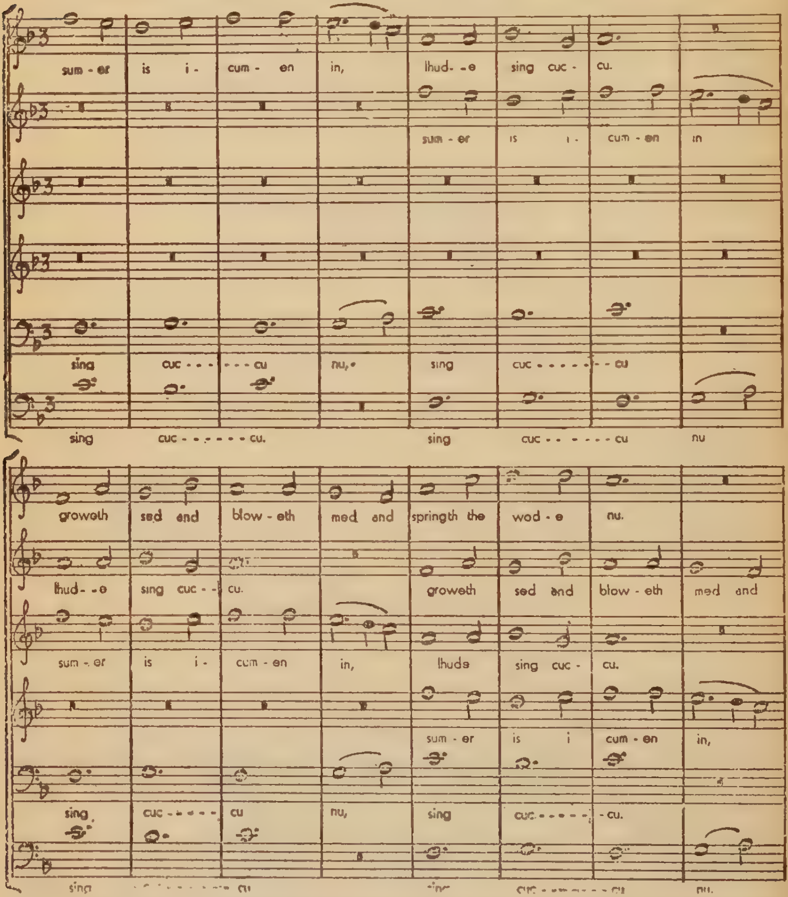


(*r*) At the end of the Song in the Museum MS. we find these instructions for singing it. *Hanc rotam Cantare possunt quatuor socii, a paucioribus autem quam a tribus, vel saltem duobus, non debet dici. Præter cos qui dicunt pedem. Canitur autem sic; tacentibus cæteris unus inchoat cum hijs qui tennet pedem, & cum venerit ad primam notam post crucem, inchoat alius; & sic de cæteris: Singuli vero repausent ad pausaciones scriptas, & non alibi; spacio unius longæ notæ.*—This explanation and the rules for the *Pes* being in Latin, is no proof that this Music was originally set to the Words in that language, which we find under the English in the MS. as the whole volume consists of Latin tracts, and Music to Latin words, except this Canon, and a Hymn to the Virgin in Latin and very old French.

In this Volume there are Hymns and Psalms in Parts over each other, but being without Bars, not easy to compare. There are fifteen red lines equidistant, and three Clefs; C on the highest line but one, C on the eighth line from the top, and F on the fourth from the bottom. The notes are only of two sorts: full square, with tails, and lozenge without, ▪ ♦. There are likewise *ligatures* and *plicæ*, which add to the difficulty of the reading. The notes very much resemble those of Walter Odington's Treatise, Benet Coll. Cambridge (*vide supra* p. 518 *et seq.*) and seem of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, except the Canon, which however I can hardly imagine to be much more modern.

Though this *Canon* and *Catch,* united, is very ingeniously contrived, and has not only more melody, but is in better harmony than I have hitherto found of so early a period ; yet, in point of composition though its defects may not be discovered by every *Ear* during the performance, it is hardly clean and pure enough to satisfy the *Eye,* in score: as many liquors may be tolerably palatable, and yet not bear a glass. However, to enable the Musical reader to judge of the state of Harmony in our country about the fourteenth or fifteenth century, I shall present them with a solution of this ancient Canon.*

CANON, from an ancient MS. in the British Museum.


sum - er is i - cum - en in, lhud - e sing cuc - cu.
sum - er is i - cum - en in
sing cuc - - - - - cu nu,
sing cuc - - - - - cu
sing cuc - - - - - cu.
sing cuc - - - - - cu nu
growelh sed and blow - eth med and springth the wod - e nu.
lhud - e sing cuc - - cu. groweth sed and blow - eth med and
sum - er is i - cum - en in, lhude sing cuc - cu.
sum - er is i cum - en in,
sing cuc - - - - cu nu, sing cuc - - - - - cu.
sing cuc - - - - - cu sing cuc - - - - - cu nu.

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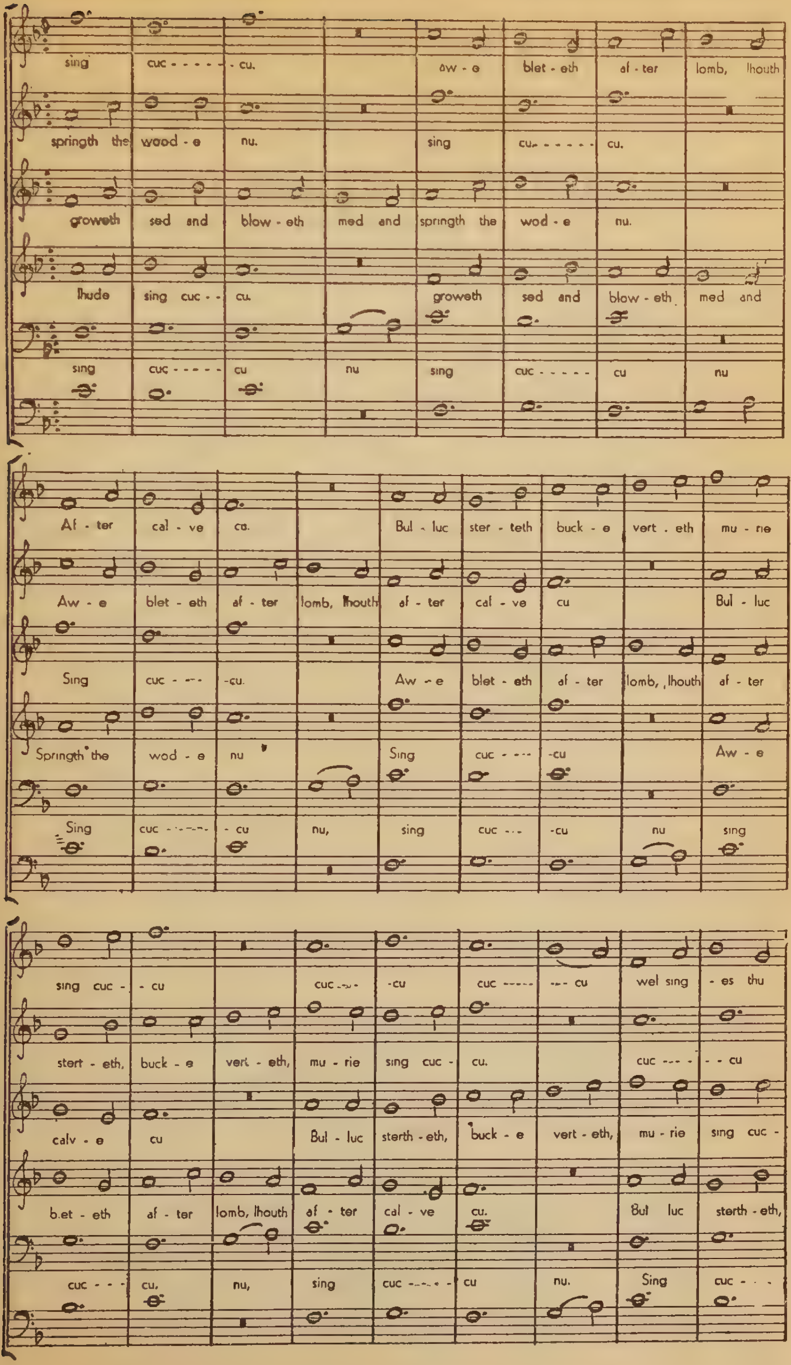
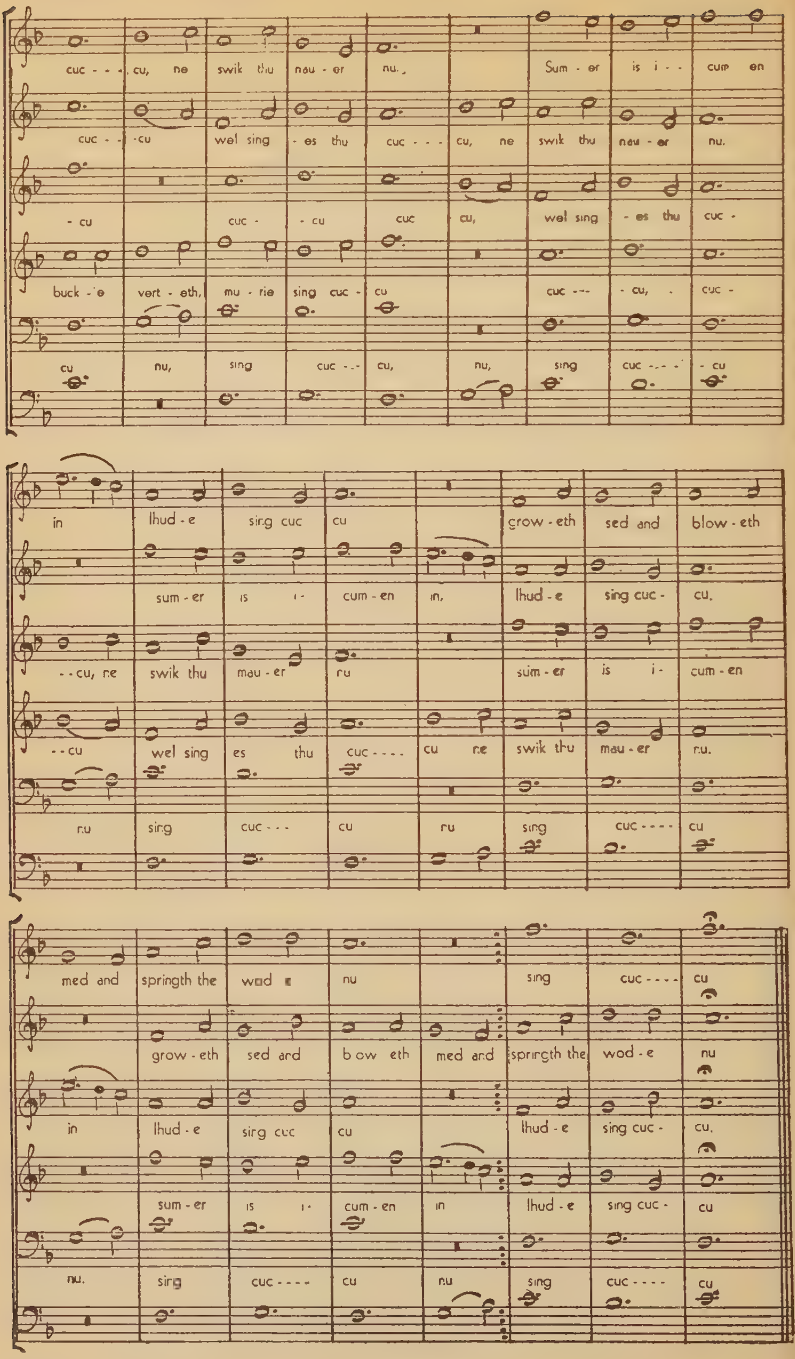
* The Rota *Sumer is i-cumen in* is now thought to be the work of one John of Fornsete and the date is fixed somewhere between 1239-40.

Besides its beauty as a piece of music it is remarkable for several things:

(a) it is the earliest known piece of 6-part writing;
(b) it is one of the earliest known examples of the modern major scale;
(c) it is the earliest known canon;
(d) On the MS. both secular and sacred words are found. Burney is inclined to assume a North country origin of the words, but there can be no doubt that they are in the Wessex dialect.


sing cuc - - - - - cu. aw - e blet - eth af - ter lomb, lhouth
springth the wood - e nu. sing cu - - - - - - cu.
groweth sed and blow - eth med and springth the wod - e nu.
lhude sing cuc - - cu. groweth sed and blow - eth med and
sing cuc - - - - - cu nu sing cuc - - - - - cu nu
Af - ter cal - ve cu. Bul - luc ster - teth buck - e vert - eth mu - rie
Aw - e blet - eth af - ter lomb, lhouth af - ter cal - ve cu Bul - luc
Sing cuc - - - -cu. Aw - e blet - eth af - ter lomb, lhouth af - ter
Springth the wod - e nu Sing cuc - - - -cu Aw - e
Sing cuc - - - - - cu nu, sing cuc - - - -cu nu sing
sing cuc - - cu cuc - - -cu cuc - - - - - - cu wel sing - es thu
stert - eth, buck - e vert - eth, mu - rie sing cuc - cu. cuc - - - - - cu
calv - e cu Bul - luc sterth - eth, buck - e vert - eth, mu - rie sing cuc -
b.et - eth af - ter lomb, lhouth af - ter cal - ve cu. Bul luc sterth - eth,
cuc - - - cu, nu, sing cuc - - - - - cu nu. Sing cuc - - -


cuc - - - cu, ne swik thu nau - er nu. Sum - er is i - - cum en
cuc - - - cu wel sing - es thu cuc - - - cu, ne swik thu nau - er nu.
- cu cuc - - cu cuc cu, wel sing - es thu cuc -
buck - e vert - eth, mu - rie sing cuc - cu cuc --- - cu, cuc -
cu nu, sing cuc - - cu, nu, sing cuc - - - cu
in lhud - e sing cuc cu grow - eth sed and blow - eth
sum - er is i - cum - en in, lhud - e sing cuc - cu.
- - cu, ne swik thu mau - er nu sum - er is i - cum - en
- - cu wel sing es thu cuc - - - - cu ne swik thu mau - er nu.
nu sing cuc - - - cu nu sing cuc - - - - cu
med and springth the wod e nu sing cuc - - - - cu
grow - eth sed and blow eth med and springth the wod - e nu
in lhud - e sing cuc cu lhud - e sing cuc - cu.
sum - er is i - cum - en in lhud - e sing cuc - cu
nu. sing cuc - - - - cu nu sing cuc - - - - cu

The following seems to be the true import of the words.

Summer is a-coming in,
Loud sing cuckow.
Groweth seed,
And bloweth mead,
And springeth the wood new.
Ewe bleateth after lamb;
Loweth after calf, cow;
Bullock sterteth (*s*),
Bucke verteth (*t*),
Merry sing cuckow.
Well sing'st thou cuckow,
Nor cease thou ever, now (*u*).

The rule against the succession of fifths is so often violated, that this composition seems a remnant of that species of *Diaphonics*, or Discant, which was called by the French *Quintoior*, 8ths likewise, and Unisons so frequently occur, that it would be tiresome to point them all out. The Musical reader, however, by compairing the *figurative references*, will see how frequently the well known prohibition of *perfect concords* moving in the same intervals, has been disregarded.

Indeed, from the Northern pronunciation of the words which the Rhymes require, and the inartificial counterpoint, I am sometimes inclined to imagine this Canon, with the difference of additional parts and a second drone base of later times, to have been the production of the Northumbrians, who, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, used a kind of *Natural* symphonious harmony (*x*).

The chief merit of this ancient composition is the airy and pastoral correspondence of the *Melody* with the words. As to the *Modulation*, it is so monotonous, that little more than two chords are used throughout the Canon. But being the first example of Counterpoint in six parts, as well as of *Canon, Fugue*, or *Catch*, that can be produced, its seems to form an æra in vocal harmony, and to merit the reader's attention (*y*).

After this specimen of our Practical Music, I shall return to Theory, in order to give an account of a very scarce and curious Volume of MS. tracts, neatly written on Vellum, which before the reformation appertained to the Monastery of Waltham Holy-Cross,

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(*s*) Leaps.

(*t*) Frequents the green fern.

(*u*) Though the word *cuckow* so frequently occurs in this song, the interval in which this bird sings has not been imitated in the music; which is the more remarkable, as it is obvious, and one of the few instances of such sounds being used by birds as humanity can easily counterfeit. Subsequent composers, however, have seldom failed to imitate the cuckow's melody, wherever he is mentioned. Weelkes and Bennet, in the time of queen Elizabeth, have introducd it in their madrigals; Vivaldi's and Lampe's *Cuckow* Concertos were in great favour thirty or forty years ago; and Dr. Arne's song of the *cuckow*, in "As You Like it," was constantly encored when sung by Mrs. Clive.

(*x*) Vide supra, p. 483.

(*y*) Such are the antiquity, language, and versification of the burlesque metrical Romance called *The* TOURNAMENT *of* TOTTENHAM, inserted in the second volumes of *Reliques of ancient English Poetry*, p. 15, second edition, that it seems no very wild conjecture to imagine it possible that this very Canon, which requires *six performers*, may have been alluded to at the close of the last Stanza.

—Mickle mirth was them among,
In every Corner of the House
Was Melody delicious,
For to hear precious
Of six MENS SONG.

in Essex, as appears by a rubric inscription on the first leaf (*z*). It afterwards became the property of the venerable THOMAS TALLYS, whose name appears in his own hand-writing on the back of the last leaf. Morley seems to have consulted this MS. but to whom it belonged after the death of Tallis does not appear till the reign of King William, when it was among the books of Mr. Powle, Speaker of the House of Commons. From him it went to Lord Somers ; and then to Sir Joseph Jekyll, at the sale of whose Library by Auction, it was purchased by a country organist, who in gratitude for some benefits received, presented it to the late James West, Esq. President of the Royal Society, and it is now the property of the Earl of Shelburne (*a*).*

The Tracts contained in this Volume, which is wholly perfect and well preserved, are the following:

I. *Musica Guidonis Monachi.*
II. *De Origine et Effectu Musicæ.*
III. *Speculum Cantantium sive Psalterium.*
IV. *Metrologus Liber.*
V. *Regulæ Magistri Johan, Torksey.*
VI. *Tractatus Magistri Johannes de Muris, de distantia et Mensura vocum.*
VII. *Regulæ Magistri Thomæ Walsingham.*
VIII. Lionel Power of the Cordis of Musike.
IX. Treatise of Musical Proportions, and of their Naturis and Denominations, first in English and then in Latyne.

The first is not a Treatise by Guido, as the title seems to imply, but an explanation of his principles ; it is divided into two books, and appears to have been compiled by the Præcentor of Waltham Abbey, John Wylde. Pr. *Quia juxta Sapientissimum Salomonem dura est.*—The author does not confine himself to the doctrines of Guido, but cites later writers. The Basis of the Tract, however, is the Micrologus, of which, and of Guido's other writings, so much has already been said in the present volume that it is unnecessary to enlarge much upon a work which is professedly built upon his principles. The Monochord, the Scale, the Hand, the explanation of which he calls *Manual* Music, Ecclesiastical Tones, Solmisation,

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(*z*) *Hunc Librum vocitatum Musicam Guidonis, scripsit Dominus Johannes Wylde, quondam exempti Monasterii Sancta Crucis de Waltham Præcentor.* After this, in black ink, and a different hand writing, is the following usual anathema. *Quem quidem Librum, aut hunc titulum, qui malitiose abstulerit aut deleverit, Anathema sit.*

(*a*) By the kind intervention of the honourable Daines Barrington, I was favoured with this MS. while it was in the possession of Mr. West, just before my departure for Italy; but returned it ere I left England, for fear of accident, though I had then made but a small progress in it. After the decease of Mr. West, I was a considerable time ignorant to whom this curious and valuable MS. belonged; but at length had the good fortune to discover that it had fallen into the hands of the Earl of Shelburne, by whose liberal communication, so well known to the literary world, I have long been indulged with the use of it, and the opportunity I now enjoy, of consulting it as much at my leisure, as if it were my own property.

* This MS. is now in the B.M. (*Lansdowne MS.* 763).

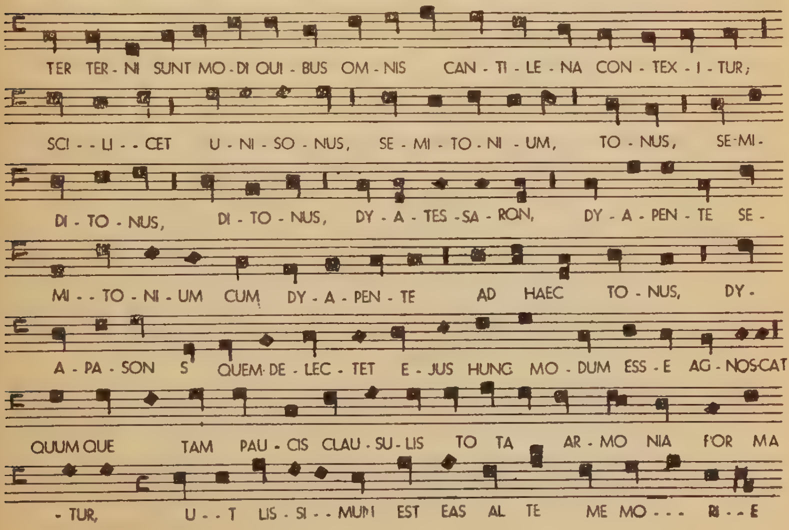
Clefs, with a Battle between B Flat and B Natural, are the subjects of the first Book, consisting of XXII Chapters.

The second Book, or Distinction, contains XXXI Chapters. In the first he speaks of a Guido Minor, surnamed Augensis, as a writer on the Ecclesiastical Chant. He had mentioned this author in the seventh Chapter of the first Book ; but who he was, or when he lived, I am unable to discover. It seems however as if some such Musical Writer had existed, and that his name, by the ignorance or inattention of the Scribes of Ancient MSS. had been confounded with that of Guido d'Arezzo (*b*).

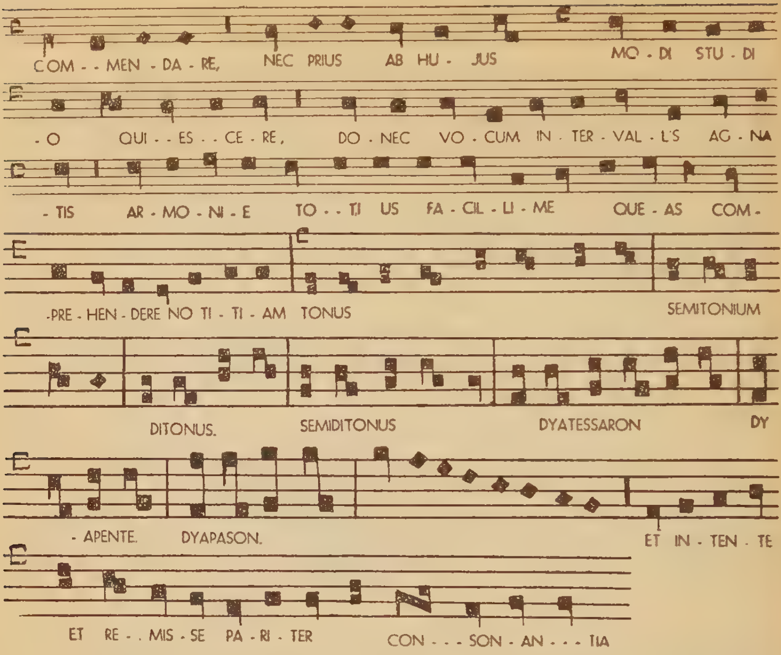
In several of the succeeding chapters he treats of Intervals and their Species, offering nothing new or singular, except where he draws a parallel between the Tone and Semitone, and Leah and Rachel, Jacob's wives, which it is presumed will excite no great curiosity in my reader.

Attention is engaged, however, in the tenth Chapter by a *Cantilena*, as the Author calls it, of the great Guido. It is a kind of *Solfeggio*, or exercise for the voice, through all the Intervals, which is only rendered valuable perhaps, by the supposition of its having been produced by the celebrated author of the Musical Alphabet.

Cantilena Guidonis Majoris, *omnes penitus Dissonantias quasi Consonantias includens.*


TER TER-NI SUNT MO-DI QUI-BUS OM-NIS CAN-TI-LE-NA CON-TEX-I-TUR;
SCI--LI--CET U-NI-SO-NUS, SE-MI-TO-NI-UM, TO-NUS, SE-MI-
DI-TO-NUS, DI-TO-NUS, DY-A-TES-SA-RON, DY-A-PEN-TE SE-
MI--TO-NI-UM CUM DY-A-PEN-TE AD HAEC TO-NUS, DY-
A-PA-SON S QUEM DE-LEC-TET E-JUS HUNC MO-DUM ESS-E AG-NOSCAT
QUUMQUE TAM PAU-CIS CLAU-SU-LIS TO TA AR-MO NIA FOR MA
-TUR, U--T LIS-SI--MUM EST EAS AL TE ME MO--- RI--E

(*b*) See above, p. 480.


COM - - MEN - DA - RE, NEC PRIUS AB HU - JUS MO - DI STU - DI
- O QUI - - ES - - CE - RE, DO - NEC VO - CUM IN - TER - VAL - L'S AG - NA
- TIS AR - MO - NI - E TO - - TI US FA - CIL - LI - ME QUE - AS COM -
-PRE - HEN - DERE NO TI - TI - AM TONUS SEMITONIUM
DITONUS. SEMIDITONUS DYATESSARON DY
- APENTE. DYAPASON. ET IN - TEN - TE
ET RE - . MIS - SE PA - RI - TER CON - - - SON - AN - - - TIA

The rest of this Treatise, which might have been very useful at the time it was written, contains only an account of the Ecclesiastical Tones, *Formulæ,* Finals, &c. which have been all better explained by succeeding writers (*c*). Several of the Diagrams have been omitted, as usual, by the Scribes ; in other respects it is ample and complete, occupying 48 folios, or 96 pages, which are wholly on the Chants of the Church, without even mentioning Secular Music, Cantus Mensurabilis, or Counterpoint.

Between this and the next Tract there are two or three Fragments, by different writers, of no great importance.

II. *De Origine et Effectu Musicæ,* in four Sections. Pr. *Musica est Scientia recte canendi, sive Scientia de Numero relato ad Sonum.* The author, after telling us that Music is the Science of Number applied to Sound, or an art dependent on Calculation, makes heavy complaints of the Fashionable Singers of his Time, who corrupt and deform the Diatonic Genus, by making the Seventh of a Key a Semitone. This is a curious circumstance, and proves that counterpoint had made some progress, and, for the sake of Harmony, had encroached upon the Simplicity of the Ecclesiastical Chants, which were confined to the Natural Scale, formed of different species of Octaves. Our author here specifies the evils of which he complains, by telling us, that after the example of Singers in the Chapels of Princes, " Many now, when they ascend to G

(*c*) There is a fragment of this second book of Wylde's treatise at Oxford, Bodl. 77.

from D, as D E F G, make a Semitone between F and G (*d*); and when they have D C D to sing, or G F G, make Semitones of C and F." This must have been at a close, which could not be made grateful to the ear in Counterpoint, without a sharp third to the Base ; which, through mere pedantry, was thought so licentious, that though necessary and allowable in performance, it was not suffered to be expressed in writing. The author cites, in support of his reasoning, the *Quatuor Principalia,* which proves the Tract to have been written after the year 1351 (*e*).

It is this author whose monkish rhymes have been quoted to prove that John de Muris was an Englishman (*f*). But he is too wild in his Chronology, and too absurd in his Opinions, except those relative to the mere mechanical rules of Music, to be of much authority. Besides the instances already given, it will help to stamp his character, if it be added that in enumerating the Inventors and Improvers of Music, after telling us that Philip de Vitriaco invented the least figure, or Minim, he speaks of St. Austin and St. Gregory, as later writers. Now Vitriaco flourished in the fourteenth century, St. Austin in the fourth, and St. Gregory in the sixth; but in his verses he places Guido before these saints, whom he seems determined to modernize.

III. *Speculum Psallentium.* The author of this short Tract adhering strictly to its title, gives no other precepts than those of St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and St. Bernard, for singing the Mass. St. Augustine and St. Bernard convey their admonitions in verse.

IV. *Metrologus Liber* Pr. *In Nomine Sanctæ & individuæ Trinitatis incipit Metrologus de Plana Musica et brevis, Primo, Quid est Musica? Musica est pericia Modulationis.*—This Tract does not treat of *Time* or *Measure,* as the title seems to promise, but of the invention of Music, the Gammut, Solmisation, Clefs, Intervals, Ecclesiastical Modes, and of whatever Guido treats in his *Micrologus,* a name which seems to suit this Treatise better than *Metrologus.* However the author, fol. 66, gives a Notation of the Metrical Feet in Poetry, which is some excuse for the title he has chosen. In the second part, he gives the History of Pythagoras's Discovery of the Consonances and the Intonation of the Psalms, in a more complete manner than I have seen in so ancient an author.

This Tract is the same as Bodl. 515, and was written by Simon Tunsted, about the middle of the fourteenth century.

It is followed by a whimsical attempt to prove the Analogy between Music and Heraldic Colours. It may be very ingenious and very true for ought that I can urge to the contrary, for being utterly unable to understand the author, it would ill become me to determine the degree of praise or blame that is due to his

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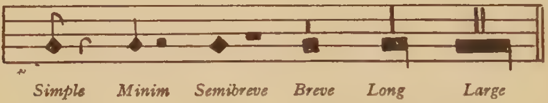
(*d*) The author uses the syllables *ut, re, mi,* &c., but I shall name the sounds which they imply by the letters of the alphabet, as they will be more generally understood.

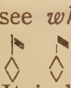
(*e*) He afterwards quotes the *Geneal. Deor.* of Boccace. which it is probable appeared still later.

(*f*) See above, p. 550.

work (*g*). *Le Clavecin oculaire,* invented a few years ago, had at least a more obvious design, and a more plausable and promising method of conveying pleasure to the eye by the Harmony of Colours, than this author appears to have.

V. *Regulæ Magistri* Johan. Torkesey. If we could find any Music of the beginning of the fifteenth century, this Tract, which is the best comment upon the Ancient Time-table that I have seen, would greatly assist us in reading it.* The author informs us, that though there are only three specific square characters used in Musical Notation; the *Large,* the *Long,* and the *Breve,* these are modified in six species of Simple Notes. Then he proceeds to their explanation, and attributes of perfection and imperfection; and here we find that about a century after the invention of the *Minim,* a still shorter note was introduced into Measured Music, called by some *Crochetum,* and by this author and a few others, the *Simple.* His Diagram, or representation of these six characters, with their correspondent rests, is so short and clear, that I shall present it to the reader.



I have given such rests as belong to those notes in their *imperfect* State, as they were then called, when used in *Dupla* proportion, or as we now call it, common time. In their *perfect State,* or *triple proportion,* a square note was regarded as equal to three of the next shorter note in degree, without a point of perfection, which was at first only used to the semibreve and notes of less duration. All these notes being originally black, when a hook was applied to the Minim, it would have, to a modern eye, the appearance of a *Quaver,* to which the name of *Crotchet* is now improperly applied. After these notes were opened, it was no uncommon thing to see *white* Crotchets, or as we should now call them Quavers , which were then only one degree quicker than the Minim. It is hoped, that these remarks will facilitate the understanding of the Moods and Prolations when they come to be explained and enable the musical reader to peruse with greater pleasure the examples of Ancient Composition which may be inserted hereafter.

(*g*) The Greeks indeed have the expression of a *white voice,* for a voice that is clear; and of a *black voice,* for the contrary: as the Romans talk of a brown voice, *fusca vox,* as that of Nero is called by Suetonius.

* A considerable amount of early 15th century English music is now known. Apart from the work of Dunstable, easily the most important composer of the period, there is the Old Hall MS., which has 138 pieces by various composers, including twenty-one for 3 and 4 voices by Lionel Power.

As a matter of fact over 300 works of the period are now known, and by means of these we are able to estimate the importance of the early 15th century musicians much better than Burney could, who did not know it at all beyond two or three pieces by Dunstable.

Torkesey next exhibits such a table of Concords and Discords as may be seen in innumerable other books; but he afterwards gives a notation of intervals, from the Comma to the Disdiapason, that is curious. Here the square B, ♮, or natural, serves for all accidental semitones, ascending, and the round b for the same intervals, descending. The character of ♯ was not yet in general use, though its invention has been traced as high as Marchetto da Padua's time (*h*). The Comma he calls the difference between G sharp and A flat; the Diesis between C sharp and D; the Minor Semitone, between F and F sharp; the Major Semitone between E and F.

This Tract, and all the preceding parts of the MS. are of the same hand-writing, and seem to have been transcribed by the Precentor Wylde, himself, as at the End, after these words, *Expliciunt Regulæ Magistri Johannis Torkesey* De 6 Speciebus notarum, &c. there is this signature—J. W.

VI. *Regulæ Magistri* Johannis de Muris. This is the Title of the next Tract in the MS. which, however, is not a Work of John de Muris, as the inscription seems to imply, but one built upon his principles. De Muris had written so much on the *Cantus Mensurabilis,* that the opinion of its having been of his *Invention* was very early received; as appears by the author of this little work, which must have been written within less than a century of the time when de Muris flourished, having ascribed to him the doctrine which he proposed to illustrate. He enters deeply into the Mysteries of Ligatures, and gives rules for the *Simple,* which is a note that was invented long after the time of John de Muris. But this Tract was probably not only transcribed but compiled by the Precentor of Waltham-Abbey, as *quod. J. Wylde,* is written at the end.

VII. *Regulæ Magistri Thomæ Walsingham, De Figuris compositis & non compositis, et de Cantu perfecto & imperfecto, et de Modis.* This comprehensive Title does not promise more than the Author has performed; as the simple and compound *Figures* or Notes, their *perfect* and *imperfect* powers, the *Moods* and every thing that concerned the Time or Measure of such Music as then subsisted, is very well explained; particularly the *Moods* and *Signs* of *Prolation,* which I do not recollect to have seen represented in any other Authors equally ancient. His Chapters on *rests* or pauses, on the Signs of *perfection* and *imperfection* of the notes, and of the alteration of their value, by *position* or *colour,* are very instructive.

The signs of prolation at first were confined to four: two for perfect or triple time, and two for imperfect or common time. The Circle with a point of perfection in the centre, thus ⊙, was the Sign for the *great Mode perfect,* in which all long notes were equal in duration to *three* of the next shorter in degree. The simple circle, unaccompanied by the point, was used for notes of a shorter

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(*h*) Supra, p. 672.

duration, but with the same *triple* power. These two moods may be compared with our present measures of $\frac{3}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$, where each note is occasionally rendered perfect, or equal to three others, by a point, instead of the general augmentation implied by the circle, which the old masters placed at the beginning of a movement.

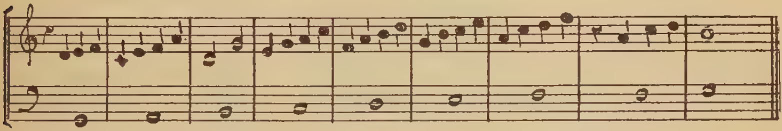
The signs of *imperfect*, or, as we now call it, *Common Time*, were these ⊂ . C. which differ but little from those in present use for *Dupla proportion*, or an equal number of notes in a measure; where each longer note is only equal to *two* of the next shorter kind.

Thus far these modes are easily comprehended, and all reducible to such as are in present use. But the great difficulty in the measure of such ancient music as was composed before the use of *Bars*, and disuse of *Ligatures*, *Plicæ*, and *Prolation*, is the frequent augmentation and diminution occasioned in the length of notes by *position*, and by the frequent changes of the signs of prolation. Walsingham has, indeed, taken great pains to remove this difficulty by explanations, and numerous examples in notes; and I do not remember to have seen such light thrown on the subject by any other author before Morley, when, indeed, instruction, except for the perusal and performance of old masters, was too late, as the time-table had undergone many changes, and composers had learned to express their thoughts in a new and more intelligible manner.

VIII. This is a short treatise, written in English, which, besides the obsolete words, orthography, and shape of the letters, has several other internal marks of considerable antiquity: such as a mixture of Saxon letters; an oblique stroke, instead of a dot over the letter *i*; and the frequency and kind of abbreviations. Though this Essay will afford no information of importance to a musician of the present times, except that which will gratify self-complacence, by discovering to him that the author knew less than subsequent improvements in the art of music have enabled him to know himself; yet, as it seems to be the most ancient musical tract that has been written, or at least preserved, in our vernacular tongue, I shall give a considerable extract from it, not only to shew the state of our music, but our language, at the period when it was written.

"This Tretis is contynued upon the Gamme for hem that wil be syngers, or makers, or techers. For the ferst thing of alle ye must kno how many cordis of discant there be. As olde men sayen, and as men syng now-a-dayes, ther be nine; but whoso wil syng mannerli and musikeli, he may not lepe to the fyfteenth in no manner of discant; for it longeth for no manny's voys, and so ther be but eyght accordis after the discant now usid. And whosoever wil be a maker, he may use no mo than eyght, and so ther be but eyght fro unison unto the thyrteenth. But for the quatribil syghte ther be nine accordis of discant, the unison, thyrd, fyfth, syxth, eyghth, tenth, twelfth, thyrteenth, and fyfteenth, of the whech nyne accordis fyve be perfyte, and fower be imperfyte. The fyve perfyte be the unison, fyfth, eyghth, twelfth, and fyfteenth; the fower imperfyte be the thyrd, syxth, tenth, and syxteenth [thyrteenth]: also thou maist ascende and descende wyth alle maner of cordis excepte two accordis perfyte of one kynde, as two unisons, two fyfths, two eyghths, two twelfths, two fyfteenths, wyth none of these thou maist neyther ascende, neyther descende; but thou must consette these accordis togedir, and medele hem wel, as I shall enform the. Ferst thou shall medele with a thyrd a fyfth, wyth a syxth an eyghth, wyth an eyghth a tenth, wyth a tenth a twelfth, wyth a thyrteenth a fyfteenth; under the whech nyne accordis three sygtis be conteynyd, the mene syght, the trebil syght, and the quatribil syght: and others also of the nyne accordis how thou shalt hem ymagyne betwene the playn song and the discant here folloeth the ensample. First to enforme a chylde in hys counterpoynt, he must ymagyne hys unison the eygth note fro the playn-song benethe; hys thyrd the syxth note benethe; his fyfth the fowerth benethe; his syxth the thyrd note benethe; his eyghth even with the playne song; hys tenth the thyrd note above, his twelfth the fyfth note above, his thyrteenth the syxth above, hys fyfteenth the eyghth note above the playne-song."*

The author then proceeds to give a kind of *Regle de l'Octave,* or rule for accompanying the eight notes of a key, which he calls the *Quadreble Syghte,* and by which he means such concords as the highest part in discant may sing to each note of the key of G. By a view of these *accordis,* as he calls them, we shall be enabled to judge of the harmony of his time; and though the author expresses the intervals by the syllables of Solmisation, by figures, and by square notes, I shall exhibit them in characters that are most familiar at present.



It is observable here that the ecclesiastical scales, formed of different species of Octave, still tyrannized over harmony and modulation too much to allow a sharp to the seventh of the key of G; however, there is this advantage in the F being natural, that the same harmony can be applied to the base in descending as well as in ascending, which is not practicable in the modern *Regle de l'Octave.*

After giving the *Treble Syght,* as Master Power calls it, which is a *remplissage* of the harmony which a contrapuntist can easily imagine from the other part, he proceeds to tell us that "of these two sightis nedith no ferther more to ymagine. But here folloeth ensaumplis of diverse playn songis, how thou shalt discant hem be diverse wise." I shall give one specimen more of his harmony, in order to furnish my readers with a very early instance of the accompaniment to a base being expressed by figures.

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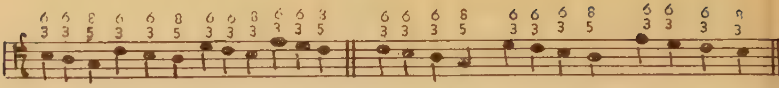
* Burney punctuated the latter part of this extract incorrectly. In his version the rules "to enforme a chylde in hys counterpointe" were meaningless.



This will serve as a specimen of *Faburden,* or, as the French call it, *Fauxbourdon,* and the Italians, *Falsabordone,* which originally implied Extemporary Discant, in a succession of thirds and sixths.

The author terminates his treatise by the following words: "But who will kenne his Gamme wel, and the ymaginations thereof, and of hys accordis, as I have rehersid in this treatise afore, he may not faile of his counterpoint in short tyme." LYONEL POWER.

After this we have a short tract, written likewise in English, which seems a supplement to the preceding rules for discant.

"Her folwith a litil tretis according to the first tretis of the Sight of Descant (*i*). And also for the Sight of Counter, and for the Sight of the Counter-tenor, and of *Faburden.*"* He then repeats the rules which Power had prescribed, after which he proceeds to inform us that "it is fayre and meri singing many imperfyte cordis togeder—also as many syxts next after a eyghth—this maner of singyng is mery to the synger and to the herer." The author concludes his precepts by the following injunction:—"two perfyte accordis of one nature may not be sung togeder in no degree of descant." Which is a prohibition of fifths and eighths in succession.

This precept, with which the author terminates his tract, seems to have been so much unknown or disregarded by the composer of the canon, "*Sumer is i cumen in,*" that the violation of a rule so earnestly recommended by theorists and religiously observed by practicians ever since the laws of harmony were established, excites a suspicion that this canon is much more ancient than has been imagined.

The rest of this little tract furnishes nothing new or useful to the history or science of music, and therefore I shall proceed to the next and last treatise in the MS. (*k*).

IX. Her beginneth tretises diverse of musical proportions, of theire naturis and denominations, fferst in English, and then in Latyne.

As these are both written upon a subject that has been much better treated since, I shall not be diffuse in my account or citations.

The author, whose name is CHILSTON, seems to pursue the subject of the preceding tracts: "Now passid al maner sightis of

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(*i*) This is the first time that I have observed the word to have been thus written.

(*k*) Though the name of the author is not prefixed to this tract, yet the subject, language, and style, so much resemble those of the other, as to have the appearance of a sequel to it: indeed he expressly says that it is written "according to the first tretis of the Sight of Discant."

* It is not certain if this treatise is by Power or by Chilston. There is a very similar work at Oxford (Bodleian MS. 842) which is noticed on p. 700.

descant, and with hem wel replesshid, that natural appetide not saturate sufficientli desireth mo musical conclusions, as now in special of proporcions, and of them to have plein informacion, of the whech afir myn understonding ye shall have opin declaration.''

Cicero, in writing upon philosophy in his own language, was obliged to retain Greek terms; so our author, who appears to have been the first that had attempted to explain the philosophy of sound in English, uses a similar expedient. '' But for as moche as the namys of hem (proportions) be more convenientli and compendiusli sette in Latin than in Englishe, therfor the namys of hem shal stonde stille in Latin, and as breveli as I can declare the naturis of hem in English.''

If allowance be made for the antiquity of the language, the author's definitions are very clear, and such as would be intelligible to persons wholly ignorant of mathematics; and in explaining the difference between geometrical, arithmetical, and harmonical proportion, he would perhaps convey more science to an ignorant reader, from the language in which he expresses himself being less learned and technical than that of more modern writers.

The last article in this valuable MS. is but the fragment of a Latin tract upon musical proportions; but as the author applies his calculation in the preceding tract to the ratios of musical tones, with respect to gravity and acuteness, in this he considers their relative length and duration, and illustrates his doctrines with red musical notes in the treble, and black in the base, composed of such measures as in the execution would perhaps baffle the knowledge and experience of the greatest practical musicians now alive. Here we have not only double and triple proportions, but *Quintuple, Sesquialterate, Sesquitertian,* and *Sesquioctavan*: that is, when one minim in the base is as long as a semibreve, or two minims, in the treble; as three minims; as five; as one and a half; as 16 to 12, or 12 to 9!*

Whether all these measures were ever received, or attempted in practice, does not appear; we can only be certain, if they were, that no other effect could be produced by them than that of dislocation and confusion. The age, however, of which we are now speaking, as well as the next, with a true Gothic spirit, delighted in difficult trifles; and composers, after the laws of counterpoint were settled, seemed more ambitious of pleasing the eye than the ear, as there will be but too frequent occasion to remark in the course of this work. Theories, systems, and hypotheses of distant times remain, and are more intelligible than useful; but how all the didactic and theoretic musical treatises which were now produced operated upon the practice of the art, we are but little acquainted; for whether this period gave birth to many vocal compositions in parts, or with what success instrumental music was cultivated, is as difficult to determine, as whether the present scarcity of ancient music has been occasioned by the want of genius and diligence in musicians to produce it, or the neglect of subsequent times in preserving it from destruction.

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* The signature of Tallis was found in this MS.

The minstrel trade, however, seems to have flourished in these times, and to have been very profitable to its followers, if we may judge by the frequent use that was made of their talents by the great, and the manner in which they were rewarded.

In these times not only the king and principal nobility had minstrels in their service, as part of their household, but some of the greater monasteries retained them for their own use, and appointed them salaries; for it is recorded that Jeffrey, the harper, so early as the reign of Henry the Second, received a corrody, or annuity, from the Benedictine abbey of Hide, near Winchester (*l*), doubtless as a reward for the exercise of his musical talents on public occasions. The abbies of Conway and Shatflur, in Wales, likewise severally maintained a bard (*m*).

In the annual account-roll of the Augustine priory of Bicester, in Oxfordshire, for the year 1431, entries are likewise made of the sums expended in fees to Minstrels; " Given to the harper on St. Jerom's day, viii, d.—to another called Hendy, at the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, xii, d. To one of Lord Talbot's minstrels after Christmas, xii, d,—To the minstrels of Lord Strange, on twelfth-day, xx, d.—To two of Lord Lovell's minstrels after St. Mark's day, xvi, d. To the minstrels of the Duke of Gloucester, on the feast of the Blessed Virgin, iii, s. iv, d." Two minstrels from Coventry are said to have been employed at the consecration of John, prior of this convent, 1432 (*n*).

(*l*) Madox, Hist. Exchequer, p. 251, where he is called *Galfridus Citharædus*.

(*m*) Powel's CAMBRIA, and Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 92. This is a custom which may be still said to subsist in Italy, where great singers, after retiring from the stage and settling in any great city, or in the neighbourhood of great monasteries, have an annual salary for performing there, at the celebration of particular festivals, or at the consecration of nuns, when the daughters of persons of distinction take the veil. This is now the case with Caffarelli at Naples, Manzoli at Florence, and Guarducci at Montefiasconi, and its neighbourhood.

(*n*) I am indebted to the diligence of the Rev. Mr. Thos. Wharton for these last particulars, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. p. 91, where there is a note so much to my purpose that I am tempted to insert it here, entire. "In the Ancient Annual Rolls of Accompts of Winchester College, there are many articles of this sort. The two following, extracted from a great number, may serve as a specimen. They are chiefly in the reign of Edward IV., viz. *In the year* 1481. "Et in Sol. Ministrallis dom. Regis venientibus ad Collegium xv. die Aprilis, cum 12d. solut. Ministrallis dom. Episcopi Wynton venientibus ad Collegium primo die Junii, iiii s. iiii d.—Et in dat. Ministrallis dom. de Lawarr. ii s. iiii d."—*In the year* 1483. "Sol. Ministrallis dom. Regis ven. ad Coll. iii s. iv d."—*In the year* 1472. "Et in dat. Ministrallis dom. Regis cum vii d. dat. duobus Berewardis ducis Clarentie xxd. Et in dat. Johanni *Stulto* quondam dom. de Warewyco, cum iiii d. dat. Thome Revyle Toborario.—Et in datis duobus Ministrallis ducis Glocestrie, cum iiii d. dat. uni Ministrallo ducis di Northumberland, viii d.—Et in datis duobus citharatoribus ad vices venient. ad Collegium viii d."—*In the year* 1479. "Et in datis Satrapis Wynton venientibus ad Coll. festo Epiphanie, cum xii d. dat. Ministrallis dom. Episcopi venient. ad. Coll infra Octavas Epiphanie iii s."—*In the year* 1477. "Et in dat. Ministrallis dom. Principis venient. ad. coll. festo Ascentionis Domini, cum xx d. dat. Ministrallis dom. Regis, v s."—*In the year* 1464. "Et in dat. Ministrallis comitis Kancie venient. ad Coll. in mense Julii, iiii s. iiii d."—*In the year* 1467. "Et in datis quatuor Mimis dom. de Arundell venient. ad. Coll. xiii die ffebr. ex curialitate dom. custodis, ii s."—*In the year* 1466. "Et in dat. Satrapis (ut supr.) cum ii s. dat. iiii. interludentibus et J. Meke citheristæ eodem ffesto. iiii s."—*In the year* 1484. "Et in dat. uni Ministrallo dom. principis et in aliis Ministrallis ducis Glocestrie v die Julii, xx d."—The minstrels of the bishop, of lord Arundell, and the duke of Gloucester, occur very frequently. In domo monimen, Coll. prædict. in cista ex orientali latere.

" In rolls of the reign of Henry the Sixth, the Countess of Westmoreland, sister of Cardinal Beaufort, is mentioned as being entertained in the college; and in her retinue were the Minstrels of her household, who received gratuities." *Ex. Rot. Comp. Orig.*

In the reign of Edward the IV. a period at which we are now arrived, Music, after long living a vagrant life, and being passed from parish to parish, seems at length, by the favour of this monarch, to have acquired a settlement; for it appears that by his letters patent under the great seal of his realm of England, bearing date the 24th of April, 1469, in the ninth year of his reign, that this prince did, "for him and his heirs, give and grant licence unto Walter Haliday, Marshall, John Cuff, and Robert Marshall, Thomas Grane, Thomas Calthorne, William Cliff, William Christian, and William Eyneysham, then MINSTRELS of the said king, that they by themselves should be in deed and name *one body and cominality,* perpetual and capable in the law, and should have perpetual succession ; and that as well the minstrels of the said king, which then were, as other minstrels of the said king and his heirs which should be afterwards, might at their pleasure name, chuse, ordeine, and successively constitute from among themselves, one marshall, able and fit to remain in that office during his life, and also two wardens every year, to govern the said Fraternity and Guild, &c. (*o*)."

The original charter is preserved in Rymer's Fœdera (*p*): and in the eleventh year of Charles the First [1636], when that monarch was petitioned to grant a new patent to the professors of the art and science of music, the form of that which had been from Edward the Fourth was made the ground-work of the new charter.

Another important musical regulation of this reign is recorded in a book entitled *Liber Niger Domus Regis,* in which is an account of the houshold establishment of King Edward the Fourth, of the several musicians retained in his service, as well for his private amusement as for the service of his chapel.

As this seems the origin of those musical establishments of the chapel royal, and king's band, which still subsist, I shall give the account of them and their several employments, at full length, from this ancient book, as published, with additions, by Batman.*

"Minstrelles thirteene, thereof one is Virger, which directeth them all festyvall dayes in their statyones of blowings and pypyngs to such offices as the offycerers might be warned to prepare for the king's meats and soupers; to be more redyere in all services and due tyme ; and all thes sytying in the hall together, whereof some be trompets, some with shalmes and smalle pypes, and some are strange mene coming to this court at fyve feastes of the year, and then take

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(*o*) This *incorporation* of Minstrels resembles that of the flute-players among the Romans. See note (*g*) Book i. p. 481. When the French Minstrels, about a century before the charter was granted by Edward IV. were incorporated by charter, they had a *King* set over them. Marshal (*Marescallus,* from the German, Marschals, i.e., *Equitum Magister*) was, however, a title of great dignity, and, in some cases, of extensive power: as Earl Marshal of England, Marshal of the King's House, Marshal of the Justices in Eyre, &c. Field Marshal is still a title of great honour.

(*p*) Tom. xi. *pro Fraternitate Minstrallorum Regis.*
Rex omnibus ad Quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod ex Querelosa Insinuatione, Dilectorum nobis, Walteri Haliday, *Marescalli, Johannis Cliff,* &c Several of the Musicians specified in this charter had been in the service of Henry the Sixth, as appears by a precept, which is likewise preserved in Rymer, and has for title *De Ministrallis propter Solatium Regis providendis.*

* See Burney's correction of this reference in Vol. II., chapter 1, note (*p*).

their wages of houshold, after iiij d. ob. by daye, after as they have been presente at courte, and then to avoyd aftere the next morrowe aftere the feaste, besydes their other rewards yearly in the King's Exchequer, and clothinge with the houshold, wintere and somere for eiche of them xxs. And they take nightelye amongste them all iiij galanes ale; and for wintere seasone thre candles waxe, vj candles pich, iiij tale sheids (*q*); lodging suffytente by the herbengere for them and their horses nighteley to the courte. Aulso hauing into courte ij servants to bear their trompets, pypes, and other instruments, and torche for wintere nightes, whilst they blow to support of the chaundry; and alway two of thes persones to contynewe stylle in courte at wages by the cheque rolle whiles they be presente iiij ob. dayly, to warne the king's ridynge houshold when he goeth to horsbacke as oft as it shall require, and that his houshold meny may followe the more redyere aftere by the blowing of their trompets. Yf any of thes two minstrelles be lete bloode in courte, he taketh two loves, ij messe of greate meate, one galone ale. They part not at no tyme with the rewards given to the houshold. Also when it pleasethe the king to have ij minstrelles continuinge at courte, they will not in no wise that thes minstrelles be so famylliere to aske rewards.

"A WAYTE, that nightelye from Mychelmas to Shreve Thorsdaye pipethe watche withen this courte fower tymes; in the somere nightes iij tymes, and makethe bon gayte at every chambere doare and offyce, as well for feare of pyckeres and pilleres (*r*). He eateth in the halle with mynstrielles, and takethe lyverey at nighte a loffe, a galone of alle, and for somere nightes ij candles pich, a bushel of coles; and for wintere nights half a loaf of bread, a gallon of ale, iiij candles piche, a bushel coles; daylye whilste he is presente in courte for his wages in cheque roale allowed iiij d. ob. or else iij. d. by the discresshon of the steuarde and tressorere, and that, aftere his cominge and diseruinge: also clothinge with the houshold yeomen or mynstrelles like to the wages that he takethe, and he be syke he taketh twoe loves, ij messe of greate meate, one gallon ale. Also he partethe with the housholde of general gyfts, and hathe his beddinge carried by the comptrollers assygment; and under this yeoman to be a groome watere. Yf he can excuse the yeoman in his absence, that he takethe rewarde, clotheinge, meat, and all other things lyke to other grooms of houshold. Also this yeoman-waighte, at the making of Knightes of the Bathe, for his attendance upon them by nighte-tyme, in watching in the chappelle, hath to his fee all the watchinge-clothing that the knight shall wear uppon him (*s*).

"CILDREN OF THE CHAPELLE viij, founden by the king's priuie cofferers for all that longeth to their apperelle by the hands and

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(*q*) Fire-wood, cleft and cut into billets.

(*r*) *Bon Gayte*, good watch, from the French. *Bon guet chasse malaventure*. Prov.

(*s*) Here we have another instance of costly robes being bestowed on musicians. See above, p. 623 *et seq.*

oversyghte of the deane, or by the master of songe assigned to teache them, which mastere is appointed by the deane, chosen one of the nomber of the felowshipe of chappelle after rehearsed, and to draw them to other schooles after the form of sacotte, as well as in songe in orgaines and other. Thes children eate in the hall dayly at the chappell board, nexte the yeomane of uestery; taking amongeste them for lyverye daylye for brekefaste and all nighte, two loves, one messe of greate meate, ij galones ale; and for wintere seasone iiij. candles piche, iij talsheids, and lyttere for their pallets of the serjante usher, and carryadge of the king's coste for the competente beddynge by the oversyghte of the comptrollere. And amongeste them all to have one servante into the court to trusse and bear their harnesse and lyverye in court. And that day the king's chappelle remoueth every of thes children then present receaueth iiij d. at the Grene Clothe of the Comptyng-house for horshire dayly, as long as they be jurneinge. And when any of these Children comene to xviij years of age, and their uoyces change, ne cannot be preferred in this Chapelle, the nombere being full, then yf they will assente the King assynethe them to a College of Oxeford or Cambridge of his foundatione, there to be at fyndyng and studye bothe suffytyently, till the King may otherwise aduance them."

And now, finding that the present Chapter is extended to a greater number of pages than I had imagined my materials would supply, in order to terminate that, and all which I shall say concerning treatises that were written on the subject of music previous to printing, or at least to the invention of types to represent musical characters, I shall close this period with an account of two inedited MS. Tracts, written in English, that have been carefully examined in libraries of our universities, with the design of communicating their contents to my readers, and which indeed should have been mentioned sooner.

I. At the end of the volume of musical MSS. in Benet College Library, Cambridge (*t*), which contains the Treatise by Walter Odington (*u*), there is a fragment of an old English Tract, which by the writing, Saxon letters, and abbreviations, seems to have been transcribed about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

" Here begineth a shorte Treatyse of the Rule of DISCANT. It is to witt that ther are accordaunce withouten noumber, but ther are ix in use, whych ix be these: the Unison, the thyrde, the ffyfte, the sixte, the eyght, the tenth, twelfth, thyrteenth, and the fyfteenth. Of the whyche No. fyve are perfyte Cordys. The fyve perfyte Cordys be these: the Unison, the ffyfte, the eyghth, the twelfth, and the fyfteenth. Of the whyche first perfyte ther are ful perfite and ther are less perfite. The full perfite are these: the Unison, the eyghth, and fyfteenth. The two less perfite are the ffyfte, and twelfth. The imperfite Cordys are the thyrde, the sixte, the tenth, and the thyrteenth, and so with these Accordys of

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(*t*) No. 410. 25 N.

(*u*) Vide supra p. 516.

DISCANT any Discanter may both rise and faul with the Playne Song,'' &c.

II. At Oxford, likewise, in the same volume as Thienred of Dover's Treatises (x), there is another fragment of an English Tract on the subject of Discant, by Richard Cutell. It appears to be of nearly the same age as the preceding anonymous Tract in Benet College, and to contain the same doctrine.*

Compositio Ricardi Cuteli de London

'' It is to wit that there are ix. acordes in discant, that is to say 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, || of the whilke ix. 5 are perfite accordes and 4 imperfite. The 5 perfite are 1, 5, 8, 12, 15, and of these 5, 3 er ful acordes, that is to say, 1, 8 & 15 || and 2 er lesse perfite, that is to say, 5 & 12. And iiij. imperfite accordes are theis 3, 6, 10, 13, it is knawn by the old techying that a man shalle take bot on perfite of a kynd to-gedyr, as on 5, on 8, on 5. But it is leuyd [leaved or permitted] to take 2 perfite acordes togedyr of diuerse kyndes as a 5 and one 8 || or a 12, and a 15, but neuer 2 of on kynd.

'' And of alle imperfite accordes it is leueful to take iij, iiij, or 5 of a kynd and the pleynsong ascend or descend but neuer and it be in on lyne || as fa fa fa || or sol sol sol || then shall a man take diuerse acordes of diuerse kyndes || whedirsum euer they be perfite or imperfite.

'' Also the old techying was that a man shul neuer take none imperfite acord but yf he hade a perfite after hym || as after a 3 a 5, & after an 8 a 12, & after a 13 a 15, || bot now it is leuyd by the techers of descant || that after a 3 a man may take a 6 || or after a 6 a man may take a ten || he may not do wrang so that he kepe rewell [rule] a-foreseyd.

''Also it is to wit that if you have a pleyn song that descendes as fa ut or fa re or fa my or la re and there be an imperfite acord with the hear-note [higher note] thou shalt never descend out of the hear-not || out of the imperfite acord into a perfite acord with the louer note. || Then neuer ascendying of the same wyse. And also it is to wit that there are 3 degrees of discant, that is to say, Mene, Treble, and Quatreble. The mene bygynnis in the 5, a-bowyn the playne song in voys and with the playn song in seyghte. And the quatreble bygynis in the 12, a-bowyn the playn song in voys and with the playnsong in syghte. To the mene langes properly 5 accordes that is to say, the unisone 3, 5, 6, and the 8. To the treble langes propyrly 5 accordes also the 5, the 6, the 8, 10, the 13. To the Quatreble langes propyrly 5 accordes also that is to say, the || viij, the x, xij, xiij, the xv. Also it is to wit that alle the accordes of discant ben a-bown [are above] the playne song in voys saue one that is the j [first]. Neuerthe-lesse the sighte of discant is sum-tyme beneth the playne songe and sum-tyme a-bown & sum-tyme with the playne songe. And so the discanter of the mene sal begynne hijs discant with the playne songe in syghte as I sayd before and v. a-bown in voys. And the 5 beneth in sight is euyn with the playnsonge in one sond."*

(x) Bodl. 842.

* This is practically a transcript of the earlier part of the treatise by Chilston described on p. 694. In the Bodleian MS. it is entitled *Opinio Ricardi Cutelle de London.* Richard Cutell was probably the name of the person who made the copy.

"Also it is skylful that alle Discant bygone and end in a perfite acorde, &c."——

The dividing the Perfect Concords into more and less perfect, seems peculiar to this period, as does the exclusion of the fourth from the Catalogue; and as no Discords are mentioned, it is natural to suppose that they were not yet admitted into Composition.

The English Tracts in the Shelburn MS. by Lyonel Power and Chilston, which have been already mentioned, and these Fragments, however inconsiderable they may appear, will not, it is hoped, be without their use, to those who have a curiosity concerning the Progress of Music in our own country, as they will enable them at once to judge of the state of our Musical Language as well as composition, at this early period.

The GERMANS, who, during the past and present century, have so much contributed to the perfection of Counterpoint, and the refinement of every species of Instrumental Music, had doubtless songs at this time in their own language, set to Melodies formed upon the Guido Scale, and accompanied with such Harmony as was then used in the rest of Europe; but I have been able to procure none.

With respect to their Language and Lyric Poetry, though it appears from Tactius (*y*), that in Germany, the Common Mother of the Saxons, Franks, and Lombards, letters were wholly unknown; and though Reinesius (*z*) tells us, that in the time of Ammainus Marcellinus, the inhabitants of that country were not in possession of an alphabet; yet we are assured from Bede, that the Saxons had Poetry and Songs in the eighth Century; and it is generally agreed that one of the first attempts at writing in a vulgar tongue was made by Otfrid, in the ninth Century, who translated the Evangelists into German, making use of the Roman Alphabet (*a*).

Otfrid was a Monk of Weissemberg; his translation was in verse, and dedicated to Lewis the Second, brother to Charles the Bald.

The most ancient Music, applied to German words, that I can discover, was that set to the Hymns of the first Reformers. Some of those written by John Huss, the Disciple of Wickliff, and companion of Jerom of Prague, with whom he suffered at the stake,

(*y*) *Mor. G.* c. 12. (*z*) *In præf. ad Ins. Ant.*

(*a*) *Verona Illustr.* To. 19.

* The above is W. Chappell's transcription of Cutelli's tract (see *The Choir*, April 9, 1870), in place of Burney's, which is incorrect in some particulars.

by order of the Council of Constance, in 1415, are said to be still preserved in the Protestant Libraries of Germany. But though I have not yet been able to procure transcripts of them, nor of any other German Music of equal antiquity, the Theorists and Composers of that country will be well intitled to a very considerable share of the honour due to the Cultivators of Harmony, in the subsequent part of this work.*

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* The story of music in Germany is similar to the story of music in other countries. There are records of early Hymns in the common language as far back as the 9th cent. The work of the Troubadours is paralleled by that of the Minnesingers who flourished between the 12th and 13th cent. These gave way to the Mastersingers who appear on the scene about 1311, when Heinrich von Meissen founded a Guild of Singers at Mainz. Schools of Mastersingers existed until 1839.

The rise of the Chorale, a significant feature of German religious and musical life, is dealt with in the next volume.

Chapter V

Of the State of Music, from the Invention of Printing till the Middle of the XVIth Century; including its Cultivation in the Masses, Motets and secular Songs of that Period

WE are now arrived at an Æra when the principal materials for musical composition are prepared; when a regular and extensive scale for Melody, a code of general laws for Harmony, with a commodious Notation and Time-table, seem to furnish the Musician with the whole mechanism of his art; and if the productions of this period do not fulfil our present ideas of excellence, we must attribute their deficiences neither to want of knowledge nor genius in their authors, but to the Gothic trammels in which music was still bound.

The faculties of man are not only limited by nature, but by the horizon with which he is surrounded: if he lives in a polished state and enlightened times, his views will doubtless be extended; but it is allowed to no individual to penetrate *much* farther into the regions of science than his cotemporaries. Our Shakspeare, Dryden, Bacon, Locke, and Newton, sublime as were their conceptions, and original their genius, found much already done, in their several departments, by their predecessors.

Music being the object of a sense common to all mankind, if genius alone could invent and bring it to perfection, why is China, which has been so long civilized, still without great composers and performers? And why are the inhabitants of three-fourths of the globe still content, and even delighted with attempts at such music as Europeans would qualify with no better title than noise and jargon? It cannot be supposed that nature is entirely to blame, and that there is a physical defect in the intellects or organization of all the sons of men, except in Europe; and that a perfect ear, and the power of delighting it, are local. As the eye accommodates itself to all the gradations of light and obscurity, so does the ear to such gratifications as are within its reach; and the people accustomed to bad music enjoy it contentedly, without languishing for better. It is the curse of an ear long accustomed to excellence, to be fastidious and unwilling to be pleased; and unluckily for the honour of music and musicians, all the miraculous powers of the art cease the instant perfection becomes common. The most hyperbolical praises have been bestowed on music and musicians, when they seem not to have had the least claim to panegyric; but the best music of every age and nation is delightful to hearers, whose ideas of excellence are bounded by what they daily hear: and about the middle of the fifteenth century, though melody was governed by the ecclesiastical modes, though harmony was confined to a small number of common chords, and though measure was unmarked, yet at this period, by their union, practical musicians among the laity began to acquire great reputation.

It is perhaps unnecessary to remind the reader, that about this time an important revolution was effected in the civil, religious, military, and literary interests of the inhabitants of Europe, by the dissolution of the feudal system, the reformation in religion, the invention of gunpowder, the mariner's compass, and printing, the taking of Constantinople, cultivation of the Greek language, and revival of literature in general. Of these events, all which happened within the space of about a hundred years, some had a manifest effect upon music; particularly Printing, and the Reformation. Indeed neither the art nor science of music had as yet been much cultivated, except by the clergy, who had contributed greatly to keep its rules inaccessible to the vulgar, by locking them up in the Latin language. But the press now, not only multiplying the copies of Latin treatises at a small expence, but of others in modern languages had the same effect in increasing musical productions and theories, as printing the translation of the Bible and liturgy had in augmenting the number of lay-preachers, and writers on the subject of religion, at the time of the Reformation.

Thus far but little information has been acquired for this volume, except from manuscript tracts and records: and for these I have been chiefly indebted to the remains of monkish literature and diligence: but though the Monks, immured in their convents, and secluded from all intercourse with those who act the most important parts in the business of the world, may be well supposed ignorant of secular events and transactions, concerning which they must have taken their information upon trust, or had recourse to conjecture;* yet, with respect to the concerns of their own convents, and the daily employments of their lives, of which music was one, they may be safely imagined to have been more competent judges than those who never visited them; and, unless it was for the interest of their order, or to confer honour on their patrons and tenets, neither mendacity nor prejudice was likely to corrupt their knowledge, or defile their narrations.

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* Whilst it may be true that the lower orders of the clergy (apart from the mendicant friars) had no great contact with secular affairs, yet it is hard to believe them to have been so ignorant of mendane matters as Burney assumes. The Church was intimately concerned with the whole history of mediæval Europe, and we have no reason for supposing that the only educated class (and even its most humble members) would not be aware of the trend of events.

But though we are arrived at that period when the productions of the press will considerably diminish the labour of research; yet the difficulty of finding materials will be now only changed to that of selection; and the perusal of old music, after it is found, is attended with much more trouble than literary works of equal antiquity: for being published and preserved in single parts, these parts must previously be put into such a state, that the eye may compare their several relations at one glance; or, to use the language of Musicians, they must be *scored,* before their beauties or defects can be discovered, and this, from the difficulty of obsolete notation, and the want of *bars,* is rendered a very slow process (*a*). But being determined to speak of no music with which I am unacquainted, or of which I am unable to furnish specimens, I have transcribed in *Partitura,* or *Score,* many volumes, not only of the same age, but sometimes of the same author, in order to select the best productions I am able, for my work, or at least to qualify myself to judge of each composer's abilities and resources. Of the productions of each period I have endeavoured to procure examples from the works of those who were the chief favourites of their cotemporaries, in order to put it in the power of critics in composition to compare musical excellence, and build their opinions of superiority upon the works themselves, and not upon system, conjecture, or prejudice.

From the decline of the Roman empire to the period under consideration, but few names of great musicians have come down to us, though there cannot be the least doubt but that every age and country in which arts and sciences have been cultivated had their favorite and popular musician, who contributed more to the delight of his cotemporaries than the rest of his brethren. But practical musicians and performers, however wonderful their powers, are unable, from the transient state of their art, to give permanence to their fame: age, infirmities, and new phenomena, soon complete its destruction. To the reputation of a Theorist, indeed, longevity is insured by means of books, which become obsolete more slowly than musical compositions.* Tradition only whispers, for a short time, the name and abilities of a mere Performer, however exquisite the delight which his talents afforded to those who heard him; whereas, a theory once committed to paper and established, lives, at least in libraries, as long as the language in which it was written.

We are now not certain that Boethius could play a tune, or sing a song; and yet his name is recorded in every treatise which

(*a*) The word *Score* probably originated from the *Bar,* which in its first use, was drawn through all the parts, as it should be still, of a piece of music in *partition,* or partitura. Bars were first used in *canto fermo,* to separate the verses of a psalm or hymn, or as signs for pauses, or resting places, where the singer might take his breath. Morley, who uses no bars in the single parts of any of his works, has however drawn a score or bar through all the parts of several examples of composition, when placed under each other, in his Introduction; where, p. 34, he uses the word partition for this arrangement of the parts, and p. 176, the word bar occurs.

* In our times a theoretical work may be regarded as out of date on publication.

subsequent ages have produced on the subject of music. Neither are we sure that Guido and John de Muris were great composers or performers, and yet their names are embalmed in a way that will render them more durable than the mummies of Egypt. Tallis and Bird, who were equally admirable in their musical productions and execution, are now only known and revered by the curious; and Rameau and Tartini,* whose compositions and performance afford such exquisite delight to their age and country, will soon be remembered only as theorists.

In Dr. Priestley's ingenious Biographical chart, it is remarkable that not one musician appears from the beginning of the Christian æra till the eleventh century, where Guido is placed in a desert, which extends to the sixteenth century, and where Palestrina stands without a rival or neighbour; nor has all Europe furnished another musician, whom the author has thought worthy a niche in his chart, till the time of Lulli.

As many of the great countries of Europe, which are now under the dominion of one sovereign, were divided into several small kingdoms, at first under regal authority, like our heptarchy, but afterwards the successors of these princes acknowledging one supreme lord, were degraded into barons, counts, and dukes; yet still retaining great power in their several districts over their vassals and dependants; so, in the empire of music, there were Kings of the Minstrels in several countries of Europe, and even cities, and particular provinces; these charmed and governed only in a narrow circle; but as an intercourse and communication was opened between these several petty states, there was soon an opening made for talents and ambition to aim at universal monarchy, and in tracing the history of music it seems necessary to record the names and actions of such as have arrived at this acknowledged pre-eminence.

The musical heroes of antiquity have been celebrated in the first book of this work; and, as far as we have advanced into more modern times, the principal actors, governors, and benefactors in the art and science of music, have been honourably mentioned, and the peculiar talents and abilities displayed of those whose sovereignty in Europe seems to have been universally allowed.

However, in this parallel between the Lords of the Earth and Princes of the Pipe and String, distinctions are to be made. Theorists may be well compared to legislators, whose dominion ends not with their existence, but continues sometimes with increasing reverence, long after their decease. With Practical Musicians and Composers it is very different; the memory of these is of short duration; for however extensive their power, and splendid their reign, their empire, like that of Alexander and other rapid conquerors, acquires no permanence; but as the territories of these were divided among their captains, so the disciples or followers of great musical leaders soon appropriate to themselves the revenue and reputation of their masters, so entirely, that, when divided into small portions, they add no great profit or power to the new possessors, who generally retain and enjoy them in obscurity, till seized and appropriated by some new and more powerful conqueror.

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* An example of the folly of prophecy.

To pursue the idea of Musical Sovereignty, BOETHIUS may be regarded as the *last* ancient, and *first* modern who established a dominion in the Scientific parts of the Musical Empire, to which all the learned in Europe were long unanimous in submitting.

GUIDO, whose authority continued to increase for many ages after his decease, and of whose laws many are still in force, was the next who established a permanent fame among Musical Monarchs.

JOHN DE MURIS, though it is now hardly known what he atchieved for the common good, is still more frequently had in remembrance among Theorists and Practitioners, than any other chief or legislator who flourished between the time of Guido and FRANCHINUS GAFURIUS, one of the first Theorists whose doctrines were disseminated by the press: but as Theory owes its existence to successful practice, it seems but just to speak first of those early contrapuntists, whose works have been the basis upon which the present rules of composition were constructed.

There must, however, have been many Musicians whose works are lost, between the time of John de Muris and the middle of the fifteenth century; every art is progressive, and the harmony of Okenheim, Henry Isaac, and Jusquin du Prez, of which specimens will hereafter be given, is so superior to that of all the other more ancient musical productions which I have been able to find, that there seems to be the difference of two or three centuries between them; and it is difficult to imagine that such regular composition, and even learned and ingenious contrivance, could be attained by the gigantic stride of any one Musician, however superior his genius may have been to that of all his predecessors.

Rome was pillaged and burnt in the year 1527, by the army of Charles the Fifth, which may perhaps account for the difficulty of finding compositions anterior to that time, in this city, which long continued to be the capital of the arts, after it ceased to be the capital of the world. Antonfrancesco Doni, in his list of Music, printed in Italy before the year 1550, at which time he published the second edition of his *Libraria,* mentions no names of higher antiquity than Jusquin and Morales; though he says, if he had specified all the music which had been then published, he should have composed a thicker book than any volume of Music that could be found. Our countryman Morley mentions in the list of practical musicians or composers on the continent, none more ancient than Okenheim, and his scholar Jusquin.

Of Englishmen, Pashe, Jones, Dunstable, Power, Orwel, Wilkinson, Guinneth, Davis, and Rishby, are the most ancient in his list; but of the compositions of these, who all preceded Fayrfax, I have been able to meet with no examples, except of Joseph Guinneth and Robert Davis, who flourished about the time of Edward the Fourth, and of whose counterpoint in two parts there are some fragments at Cambridge, in the Pepysian Collection, in which red notes are used for diminution.* It is very rude, and inferior to that of Bonadies, the master of Franchinus, Okenheim, Henry Isaac, Jusquin, Fayrfax, and Taverner, who flourished only about twenty or thirty years later.

By the kind of characters which Dunstable uses in the passages that Franchinus and Morley have inserted from his *Motet*, and *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, I should imagine his melody very uncouth and unmeaning; of his harmony, as only one part is given, there is no judging. Yet still this chasm must have been occasioned by accident, and the perishable materials upon which the music of other composers of the fifteenth century has been written.

Something like a chain or series of the writings of Musical Theorists is preserved; but of Musical Compositions, the collectors of great libraries throughout Europe have been very negligent. The Emperor Leopold, indeed, began to form a Musical Library at Vienna, and the Elector of Bavaria another at Munich in the last century; but both have been long neglected, and are now in a very confused and imperfect state (*b*). Nor is a complete series of musical compositions by the best masters, from the earliest period of counterpoint to the present time, to be found in any public or private library in Europe, to which I have ever had access. Indeed the collectors of books for royal, collegiate, or public libraries, seem never to have had an idea of forming any regular plan for making such a collection; and though many individuals have been possessed of a rage for accumulating musical curiosities, it has seldom happened that they have extended their ideas to musical productions in general; so that no more than one class or species of composition has been completed by them, and even this, at the death of the proprietor, is usually dispersed.**

In a library, formed upon so large a scale as that of the King of France at Paris, the Bodleian, and Museum in England, it seems as if music should be put on a level with other arts and sciences, in which every book of character is procured. In a royal or ample collection of pictures, specimens at least of every great painter are

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(*b*) The late composer Gasman, Maestro di Capella to the present Emperor, told me, that many works of old masters had been stolen out of the library at Vienna, by Musicians low in fancy; who, after making use of the best movements and passages as their own property, had destroyed the originals. This he discovered by the old catalogues, in which innumerable works were entered, that he was never able to find.

* This is evidently Pepysian MS. No. 1236. No compositions by Guineth or Davis are to be found in it. Davy in his *History of English Music* (*2nd ed.*, 1921) p. 80, suggests that Burney confused the *Gymel* with Guinneth.

** This state of affairs has long been remedied. For a comprehensive list of the leading libraries of music see Grove's. (*Art. Libraries and Collections, Vol. iii. p.* 152 *et seq.*)

purchased, and no private library is thought complete while the writings of a single poet of eminence are wanting (*c*).

Though the number of volumes of music in the British Museum bears no proportion to those in other faculties, and can hardly be called a collection, yet some very scarce and valuable compositions of old masters are preserved in that repository, to which, by the kindness and friendly zeal of the gentlemen to whose care they are consigned, I have been indulged with easy and frequent access.

The most curious specimens of early counterpoint, among the printed music in the Museum, are a collection of Masses in four parts, the first that issued from the press after the invention of printing. They consist of the first and third set of the Masses which Jusquin composed for the Pope's Chapel, during the Pontificate of Sexuts the Fourth, who reigned from 1471 to 1484; the Masses of Pierre de la Rue [1503], sometimes called Petrus Platensis, a set of Masses by Anthony de Feven or Feum [1515], Robert de Feven [1515], and Pierzon [La Rue]. The Masses of John Mouton; ditto of different composers, (*Missæ diversorum Auctorum*) viz. Obrecht, Phil. Bassiron, Brumel, Gaspar, and de la Rue.

(*c*) In forming such a Musical Library as would assist the student, gratify the curious, inform the historian, and afford a comparative view of the state of the art at every period of its existence, it were to be wished that the books, when collected, were classed in a way somewhat like the following:—

From the infancy of Counterpoint to the year 1500.

Masses
Motets } to Latin words.
Madrigals

Songs in parts,
& single Songs. } In modern languages.

The same continued to the year 1600; to which should be added:

Services and full Anthems } To English words as
Verse and solo Anthems } well as those of other
Psalmody, in two or more parts } modern languages.

The same classes completed to the year 1700, with the addition of Masques, Intermezzi, Serenatas,

Operas, serious and comic; Oratorios; Cantatas; Fantasias and Recercari, for various instruments.

All the above continued to the present time, with an addition of full

Concertos, Symphonies, and Overtures; Concertos, with solo parts for particular instruments; Quintets;. Quatuors; Sonatas, or Trios, Duets, and Solos for every Instrument for which Music has been composed, including Voluntaries for the Organ, and Lessons for every species of Keyed-instrument.

The music published in single parts should be scored, and that published in partition, transcribed in single parts; to be alike ready for the eye or the ear, for the theorist to examine, or the practical musician to perform.

And in order that science and criticism may keep pace with the mechanism and practice of the art, all the Treatises, Tracts, and Essays, both in the dead and living languages, should be collected, arranged chronologically, and assigned a particular portion of the Library.

The Bodleian Library, the Museum, and Royal Society, with some other libraries, have copies of new books sent to them, by the Stationers' Company, and by individuals, either by law or by courtesy; and when once such a foundation of old music is laid as we have here sketched out, it would soon become a custom, or might be made one by the legislature, for copies of all Music that is published in England as well as books on the subject, to be presented by the authors or editors to the Public Library. And the same means should be used for procuring all Foreign Musical Publications as are employed in accumulating books from all parts of the globe, where the press is at work.

The Librarian, Custode, or Keeper of these books, should be a good Practical Musician, as well as theorist and scholar, in order to know the worth of the productions he has in charge, and to be enabled to give instructions at least how to draw single parts from a score, and score single parts; to explain difficulties to the ignorant, and display curiosities to the learned; to know the rank each composer should hold in every class, and perhaps record the degree of respect that has been paid to him by his cotemporaries, and which is due to him from posterity.

All these were printed by Ottavio Petruccio da Fossembrone.* He first published the Masses of de la Rue at Venice, 1503, and in 1508 those by different authors. In 1513, removing to Fossembrone, in the Ecclesiastical State, he obtained a patent from Leo the Tenth in behalf of his invention of types, for the sole printing of figurative song, (*Cantus Figuratus*) and pieces for the organ (*Organorum Intabulaturæ*) during the term of twenty years (*d*). This patent is signed by the learned Cardinal Bembo, Leo's secretary.

The Masses are followed in this collection by the second, third, and fourth sets of Latin Motets, in four or five parts, called *Mottetti della corona,* from the figure of a crown stamped on the title page. The words of these excellent compositions consist of short portions of scripture, and hymns of the Romish church, set by Jusquin, Carpentras, Mouton, Adrian Willaert, Constantius Festa, and other great masters of the same period: they were all printed at Fossembrone, in 1519, by Petruccio, and published with the same patent as the masses.

It is from these collections that Glareanus has extracted almost all the examples of style of the early Contrapuntists, which he has inserted in his Dodecachordon, and to which Zarlino so frequently referred afterwards as models of perfection in his Harmonical Institutes, and other writings in speaking of what were even then (1558) called the old Classical Masters.

The second set of Jusquin's Masses,** and the first set of Motets

(*d*) Whether this music for the organ was expressed by letters or numbers, as formerly in the tablature for the Lute, Viol de Gamba, &c., or whether it was printed in two staves of six and eight lines, like the compositions of Frescobaldi, is now uncertain. as they are lost; but we are certain that they could not be scores for the organ, which has been imagined; as the word and thing were equally unknown for more than a century afterwards. See above, p. 705.

It has likewise been said that Frescobaldi's pieces for the organ were the first of the kind produced in Italy; but here is a patent granted for the printing similar productions near a century before, and Doni gives a list in his *Libraria,* printed in 1550, under the article, *Ricercari,* of more than ten volumes of *Tablatures* for the organ; *Intavolature da Organi, e da Leut d'Autore da Bologna, di Giulio da Modena, di Francesco da Milano, di Giaches Buus, piu di dieci volumi, e la continua.* I have been able to find no memorial of any other pieces for the organ, printed, published, or even composed, of so high a date as those printed by Petruccio, under the patent of Leo the tenth. *Intavolare* and *Intavolatura* are general terms in Italy for the notation of music, whether by letters and figures, in the same manner as for the lute, or otherwise.***

* Petrucci was the first to issue any considerable work printed from metal type. Examples of printing from wood, etc., of an earlier date than Petrucci are to be seen in the B.M. (King's Library).

The 1st set of *Mottetti della Corona* was published in 1514; the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th sets in 1519. Copies of the last three sets are to be found in the B.M. (K.i. d. 14, 15, and 16) along with other works from the same press.

The earliest work known to have been issued by Petrucci dates from 1501, in which year he published a collection of 96 pieces by Josquin, Isaacs and others, with the title, *Harmonice musices odhecaton.* The first printed book of organ tablature was issued in 1512 by Arnold Schlick.

** Josquin's 2nd book of Masses was printed at Venice in 1503 and reprinted at Fossombrone in 1515. The B.M. has a copy of the reprint.

*** In 1547 Gardano published at Venice a collection of *Ricercari da Cantare e sonare d'organo, etc.,* by Jachet Buus. In 1549 Gardano also issued a volume *Intabolatura d'organo di ricercari* di M. Giacques Buus. Copy in B.M. In the same year the same publisher printed a volume of *Fantasie e Ricercari,* by Adrian Willaert.

Ricercari, or *Recercari,* was the title given to *Solfeggi* for the voice, and original compositions or inventions for instruments, in early times of Counterpoint, before the word *Fantasia* supplied its place; and to succeed the terms *Concento, Concerto, Sinfonia, Sonata,* &c.

are wanting; however, I have seen in no other collection so many of the works of these venerable masters (*e*).

But before we present our scientific readers with examples of composition from these scarce and valuable productions, it will be necessary, from such scanty records as remain, to resume the clue of our narrative concerning times somewhat anterior to their publication.

It has been frequently asserted, upon the authority of Ludovico Guicciardini, and the Abbé du Bos, that Figurative Harmony was invented and first cultivated in the Netherlands; but though I purposely visited the chief cities there, both in the Austrian and French dominions, in order to ascertain a fact so important to the history of music, the inhabitants were never able to furnish such examples of early composition as will put the matter out of dispute. And to confess the truth, I have always regarded the testimony of L. Guicciardini and the Abbé du Bos as alike suspicious.

L. Guicciardini, who was a renegade Italian, settled at Antwerp, in the service of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, seems in his History of the Low Countries, determined to give the people among whom he lived the honour of every useful as well as ornamental invention, in order to flatter his patron and benefactors, even at the expence of his native country, from which he had no farther hopes. The Abbé du Bos, from a contrary principle, wished to give the honour to the Flemings, in order to pilfer it from them afterwards in favour of his own country, France (*f*). But if we may believe John Tinctor, who was himself a native of Flanders, and the most ancient composer and theorist of that country, whose name is upon record, it was the English, with John Dunstable at their head (*g*), who invented and first cultivated florid counterpoint, or figurative harmony. As bare assertions of this kind in favour of our countrymen, without proof, would not sufficiently authenticate the fact, I shall insert here an extract which I made at Bologna, from an inedited tract written by John Tinctor, and preserved, with other MS. treatises of the same author, in the library of the canons regular of S. Saviour, in that city; to which P. Martini referred me, upon asking him by what nation he thought music in parts, or simultaneous harmony, was first cultivated.

(*e*) The printed copies which are now in the British Museum were formerly in the possession of the noble families of Arundel and Lumley, whose signatures appear in the title page of each volume.

(*f*) The Abbe du Bos, as Voltaire observes, has seen, heard, and reflected upon the fine arts, and he must be allowed to be an elegant writer, and an ingenious, I would have said a just, reasoner, if he had not been too frequently warped by the *Amor Patriæ*, which is but too visible in many of his decisions. He not only determines, without sufficient proof, that the French and Flemings cultivated music before the Italians; but, wholly unacquainted with the compositions of other parts of Europe, asserted that there was no music equal to that of Lulli, only known and admired in France. And where will he be believed, except in that kingdom, when he says that foreigners allow his countrymen to understand *time* and *measure* better than the Italians? He never loses an opportunity of availing himself of the favourable opinions of foreigners in behalf of French music, against that of other parts of Europe. Not only L. Guicciardini, but Addison, Gravina, and Vossius, all equally unacquainted with the theory, practice, or history of the art, and alike deprived of candour, by the support of some favourite opinion or hypothesis, are pressed into the service of his country.

(*g*) See above, p. 677.

The title of this particular Tract is, *Proportionale Musices*; it is addressed to Ferdinand King of Sicily, Jerusalem, and Hungary, who reigned from 1458, to 1494, by John Tinctor, Chaplain, and Maestro di Capella to that Prince (*h*). The passage which confers on the English the honour of having invented Figurative Harmony is the following (*i*):—*Cujus, ut ita dicam,* novæ Artis *fons et origo* (Contrapuncti) *apud Anglos,* quorum caput Dunstaple extitit, fuisse perhibetur. Et huic *contemporanei fuerunt in Gallia,* Dufai, *et* Binchois; *quibus immediate successerunt moderni,* Okenheim, Busnois, Regis *et* Caron, omnium, quos audiverim, in compositione præstantissimi: nec *Anglici* nunc licet vulgariter *jubilare, Gallici vero cantare dicantur* veniunt conferendi. Illi etenimin dies novos cantus novissime inveniunt; at isti, quod miserrimi signum est ingenii, una semper et eâdem compositione utuntur. Sed, prob dolor! non solum eos imo complures alios compositores famosos, quos miror, dum tam subtiliter, ac ingeniose, tam incomprehensibili *suavitate componunt, mors abripuit.*—" Of which new art, as I may call it, the fountain and source is said to have been among the English, of whom Dunstable was the chief. And with him were cotemporary in France, Dufai and Binchois, whose immediate successors were the moderns, Okenheim, Busnois, Roi, and Caron, who of all the composers I ever heard were the most excellent; nor can the English, who are proverbially said to shout, while the French sing (*k*), now come in competition with them. For the latter invent new melodies every day (*l*), but the former continue to make use of one and the same style of composition, which betrays a miserable poverty of invention (*m*). But, alas! death hath deprived us, not only of these, but of many other famous masters whom I admire for the subtility, ingenuity, and inconceivable sweetness of their compositions."

Glareanus, who wrote in 1547, calls those compositions ancient, which were in use about seventy years before his time; nor does he believe that music in four parts subsisted, a century more early. His *Dodecachordon* was published during the last year of Henry the Eighth, and our John of Dunstable, who died in 1455 [1453], must have flourished about the time when Glareanus imagines music in four parts to have been first composed. Now as his tenor parts, which have been quoted by Franchinus Gafforus (*n*), prove, that

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(*h*) Johannis Tinctoris, *Musicæ Professoris,* Proportionale Musices *incipit.—Et primo Proemium.*——*Sanctissimo et invictissimo Principi Divo* Ferdinando, regis regum Dominique dominantium Providentia, *Regi Siciliæ, Gierusalem et Ungariæ,* Johannes Tinctor, inter Musicæ Professores, suosque Capillanos, minimus.

(*i*) This passage has been already cited. p. 677, but incompletely, as I could not then find my extract, which is here given more fully.

(*k*) This alludes to national characters which I have seen in several books that were written during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and which were at first probably circulated by one of the natives of France, as no others are allowed to sing. Of these characters we shall have occasion to speak farther hereafter.

(*l*) He seems to use *Gallici* in the extended sense of the Abbe du Bos, and to include the Netherlanders and Flemings.

(*m*) This is an accusation from which I fear it will be difficult to defend my countrymen, in the early days of counterpoint; as the chief part of their learning and genius was employed in varying and harmonizing old melodies.

(*n*) *Pract. Musicæ,* lib. ii. cap. 7. and lib. iii. cap. 4.

he had written in several parts, and as the invention of music of this kind is given to him by Tinctor, who was nearly his cotemporary, I should be guilty of great ingratitude, as an Englishman, if I did not accept of the present, in the name, and for the use of my countryman.

However, as to the invention of simple counterpoint, that is an honour for which we shall not contend, as the point has been given up already (*o*); but that he was at least one of the first who composed and wrote upon the subject of figurative harmony, consisting of three or four different melodies moving together in consonance, a considerable time before the Flemings or Netherlanders had distinguished themselves, or were dispersed all over Europe, which was the case during the next century, it is not only easy to believe, but to demonstrate. Tinctor and Franchinus, the first writers upon music in Italy, whose works were printed, not only quote Dunstable as a theorist, but insert fragments of his compositions to illustrate their rules of practice.

These writers mention two other composers in France, Dufai and Binchois, who were nearly cotemporary with Dunstable; but neither they, nor any other authors whom I have ever consulted, have recorded the name of any Flemish musician more ancient than John Okenheim*, whom Tinctor enumerates among the moderns that were living in his own time (*p*).

From this period we shall not only find the names of musicians who distinguished themselves in almost every part of Europe, but shall be able to produce specimens of their works; which will be more satisfactory to our musical readers than all the praise, censure, or description of their style and abilities, which ingenuity and the most flowery language can furnish.

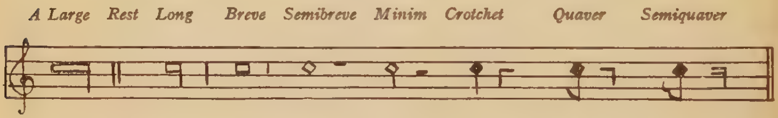
But before we exhibit any of the productions of these fathers of Figurative Harmony, it will be necessary to explain the characters in which they were originally written, and form them into a diagram, or time table, in order to facilitate their perusal; for though we shall exempt the reader from the difficulty of comparing the separate parts, by placing them over each other, in *score,* and dividing the measures by bars, yet the square notes and ligatures which will frequently occur, would be unintelligible to those who are unacquainted with any longer notes than semibreves, if not previously apprised of their respective duration. To write this ancient music in modern notes would deprive it of its venerable appearance, and the learned reader of an opportunity of judging whether it has been copied with care and fidelity; and indeed a promise was made to the reader in a former chapter (*q*), that as soon as we were arrived at Music in parts, worthy of contemplation, the subject of *Time* should again be resumed, and this seems the fittest place for its performance.

(*o*) See above, p. 677. (*p*) See p. 677. (*q*) Page 539.

* Obrecht, who is supposed to have been born at Utrecht about 1430, may be mentioned with Okenheim.

Franchinus, one of the most ancient Theorists whose doctrines first issued from the press after the invention of printing, speaks of but five different characters by which Musicians measured time: these were the *Maxima,* or Large 𝆶 : the Long, 𝆷 ; Breve, 𝆸 ; Semibreve, 𝆹 ; and Minim, 𝆹𝅥 . But other writers, early in the Sixteenth Century, added to these the Crotchet, ♩ ; Quaver, ♪ ; and Semiquaver, 𝅘𝅥𝅯 the Italians call *Semiminima, Croma,* and *Semicroma,* or *Biscroma.* And in compositions of the latter end of the fifteenth century, particularly in the celebrated Mass, *l'Homme Armé,* of Jusquin, which is so frequently cited by almost every writer on Music of the sixteenth Century, Crotchets and Quavers frequently occur.

Musical Characters used in Morley's Time, with their equivalent Rests.



The Semibreve, which is now our longest note, was, at this time, placed in the middle of the Diagram; and it seems at all times to have been the Unit, or Standard Measure, by which other notes were multiplied or divided: as a *Large* was equal, in common time, to eight Semibreves, a *Long* to four, and a *Breve* to two; whence the appellation of *Semibreve.*

All this is extremely simple and easy for those, who are acquainted with the characters used in Modern Music, to comprehend ; but the great difficulty in old compositions, without bars, is in movements of Triple, or as it was called *Perfect-time,* where, without a point, a Long was equal to three Breves, and a Breve to three Semibreves.

The initial Characters, or *Modal Signs,* placed at the beginning of a Movement, and their several powers, are almost innumerable, and always seem to have been subjects of dispute and perplexity, in the writings of the clearest and best Theorists of the sixteenth century. However, all measure was then, as well as at present, reducible to two standards of proportion, the Ternary and Binary, or perfect and imperfect, which we now call Triple and Common Time.

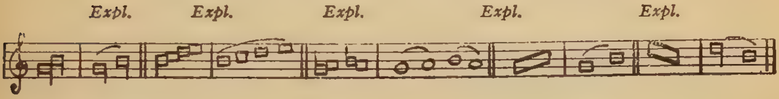
The Modes, or Moods, for ascertaining the *quantum* of each *pulsation* of time, were the following:

⊙ O3 for a perfect Long, or three Breves.
O a perfect Breve, or three Semibreves.
Ͼ Two imperfect Breves, and, in the compositions of Tallis and Bird, sometimes three Minims.
C An imperfect Breve, or two Semibreves.

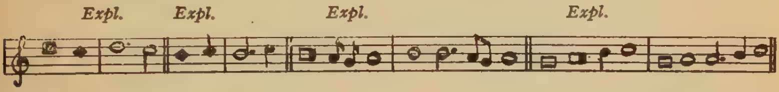
Besides these, there were others, for a species of Jig-time, in which Semibreves or Minims were Ternary, and moving in Triplets, while the longer notes were Binary: O3. O2. C3. &c. (*r*).

Ligatures were used by the early Contrapuntists, in vocal Music, to connect such sounds as were to be sustained or sung to one syllable, as is done at present by semicircular marks, called binding-notes and slurs. The rules for these are too numerous and vague to be explained without a long discussion, and their powers will perhaps be best comprehended in the examples of ancient composition of different parts, in partition, and barred. However, it may be useful to those who undertake to decipher such Music, to remember, that all the square notes in ligature, with tails on the *right hand, descending,* are Longs ; on the *left,* Breves ; and all with tails on the *left, ascending,* are Semibreves. Square notes, without tails, in ligature, are in general Breves, though there are some exceptions to this rule, for which it is not easy to assign a cause.

Ligatures explained by equivalent Notes.



Black, square, and lozenge notes, when mixed with white, are diminished one fourth of the value they have, while open or vacuate. And a note partially black, or demivacuate, is struck twice, in the following proportions:



The different use of *Points* by the Old Masters is extremely perplexing: there were four in the time of Zarlino (*s*), which must necessarily be distinguished in the perusal of Old Compositions.

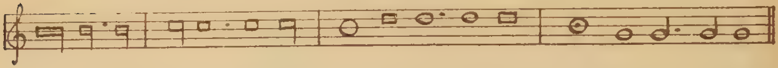
1. The point of *Perfection* was added only to such note as by the Modal Signs was in itself *perfect,* or equal to three notes of the next less in value, but made imperfect by position. ⊙ C are points of perfection in the Modal Signs.

2. The point of *Augmentation* is that still in common use after every species of note; but which the old Masters used only in common, or, as they called it, *imperfect* time: C ₵

(*r*) Zacconi, *Prat. Mus.* lib. ii. cap. 54. makes the Modal Signs amount to fourteen.

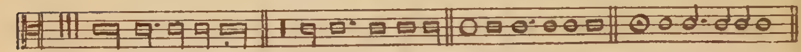
(*s*) *Ubi supra,* p. 274.

3. The point of *Division,* or Imperfection, is placed between two shorter notes that follow and precede two longer, in perfect Modes, to render both the long notes imperfect.



In all these examples the longer notes are, as in common time, imperfect, or equal to two of shorter duration, and the point is neither sung nor played. If, instead of the second note, a rest be placed before the point, its effect is the same.

4. The point of *Alteration,* or, more properly, of *Duplication,* is placed *before* two shorter notes preceding a longer, in order to double the length of the second short note (*t*).

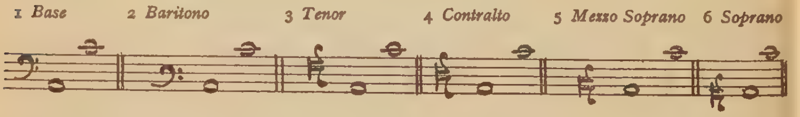


In all these instances, the fourth note is as long again as the third.*

In early times of Counterpoint, human voices of different compass, occasioned by age, sex, and natural organ, were classed and divided into four distinct kinds, at the distance only of a third above each other, which the Base, or F Clef, placed from line to line, expressed. The lowest of these was called the *Tenor,* the next *Contratenor, Motetus* the third, and *Triplum* the highest, or *Treble;* of which term, this was the origin.

After this, about the middle of the fifteenth century, as different parts began to be multiplied, the scale received six divisions: *Base, Baritono, Tenor, Contralto, Mezzo Soprano,* and *Soprano.* The natural pitch of these is about three or four notes above each other, as their several Clefs, which originally served as barriers, will discover.

It seldom happens that a voice has more than ten real, steady, and full, natural notes in its compass, without a mixture of *falset,* which, being of a different register, is easily discovered (*u*). The following are the names and usual extent of the several species of human voice.



(*t*) Rests placed in this manner, at the beginning of a movement, were indicial signs of prolation, and to ascertain the perfection or imperfection of the moods.

(*u*) See Tosi, Obs. on Florid Song, p. 22, et seq.

* The reader is again referred to the article on Notation in *Grove's* vol. 3, p. 654, for a clearer exposition of the various *points.*

But as there are sometimes Base voices which go down to double F, and even lower; so there are in the Treble, among modern vocal phenomena, singers that go higher than F in altissimo; which make the whole Diapason of voices exceed four Octaves (*x*).

But though parts were multiplied, not only to six, but even thirty-six, before the close of the fifteenth century, as we shall have farther occasion to relate hereafter; yet the general, and established number, in the Pope's Chapel, by which probably all other Choral Service was regulated, amounted to no more than four: *Cantus, Altus, Tenor,* and *Base* (*y*).

When an additional part was wanting, it was called *Quinta pars;* and, if still another was added, *Sexta pars.*

(*x*) In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the ambition of composers and singers seems to have been the approaching the great abyss, by an extension of the scale *downwards;* as in scoring music of those times I have frequently met with passages in the base as low as double D, and even C! Every lover of music must, on the contrary, have observed of late years singers possessed of a *centrifugal* passion, and a rage for extraordinary altitudes, as much as if the apotheosis depended on such flights. Agujari, an admirable singer, in other respects, in fluted-notes used to out-top the compass of modern harpsichords, reaching to *g* in *altissimo:* but Madame Le Brun astonishes, with two or three notes of still higher absurdity!!

(*y*) As these were the principal colours on a Composer's pallet, which he blended at his pleasure, and sometimes varied his tints by additional mixtures, it may be necessary to acquaint the reader with the importance in which they were held by Musicians.

All written music, in counterpoint, was at this time composed for voices, at least I have never seen any other; and, being intended for the church, was set to Latin words; so that the first *terms* used in the art, were likewise in that language. And these were so numerous about the year 1474, that John Tinctor collected them under the title of *Terminorum Musicæ Diffinitorium,* and printed them at Naples. This was doubtless not only the *first Musical Dictionary* that was ever compiled, but the *first book* that was *printed* on the subject of music in general. The work is so scarce that I have never been able to find it, except in his Majesty's inestimable Library, abounding with scarce, valuable, and beautiful copies of the most precious productions of the press. And I was not only allowed to consult this rare book in the Royal Library, but was honoured with the singular indulgence of a permission to transcribe it at my own house: for which I was the more solicitous, as it seemed of the greatest importance to my inquiries into the progress of the art at this early period, to have a precise idea of the acceptation in which these technical terms were then used.*

CANTUS, *Canto, Cantilena, Soprano,* Ital. *Chant, Dessus,* Fr. *Gesang. die hochste unterden singe-stimmen.* Germ. Treble, supreme part. in counterpoint.

ALTUS, *Contralto,* It. *Hautre-contre,* Fr. *Alt-stimme,* Germ. That melody, among the four principal parts in a vocal chorus, which is assigned to the *highest* natural voice of man.

TENOR, *Tenore,* It. *Taille,* Fr. *Tenor-stimme,* Germ. That part which holds the middle and most common pitch, among male voices. The word is derived from *teneo,* I hold, being that part in discant which sustains the notes of the canto fermo, while the other parts are moving in dissimilar melodies. Du Cange gives an instance of its use in 1407, ex Bibl. Reg. and from Zobinelli's *Hist. Britan.* to ii. col. 962. *Jehan Tromelin* Tenour *de la Chapelle de Monseigneur* lxx. I. *par an.* The tenor part is likewise mentioned in the *Roman de la Rose:*

Et chante haut a plaine bouche
Motets, gaudis & Teneure.

The Tenor part in music has been compared to the *pole* of a coach, which couples and holds together the horses by which it is drawn.

BASSUS, *Basso,* It. *Basse,* Fr. *Grund-stimme, die tieffte stimme einer Harmonie,* Germ. The term appears in no composers, before Jusquin. It is derived from *Basis,* by Zarlino and others, and said to imply the *fundamental sounds* upon which all Harmony and even Melody is constructed. Others are of opinion that the Latin, which is barbarous, came from the Italian *Basso,* low, and so has got admission into all modern languages with a double s. The word is not inserted in Tinctor's *Diffinitorium.*

Teofilo Folingio, of Mantua, the poet, has facetiously, and with some degree of precision, described the four principal parts in Music, in as many *macaronic* verses.

Plus ascoltantum Sopranus *captat orrecchias.*
Sed Tenor *est vocum rector, vel guida tonorum.*
Altus *Apollineum carmen depingit et ornat.*
Bassus *alit voces, ingrassat, fundat, et auget.*

The *Treble* chiefly captivates the vulgar ear;
But the *Tenor* is the Ruler of Voices, and guide of tones;
The *Counter-Tenor* colours and ornaments the Lyric Poem;
While the *Base* feeds, enriches, supports, and completes the harmony.

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* A copy of this work, the first dictionary of musical terms, is now in the B.M. (King's Lib., 66 e., 121). Two other copies are known, one of which is at Vienna.

Now the several parts of the scale are appropriated to different voices, I shall proceed to shew my musical reader, what harmonies were chiefly used in accompanying the eight notes of the scale, ascending and descending from any given note, and it seems my business carefully to remark the gradual changes, that have happened in melody and harmony, from this period. With respect to melody, its flights will ever be so wild and capricious, as to elude all laws, or require a new code every year; it is as subject to change, as the surface of the sea, or the fluctuating images of an active mind. But harmony is somewhat more permanent; however, *that* cannot be long fixed by immutable laws, as will be shewn in the course of this work, where we shall present our readers, from time to time, with the general harmony, which was given to each note of the base, in the ascent and descent of the Diatonic Scale; which the French, during the present century, have distinguished by the title of *Regle de l'Octave* (*z*).

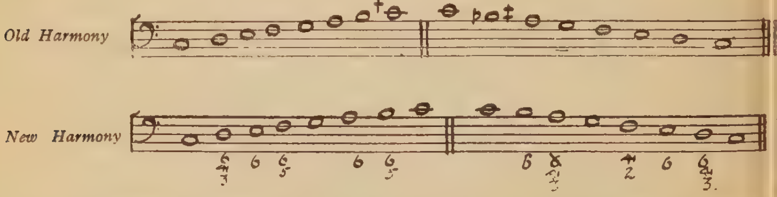
Tartini has remarked, with great truth, that there was no modulation in the modes or keys of the fifteenth century, but what intrinsically belongs to the tone or key proposed; and all the music of those times remains perfectly and rigorously in the Diatonic Scale (*a*).

The purity at present seems monotonous, but perhaps the want of variety in the melody and modulation was compensated by accuracy of intonation and perfection of harmony; for as so few keys were used, but little temperament was required, even in the organ, which, for all the modulation then practised, could have every consonance and interval nearly as perfect, as they can be produced by voices or violins (*b*).

(*z*) The *Harmonic Formula*, so called, was first published, according to Rousseau in 1700, by M. Delaire. *Dict. de Musique.*

(*a*) Tartini, *Trattato di Musica,* cap. v. p. 147, and Stillingfleet, p. 81.

(*b*) The reader, who has studied composition, or even accompaniment, will be able, by comparing the harmony of an ancient and modern scale, to account for the different effects, arising from the two kinds of music. The old masters seldom used discords, except at a close; and often accompanied seven of the eight notes, in every key, with common chords. The moderns, on the contrary, allow them only to the key note, and its fifth; to all the rest they give a sixth or a discord. In old compositions, the harmony of each note in the scale seems detached and unconnected by relative sounds: and in the new two chords seldom succeed each other, without being combined by some sound, in common with both.



It is not common, or necessary, for the sounds of either of these scales, thus accompanied, to be used in this regular manner; but the following bases, with no other harmony, than common chords, perpetually occur, in ancient music: DC, CE, EG, AGF. Of this las

[*Footnote continued on opposite page.*

Indeed most of the attempts at Harmony, that we have been able to discover, previous to the middle of the fifteenth century, seem only to disgrace and encumber melody. A succession of fourths or fifths, which was called *Diatessaronare,* and *Quintoier,* with a very sparing use of other Concords, would be very disgusting to modern ears; and the slow manner in which thirds and sixths were received into favour, seem still to prove the want of a temperament in the instruments, with which the voice was then accompanied. These Concords, which, on this account, seem to have been ranked among Discords, by the ancients, perhaps acquired, from the same cause, the appellation of *imperfect,* among the moderns (*c*). The Pythagorean division of the scale seems to have been all, that the Musicians, of those times had retained of the Ancient Music. Poetry was now sunk into Gothic Barbarism, and elegant Melody was wholly unknown; for the Chants of the Church, to which Music seems now to have been wholly confined, offered little to the ear, but melodies that were either monotonous, or uncouth.

However, while Harmony was refining, and receiving new combinations, it was found, like other sweet and luscious things, to want qualification, to keep off langour and satiety; when some bold Musicians had the courage and address to render it piquant and

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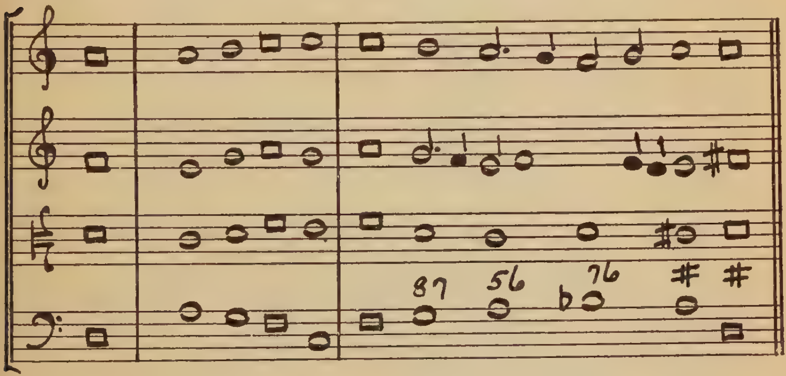
modulation, I can give no better illustration, than the following chant of Palestrina, from a MS. chiefly in his own hand writing, which will be described hereafter.



† About the middle of the sixteenth century, the sharp 7th of the key, ascending, began to be accompanied by the 6th; indeed, before that period, if the 7th of the key was ever used in the base, it was made flat.

‡ The old contrapuntists held the sharp 4th and flat 5th in such abhorrence, that, to avoid them, they frequently made the 7th of a key flat, even before a close. Mi *contra* fa *est Diabolus in Musica,* has been said by an eminent musical writer, during the present century. *FUX, Grad. ad Parn. Viennæ,* 1725.

(*c*) Their mutability into major and minor, which is given by some writers as a reason for their being called imperfect concords, seems rather to entitle them to a precedency over all others: for it is on this account, and from their variety of effect on the ear, that they are so agreeable in succession, and afford us a pleasure peculiar to themselves.

interesting by a mixture of DISCORD, in order to stimulate attention; and thus by giving the ear a momentary uneasiness, and keeping it in suspence, its delight became the more exquisite, when the discordant difficulty was solved. And this contrast of imperfection seems a necessary zest to all our enjoyments: in Painting, a tawdry glare of vivid colours without shade would but dazzle and fatigue the sight; and to delineate figures, without the intervention of shade, would be writing upon water. Sleep, if uninvited by fatigue, would unwillingly approach our dwelling; even sun-shine would lose all its charm, if not interrupted sometimes by clouds and darkness; and happiness itself, if monotonous, and incessant, would degenerate into apathy. Contrast is the great principle of beauty, in all the arts, and indeed throughout the universe; for amidst the wonderful order and symmetry, with which it is composed, an endless variety is discoverable in the proportions, forms, colours, and qualities, of its most minute, as well as most magnificent parts.

Discords, in musical composition, does not consist in the excess or defect of intervals, which, when false, produce jargon, not music; but in the warrantable and artful use of such combinations, as, though too disagreeable for the ear to dwell upon, or for the purpose of finishing a musical period, yet so necessary are they to modern counterpoint, and modern ears, that harmony, without their relief, would satiate, and lose many of its most beautiful effects.

Discords were very sparingly used by the old masters, who were cotemporary with Franchinus; their laws were not soon established, and in scoring the first masses that were printed in Italy, and those composed before the Reformation, in England, which are preserved in MS. at Oxford, I find few discords regularly prepared and resolved, except the 4th into the 3d; or the 7th into the 6th; the 2d, 9th, or 5th, made a discord by the 6th, scarcely ever occur (*d*).

Franchinus quotes Dunstable, on the subject of discord ; but our countryman seems only to have used it in passing-notes, to which no accompaniment is given, or notes which lead from one concord to another, in order to connect the melody. Franchinus is obscure on the subject of preparing and resolving discords ; indeed, he only mentions the 4th made a discord by the 5th, though in the

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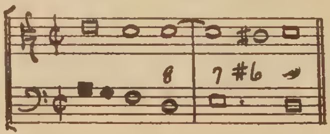
(*d*) The first discord that seems to have been regularly used was the 7th; the next, the fourth, at a close; after this the $^{6}_{2}$; and then, the ninth. In a fragment of *Canto Figurato*, by Bonadies, the master of Franchinus, 1473, there is no other discord to be found than a 7th prepared by the 8th, and resolved upon the sharp 6th:



It is probable that the rule for preparing discords, originated from the danger of unskilful singers not hitting them: and we find in the old church-music, composed for voices only, no discords, but what were prepared, and in ligature; even during the last century, it was esteemed a great licence to use one that had not been previously a concord.

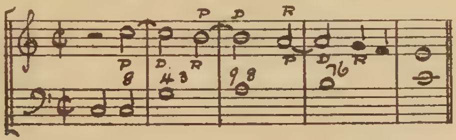
recapitulation and illustration of his rules, he uses, not only that, but the 7th, $\frac{5}{2}$, 9th, and 5th made a discord by the 6th ; which are almost all the discords that were used for near two centuries after the publication of his book.

But in a tract upon counterpoint, by John Tinctor, cited likewise by P. Martini (*e*), the subject is more clearly treated than by Franchinus, who wrote several years after him: for we are there told, that every discord must be preceded by a concord, as the second by the unison or 3d ; the 4th by the 3d or 5th ; the 7th by the 5th or 8th, &c. (*f*).

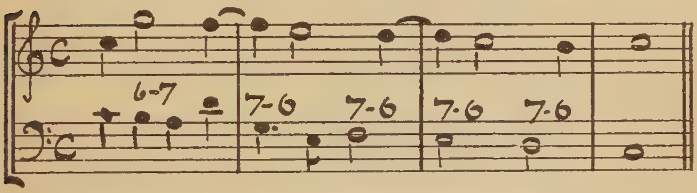
(*e*) To. I. p. 215.

(*f*) Whether Tinctor means regular, prepared discords, or discords used as passing-notes, is perhaps not certain; but in either case, a discord should be rendered supportable by two concords, one before its percussion, and one after it; that by passing from one agreeable sound to another, the ear may not have more of this acid and piquant sauce, than it can bear. There is a very material difference between the use of discords, as passing-notes, and preparing and resolving them, which I shall endeavour to explain: a bar, in common time, is divided into two or four equal portions, times, or parts; of these, the first and third are accented, the second and fourth, unaccented; now the percussion of a prepared discord should always be on an accented part of a bar, and the resolution on an unaccented part; on the contrary, a transient discord, used only as a passing-note, is generally struck on the unaccented part of a bar. A short example in notes will perhaps make a deeper impression than the precept.

Discords prepared and resolved.

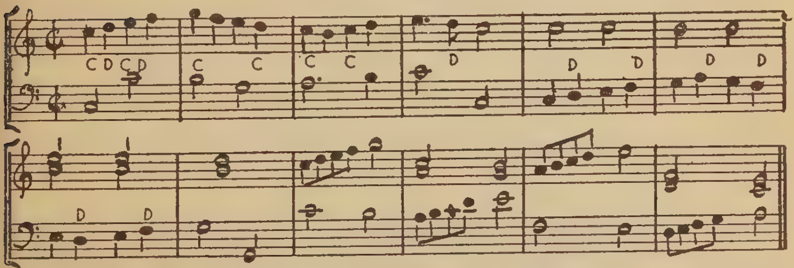


Bar of two times, the first accented, the second unaccented.



Bar of four times, first and third accented, second and fourth unaccented.

Discords used as passing-notes.



This subject has been so well and amply treated by Dr. Pepusch, *Treatise of Harmony*, p. 41, and by Padre Martini, *saggio di Contrap*, that more examples need not be added here; I shall only, in general, remind musical students that, in divisions, where many notes in the treble go to one note in the base, all that are not sounds of the chord, which belongs to the base, are passing-notes. And if the base is divided, then all are passing-notes, in that part, except the first in a group.

After the scale, which furnishes Melody, was settled, and agreeable simultaneous sounds were discovered, which enriched it with *harmony* ; after these sounds were classed into *perfect,* and *imperfect, Concords,* and other intervals, called *Discords,* were found practicable in composition, and when discreetly managed, to add to the beauty and effect of Harmonical Combinations, it was natural to imagine that Melody and Harmony, like twin-sisters, would have grown up, and been refined and polished together. But the elder of the two sisters, Melody, was long neglected, and suffered to run wild, while every method was used, which Science and diligence could devise, in order to cultivate and improve the natural powers and agreeable qualities of *Harmony*. It was indeed a long time, before sufficient attention had been given to Melody, to find that she was capable of the least improvement, or had a genius for any thing but *Psalmody* ; however, in riper years, she was discovered to have many captivating qualities, and to be susceptible of grace, elegance, and every embellishment which art and invention could suggest. This discovery, in process of time, brought her into good company, and made her the delight of the most polished and fashionable part of the world, after having long associated with the lowest of the people ; rioting in alehouses with jolly fellows, and roaring in the streets with ballad singers. At length, however, she went upon the stage, and there, though indeed she was accused of giving herself airs, and affecting the company of princes and heroes, and manners of the ancient Greeks, yet, of whatever absurdities she was guilty in her theatrical character, she seems from *that* to have derived all her favour and importance ; as it was on the *Stage* that she studied the public opinion, and acquired the approbation of persons of sensibility, taste, and discernment. But before we proceed to give her dramatic adventures, we must relate what happened to her sister, in the *Church*.

It has been already shewn (*g*) that *Counterpoint,* in the Church, began by adding parts to plain chant ; and, in secular music, by harmonizing old tunes, as florid melody did, by variations to these tunes. It was long before men had the courage, or genius to *invent new melodies* (*h*).

It is a matter of surprize, that so little plain Counterpoint is to be found, and, of this little, none correct, previous to attempts at imitation, fugue, and canon, contrivances to which there was a very clear tendency, in all probability, during times of extemporary Discant, before there was any such thing as *written Harmony* ; for we find in the most ancient Music, in parts, which is come down to

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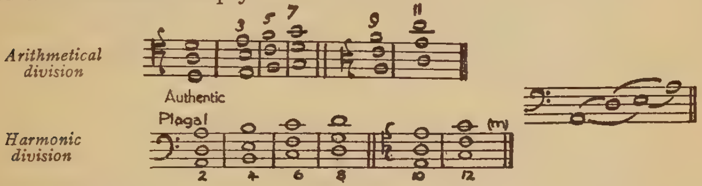
(*g*) Chap. II. of this Book.

(*h*) Harmony in two parts must necessarily have been poor, and insipid, while th modulation was so confined, and discord so seldom used. This seems to account for the rage o composing and hearing music in many parts, heaped one on the other, without much delicac or selection, that each chord might have its full complement. Till fancy, taste, and expressio had existence, a solo or even duet, unaccompanied, must indeed have been as dull an uninteresting as the musical societies for the preservation and performance of ancient musi have ever pronounced them; but either invention, refined tones, grace, and exquisit performance are nugatory, or a solo, and a single song, have their merit at present, as we as choruses and full pieces.

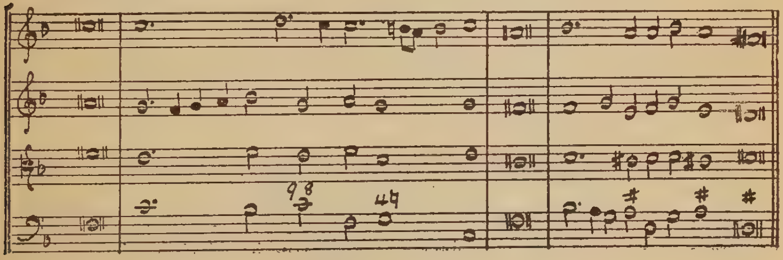
us, that Fugue and Canon had made a considerable progress, at the time it was composed (*i*). The Song, or Round, " Sumer is i cumen in," is a very early proof of the cultivation of this art ; and the first compositions for the Church, or Masses in Music, that were printed, and which were composed in the fifteenth century, are full of Canons and Fugues, of the most artificial and difficult construction. What could have given birth so early to these mockeries, is a subject which merits some investigation.

Padre Martini (*k*) is of opinion that this species of composition had its beginning in the following manner. The first composers having begun to add another part to *Canto Fermo,* which at the same time that it formed a different melody, was in harmony, or counterpoint, which is the union of different melodies, contrived that whatever part they superadded to the chant, should resemble it as much as possible, if not throughout the movement, at least in the subject. But as this Canto Fermo is sometimes transposed from one Hexachord (or *Proprietà del Canto*) to another, in the same manner the *imitations* of the several parts in counterpoint are made sometimes in the unison or octave, and sometimes in the 4th or 5th above or below; still taking great care that the intervals and syllables, or Solmisation, are the same ; that is, that the distance between one sound and another, and the Solmisation, or syllabic names of the sounds, perfectly correspond with those of the subject, or principal Chant (*l*).

And it is easy to discover from the Skeleton of the Ecclesiastical Modes, authentic and plagal, that this is the true origin of fugue, and all the laws of reply.



(*i*) The following chant, by Josquin, is the most ancient and accurate counterpoint, *non fugato*, that I have hitherto found.



(*k*) *Saggio di Contrap.* parte 2da. Pref. p. xxviii.

(*l*) See above, p. 473. the Diagram, representing the Hexachords, or, as they are likewise called, *proprieties* of the three original keys of G, C, and F.

(*m*) The last four modes, which were added by Glareanus, offer no new modulation, or melody; as all the intervals which the eight ancient ecclesiastical modes allow in the key of A, are furnished by the second mode, or plagal of D; and C is supplied with all its sounds by the plagal of F.

Here we have all the keys ; and, if these fixed and fundamental sounds were filled up with the intermediate notes, we should have all the scales whence the melody of Fugues and Canons was drawn, during almost three centuries. The chants of the church furnished the subjects, and their answers ; the accuracy of which was proved by the syllables of the Guidonian Hexachords.

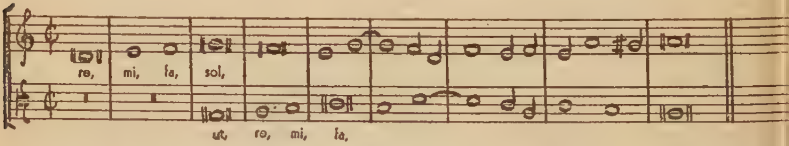
The 5th above and 5th below, or 5th and 4th of a key, either major or minor, are its first relatives ; and as they furnish the most agreeable modulation, so they are the only intervals, different from the identity of unison and octave, in which the answer of a regular Canon or Fugue can be made (*n*). All other replies are allowed by Theorists to be nothing but imitations. And the *literal* names of notes, their appearance on paper, or even effect on the ear, will not demonstrate the truth of an answer to a subject given, with such certainty, as Solmisation; and it seems as if the Guidonian syllables would be more useful in this species of composition, than in singing (*o*).

I have dwelt the longer on these first principles of Canon and Fugue, as the lives and labours of the primitive Fathers of Harmony were spent in establishing, and those of their immediate successors, in producing such illustrations of them, as were not only the delight of their own age, but are still the admiration of every friend to the art.

(*n*) If, for instance, the subject of a fugue was delivered in any series of notes belonging to the Hexachord of C Major, the answer should be in one of the other two Hexachords of F or G, its 4th and 5th, in the same intervals, and syllables. In a minor key the same rules should be observed, remembering that no accident of ♭, ♯, or ♮, should have admission in the answer, which does not occur in the subject. The relative minor keys to a major, and major to a minor, are reciprocally, the 3ds above and 3ds below, which furnish *imitations*, but not *answers*, to subjects of Fugue.

e	a	b	minor	c	f	g	major.
C	F	G	major	A	D	E	minor.
a	d	e	minor	f	b	c	major.

(*o*) Pietro Aaron, in his *Lucidario in Musica*, published 1545, gives the following little movement, as a proof, that a Fugue, in appearance, is not always a Fugue, *in reality*.



Many of the rules of Fugue, it must be owned, were frivolous, and often followed with such rigour and pedantry, as merited reprobation; for all rules in music, deduced from any other principle than *effect on the ear*, are absurd. If that sense, which this art was invented to delight, be satisfied, what title has the eye to take offence, though a sharp, flat, or other accident, interrupt the apparent symmetry of intervals? However, it was chiefly in Fugues, which were wholly built on fragments of *Canto fermo*, that such Rules were thought indispensable; for in secular music, composed upon subjects of invention, where the ecclesiastical scales have been abandoned, more latitude, both of subject and reply, has been taken by the greatest masters of the art; as will appear from the specimens of their abilities in this kind of Composition, which will be inserted in the course of the work.

It is upon the *Hexachords* that Dr. Pepusch has founded all his rules of Fugue: *Treatise of Harmony;* Mr. Marpurg, *Traite de la Fugue*, has likewise had recourse to *Solmisation, a la Francoise*, for explaining his precepts; and Padre Martini, in his learned and admirable *Saggio di Contrapunto*, recommends *syllabic* demonstration to students in church Music, where Fugue and Canon have still, and will ever have, their champions, among the friends of masterly composition, and local propriety.

Though it has been frequently asserted, upon the authority of Lud. Guicciardini, and the Abbé du Bos, that Counterpoint was invented and first cultivated in the Netherlands, yet it should be remembered that Guido, who furnished the Musical Scale and system still in use; Marchetto da Padua, who first attempted Modern Chromatic, or Secular Modulation; and Franchino Gafforio, who produced the first practical treatise upon Composition, were Italians.

It is well known, and generally allowed, that it was the custom in the middle ages, during times of the greatest mental darkness, when reason and reflection were the least cultivated, for the priests, of almost every part of Europe, to visit Rome, in order to learn Canto Fermo, and the manner of performing those rights of the church, in which music had any concern (*p*). Even those historians who are the least friends to bigotry, and the most ready to combat superstition and papal usurpations (*q*), allow that it was only at the court of Rome that the arts of elegance and refinement were at all cherished, during these times.

And in the fifteenth century, when we first hear of harmony in four parts, and masses set to figurative music, it was for the use of the Pope's Chapel that the greatest efforts of genius in composition were excited among the candidates for favour in that art, by the double certainty of having their labours liberally rewarded, and their productions well performed. And if we find that many of the composers of the Pontifical Chapel were Netherlanders, and the singers Spaniards, it does not necessarily follow that the Italians had either counterpoint, or the art of singing, from the Low Countries, or from Spain. The Roman College of singers had been established and celebrated during so many ages, that we may as well imagine these foreigners went to Rome to learn music, as to teach it.*

We know, in later times, that many of the greatest musicians of Europe have either had their education in Italy, or thought it as necessary to visit that country as the ancient Roman philosophers to travel into Greece, or the Grecians into Egypt. Orlando di Lasso, Handel, Hasse, Gluck, and J. C. Bach, went thither very early, and

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(*p*) King Pepin, Charlemagne, and Alfred, had applied to the Roman Pontiffs for singing masters to instruct their subjects.

(*q*) See Hume's History, at the close of the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VIII. chap 3.

* It would be foolish to deny the importance of Italian influence upon the history of music, but it would be equally foolish to deny the fact that in the early 15th century the most important centres of composition were England and the Netherlands.

It may be that away from Rome, composers could come more under the influence of secular music than was possible in that city.

That secular music must have influenced the Church composers is certain, but that it was quite so important as Hullah tries to demonstrate in *The History of Modern Music* (*London* 1862) *p.* 51 *et seq.*, is open to question.

The older historians, probably from the imperfection of the record, trace all musical progress as the work of Church composers, but with increased knowledge of early secular music it is clear that the obligation was not one sided.

may be said to have formed their styles on the best models of that country (*r*).

The learned Josquin went thither as a singer (*s*), during the pontificate of Sixtus the Fourth. And before the year 1600, the names of near twenty Spanish singers and composers are recorded, who were employed in the pontifical chapel. Yet all this proves nothing more than that musicians of great abilities, from whatever part of the world they came, were certain of encouragement there.

It is, however, very true, that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, many excellent Flemish composers were dispersed all over Europe; but the Netherlanders had long been in possession of its chief manufacturers and commerce; and, as the polite arts are children of affluence, and dependent on superfluity for support, it is natural to suppose that they would thrive well at this period, particularly during the reigns of the Emperors Charles the Fifth, and Francis the First of France, who were not only both lovers and encouragers of music, but such knights-errant, that they lived less in their own capitals than elsewhere, and we find that the arts followed them wherever they went.

This reflection will, perhaps, a little abate our wonder, at the great number of musicians which French Flanders, and the Spanish Netherlands, produced, if it be recollected that Brussels, Antwerp, Mons, Cambray, &c. were frequently the residence of these munificent princes (*t*).

With respect to the particular region, or city in Europe, where Harmony was first cultivated, till other countries can produce an earlier specimen of Music in parts than the Song, or Round, " Sumer is i cumen in," or refute the assertion of Tinctor, himself a Netherlander, in favour of the countryman, Dunstable, who is likewise frequently cited by Franchinus, we seem to have the fairest claim to the honour. If the Italians were the first, as they were afterwards the best musicians, of modern times, they have been negligent, in not giving incontestible proofs of it. Bonadies, the master of Franchinus, lived certainly as early as any other good composer in parts, of whom any thing is preserved; but it must be

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(*r*) The first motets of Orlando that were published at Antwerp, by Tylman Susato, 1555, were said to be made *a la nouvelle composition d'aucuns d'Italis;* as the first productions of Handel, that were published in England, were said to be composed by an eminent Italian master; Hasse went very young into Italy, and was a scholar of Alessandro Scarlatti; however, his clear and graceful style more resembled that of Vinci and Pergolesi, his competitors in the natural, simple, and elegant manner of writing for the voice, than that of either Scarlatti, his master, or Kaiser, his countryman, and first model. The late excellent composer, Mr. J. C. Bach, son and brother of two of the greatest musicians that ever existed, is allowed to have been a fine player on keyed instruments, before he went to Italy; but his vocal music is certainly more in the style of Italy than of his native country.

(*s*) Adami, *Osserv. per ben reg. il Corodella Cap. Pontif.* p. 159.

(*t*) Rabelais, in the prologue to the third book of his Pantagruel, written in 1552 (*voyez* To. 5. p. 52, *partie 2de du Rabelais Moderne,* Amst. 1752) names sixty *et aultres joyeulx Musiciens,* whom he had heard perform, the chief of whom were Netherlanders; and Lod. Guicciardini (*Descrit. di tuiti i Paesi Bassi*) enumerates fourteen great musicians of that country, who were dead at the time he wrote, 1566; and gives a more considerable list of such as were then living. But as compositions of many of these still subsist, and as I shall hereafter have occasion to exhibit some of them, I shall not trouble my readers here with a dry catalogue of the names of persons, who, though they may have been interesting to a great part of Europe, during the sixteenth century, have been too long out of the world, to have many friends in it, at present.

allowed, that we are still in possession of works by Okenheim, Josquin, Isaac, and Brumel, who were neither Englishmen nor Italians, that surpass in excellence all that can be produced, of equal antiquity, by the inhabitants of England, Italy, or any other parts of the world. We shall therefore, in justice to these great Harmonists, and the countries which gave them birth, proceed to speak of them in chronological order, and give specimens of their works.

And among these, JOHN OKENHEIM [d. *c.* 1495] deserves the first notice, as he is the oldest composer in parts,* on the continent, of whose works I have been able to find any remains. M. le Duchat, in his notes upon Rabelais, says he was a native of Hainault, and treasurer of St. Martin de Tours; but I believe this assertion was hazarded more with the patriotic view of making Okenheim as much a Frenchman as possible, than from proof or conviction; for he was always spoken of as a Netherlander by his cotemporaries, Tinctor, Franchinus, and even in the Deploration, or Dirge, written upon his death, which his scholar, Jusquin, set to music in five parts, as well as the following, which was set by Guillaume Crespel:

> *Agricola, Verbonnet, Prioris,*
> *Josquin des Pres, Gaspard, Brunel, Compere,*
> *Ne parlez pluz de joyeulx chants, ne ris,*
> *Mais composez un* ne recorderis,
> *Pour lamenter nostre Maistre et bon Pere.*

There is still another Dirge, in Latin (*u*), on the death of Okenheim, set to music by Lupi, a Netherlander, and composer of eminence in the time of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. Many of whose Latin motets, and French songs, in parts,. are preserved in the Museum Collections, as are those of Crespel, the composer of the French *Deploration,* just cited.

Little more is recorded concerning the life of Okenheim, than that he was a Netherlander, who flourished in the 15th century, produced many learned and elaborate compositions for the church, and had many scholars, by whom he seems to have been much beloved and respected. It is, indeed, often mentioned to his honour, that he was the master of Jusquin (*v*); but he seems to have been as fortunate in a disciple, as Jusquin in a master: as no great professor is sure of making great scholars in any art, unless he have genius and diligence to direct; and it is only from such fortunate and rare concurrences that the narrow limits of mediocrity are surpassed, or the wild effusions of youthful ardour restrained.

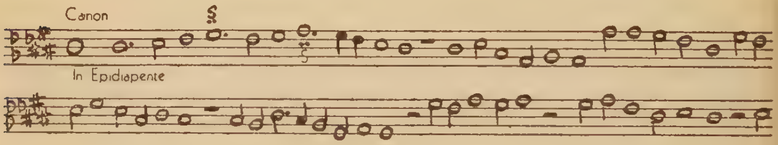
(*u*) *Nænia in* Joannem OKegi, *Musicorum principem.*

(*v*) Padre Martini calls him, *Il Famoso Maestro del famosissimo Giosquino del prato.* Stor. To. I. 333.

* Okenheim must be regarded as the leader of the second group of Flemish composers. The first and earlier school consisted of Dufay, Binchois (who is supposed to have taught Okenheim) and Brassart, etc., who were writing polyphonic music many years before Okenheim. MSS. of his work are now at Dresden, Vienna, Brussels, Rome, and at other places. Reprints of two Masses were made by the *D.T.O.*

None of the musical writers of the sixteenth century forgets to tell us, that Okenheim composed a motet in thirty-six parts: of what these parts consisted, or how they were disposed, is not related by Ornithoparcus, Glareanus, Zarlino, or any one who mentions the circumstance, which all seem to have received from tradition. But of our countryman, Tallis, a Song is still preserved in forty parts (*x*); yet, though I have seen this effort of science and labour, its effects must still be left to imagination; for where shall we find forty voices, assembled together, that are able to perform it? (*y*).

We may, however, deduct from the reputation of Okenheim, all the increase it received from the story of his Polyphonic composition, and there will still remain sufficient cause for the respect and wonder of Contrapuntists, in the fragments only of his works, which have been preserved in the *Dodecachordon* of Glareanus. This writer tells us, that he was fond of the *Καϑολικα* in the cantus; that is, of composing a melody which may be sung in various modes, or keys, at the pleasure of the performer, observing only the ratio, or relation of consonant notes in the harmony (*z*). From the following single part, which may be led off in any key, with either a flat, or a sharp third, two other parts may be extracted, a fifth lower, beginning at the distance of a perfect breve, or whole measure, after each other (*a*).*



(*x*) It is in the possession of Mr. Bremner in the Strand, and will be further described hereafter.

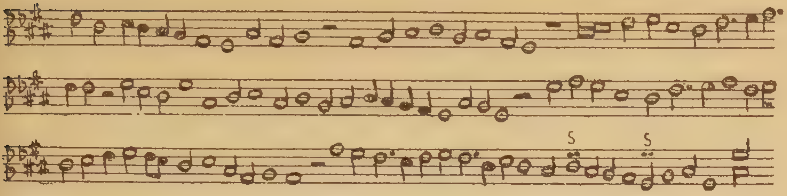
(*y*) If there had been more frequent rehearsals of the ***Miserere*** of Leo, in 8 real parts, which Ansani had performed last year, 1781, at the Pantheon, by more than 40 voices, I can conceive, from such movements as were correctly executed, that the effects of the whole would have been wonderful, and greatly have surpassed all the expectation which the high reputation of the composer, and the uncommon magnitude of the enterprize, had excited. I am at present in possession of the mass by Benevoli, in twenty-four parts, for six choirs, mentioned p. 416, and a movement for twelve sopranos, or treble voices, of equal extent. There can be little melody in any of these multiplied parts; but to make them move at all, without violation of rule, requires great meditation and experience.

(*z*) This seems to imply no more than that the singer, as was usual in old music, should himself discover and express the accidental flats and sharps, without which, however ecclesiastical the melody might look, the harmony would be intolerable; and, indeed, this kind of music seems more calculated to please the *eye* than the *ear*.

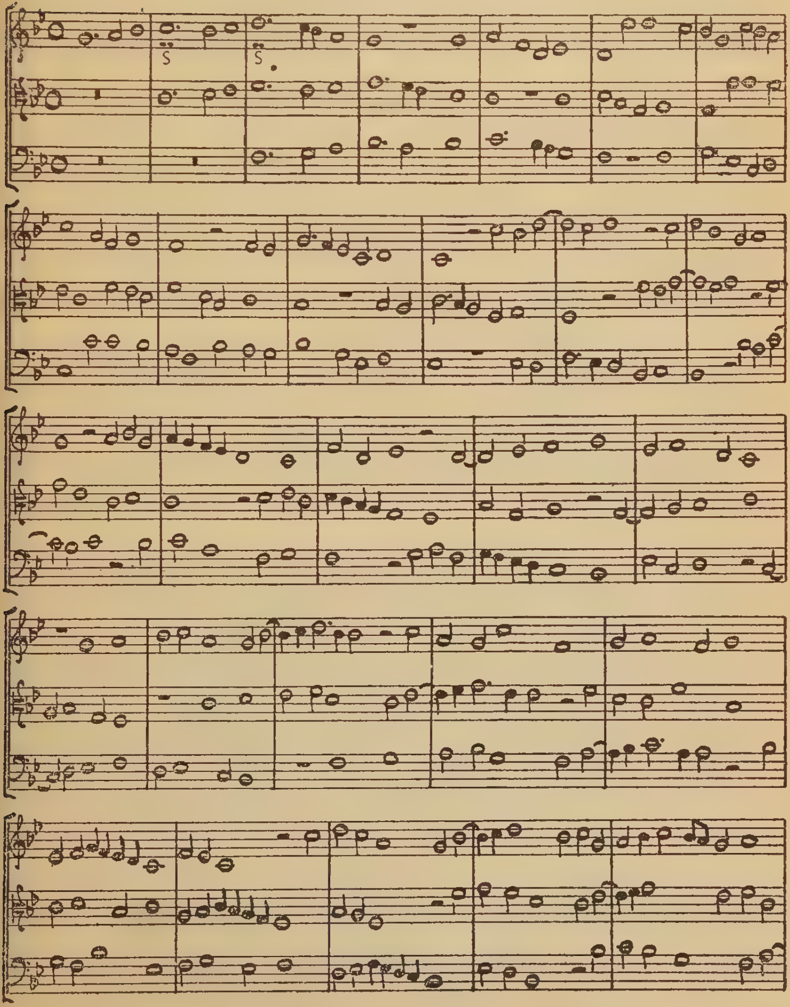
(*a*) By this injunction of resting a *perfect time*, with the circular modal sign at the beginning, all doubt is removed concerning the *time* of this movement, which is certainly *triple*, though some have erroneously imagined it to be in *common* time.

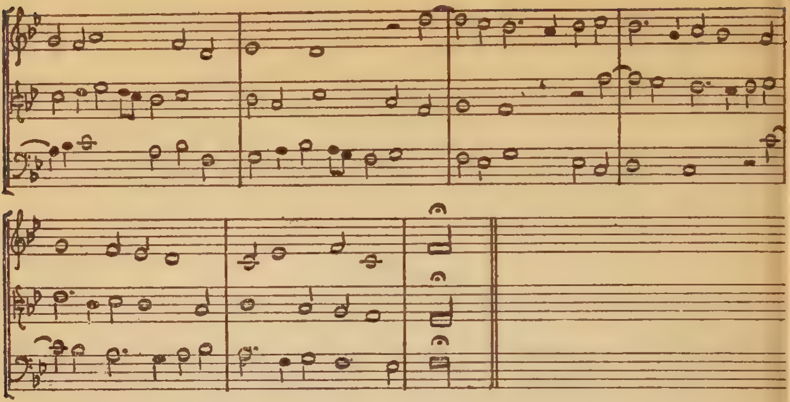
* The instructions given by Glareanus for the solution of this canon are as follows: "*Fuga trium vocum in epidiatessaron* (*nam sic nunc loquuntur*) *post perfectum tempus.*" Burney's solution therefore is incorrect. The lowest voice should commence; the second voice should enter at the second bar at the interval of a 4th *above*, and the 3rd voice should enter at the 3rd bar, a 4th above the second voice.

Hawkins also includes this canon in his History, with an incorrect reading of the instructions, and with the added mistake of thinking the canon to be in imperfect time, i.e., four beats to the bar.



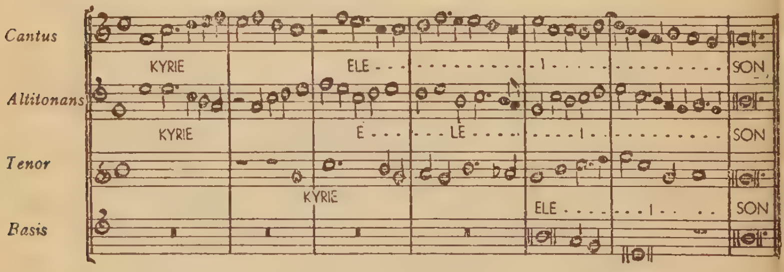
SOLUTION.

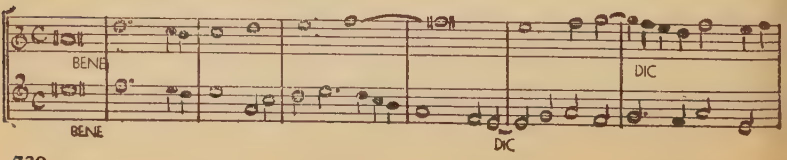


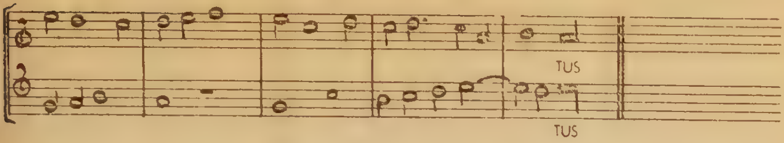


Okenheim likewise composed a mass for three and four voices, *ad omnem tonum,* which, as the words imply, might be sung in any of the three species of diatessaron, each part beginning at *ut, re, mi,* or in *c, f, g,* major, and *d, e, a,* minor, on which account no indicial clef is marked; as the performer, at setting off, has his choice of any of the modes, or ecclesiastical keys. Indeed, all the fragments from Okenheim are inserted in Glareanus, without bars, clefs, or accidental flats and sharps.

In whatever tone the following *Kyrie* is begun by the *Cantus,* if the *Altus* takes the same note, and the *Tenor* and *Base* the octave below, the harmony will be found correct, provided the necessary flats and sharps are remembered. The circle, with a note of interrogation, placed at the beginning of each line, where the clef should be, seems to ask the singer, in what key or clef he means to begin?







These compositions are given rather as specimens of a determined spirit of patient perseverance, than as models of imitation. In music, different from all other arts, learning and labour seem to have preceded taste and invention, from both which the times under consideration are still very remote. But as the chants of the church were the ground-work of all composition at this period, the ears of the congregation seem to have been less consulted than the eye of the performer, who was to solve canonical mysteries, and discover latent beauties of ingenuity and contrivance, about which the hearers were indifferent, provided the general harmony was pleasing. However, the performer's attention was kept on the stretch, and perhaps he gained, in mental amusement, what was wanting in sensual.

It is not certain when Okenheim died; but he is generally mentioned as a composer of the 15th century, and I have met with no proof of his existing in the next. In a set of old French songs, in five and six parts, printed at Antwerp, 1544, there is the following dirge on his death;* the language seems to be that of the 15th century. The music is printed entirely in black breves, semibreves, and minims, which I have never seen in secular music elsewhere, after the invention of types. It is printed in separate parts, without bars, clefs, or character for time. The difficulties I encountered in scoring this composition are not to be described, and I am ashamed to confess how much time and meditation I bestowed upon it; for, after I had discovered the clefs of the other parts, and the measure, I was thrown into despair by the *tenor,* which is said to be a CANON, *ung demiton plus bas,* and I was equally unable to find a clef which would harmonize with the other parts, or make it a Canon to itself. At length, in scoring a five-part French song, by Josquin, I discovered, by chance, what I should never have found by study, that, by the word *Canon,* he does not always mean a *perpetual Fugue,* but some mystery which the performer is to unravel; according to the definition of John Tinctor, his cotemporary, who says: "CANON *est regula voluntatem compositoris sub* OBSCURITATE *quadam ostendens.*" And the obscurity in the present Canon seems only that of *transposition.* The flat, which is printed on the second space, implied the contralto clef; and, by beginning the first note, which is likewise on the second space, half a tone lower upon A, the whole will agree very well with the other parts. Another reason for supposing that nothing more was meant; is, that the dirge is said to be *à cinq parties*; now, if another part were extracted in Canon with the

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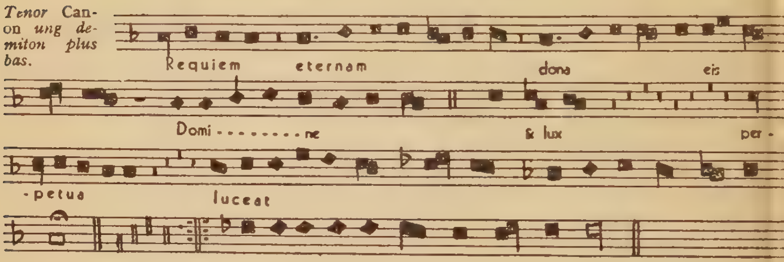
* It was printed by Tylman Susato in the 7th book of *Chansons* (1545). The contents of this volume are nearly all by Josquin. There is a copy in the B.M. (K. 3, a. 7).

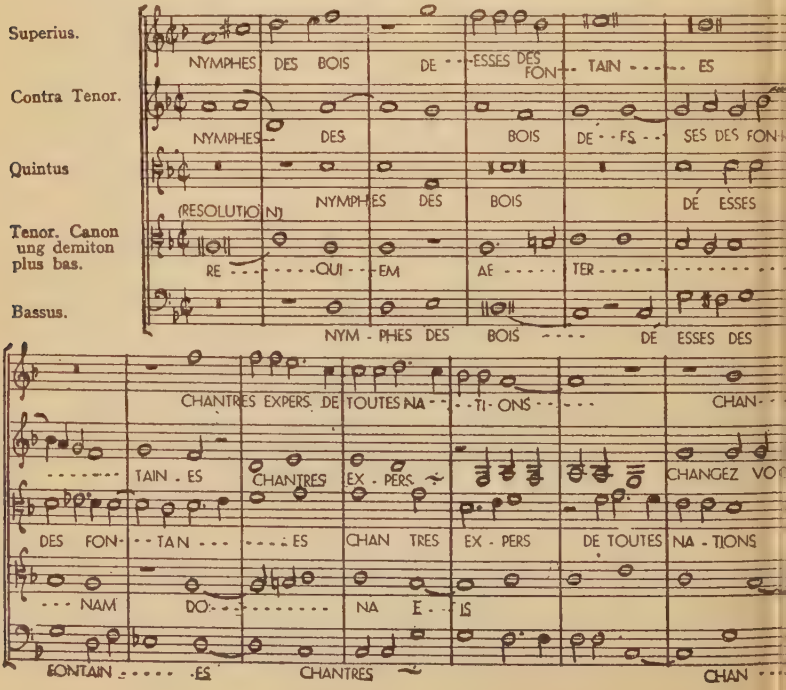
Tenor, which I cannot see possible, there would be a sixth part; and the harmony seems complete without it. Before I exhibit a score of this dirge, I shall insert a *fac-simile* of the tenor-part, which is said to be in *Canon,* in order to afford the learned musical reader an opportunity of exercising his sagacity in its resolution, if it should be different from that which I have given.

La Deploration de Johan Okenheim, à 5 Parties.


Tenor Canon ung demiton plus bas.
Requiem
eternam
dona
eis
Domi . . . . ne
& lux
per -
-petua
luceat

La Deploration de Jehan Okenheim.

Composée par Josquin des Prez. a 5 Parties.


Superius.
Contra Tenor.
Quintus
Tenor. Canon ung demiton plus bas.
Bassus.
NYMPHES DES BOIS DE - - ESSES DES FON - TAIN - - - - - ES
NYMPHES DES BOIS DE - - ES - - SES DES FON
(RESOLUTION) NYMPHES DES BOIS DE ESSES
RE - - - - - - - QUI - - EM AE - - - - TER - - - - -
NYM - PHES DES BOIS - - - - DE ESSES DES
CHANTRES EXPERS DE TOUTES NA - - - TI - ONS - - - - - CHAN-
- - - - - - - TAIN - ES CHANTRES EX - PERS CHANGEZ VO
DES FON- - - TAN - - - - - - ES CHAN TRES EX - PERS DE TOUTES NA - TIONS
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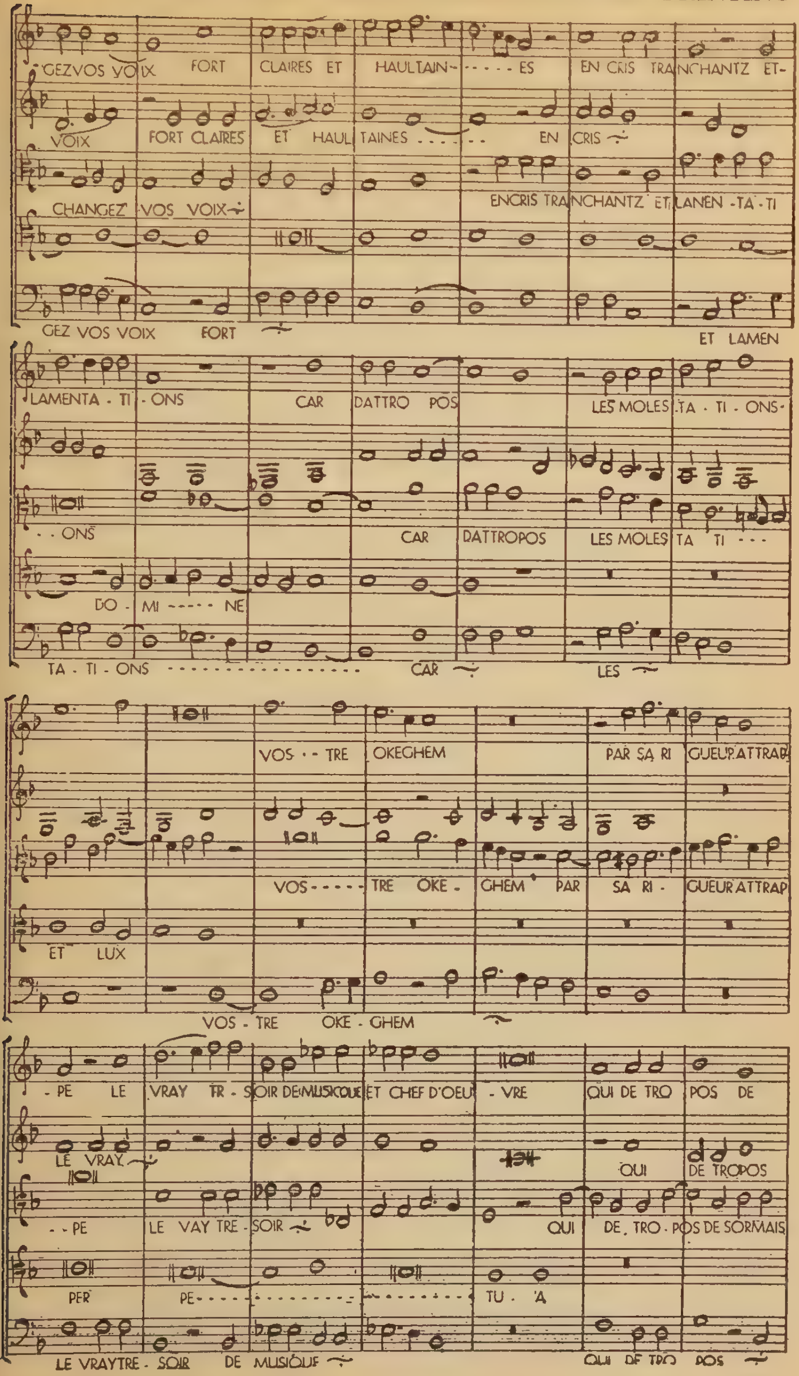
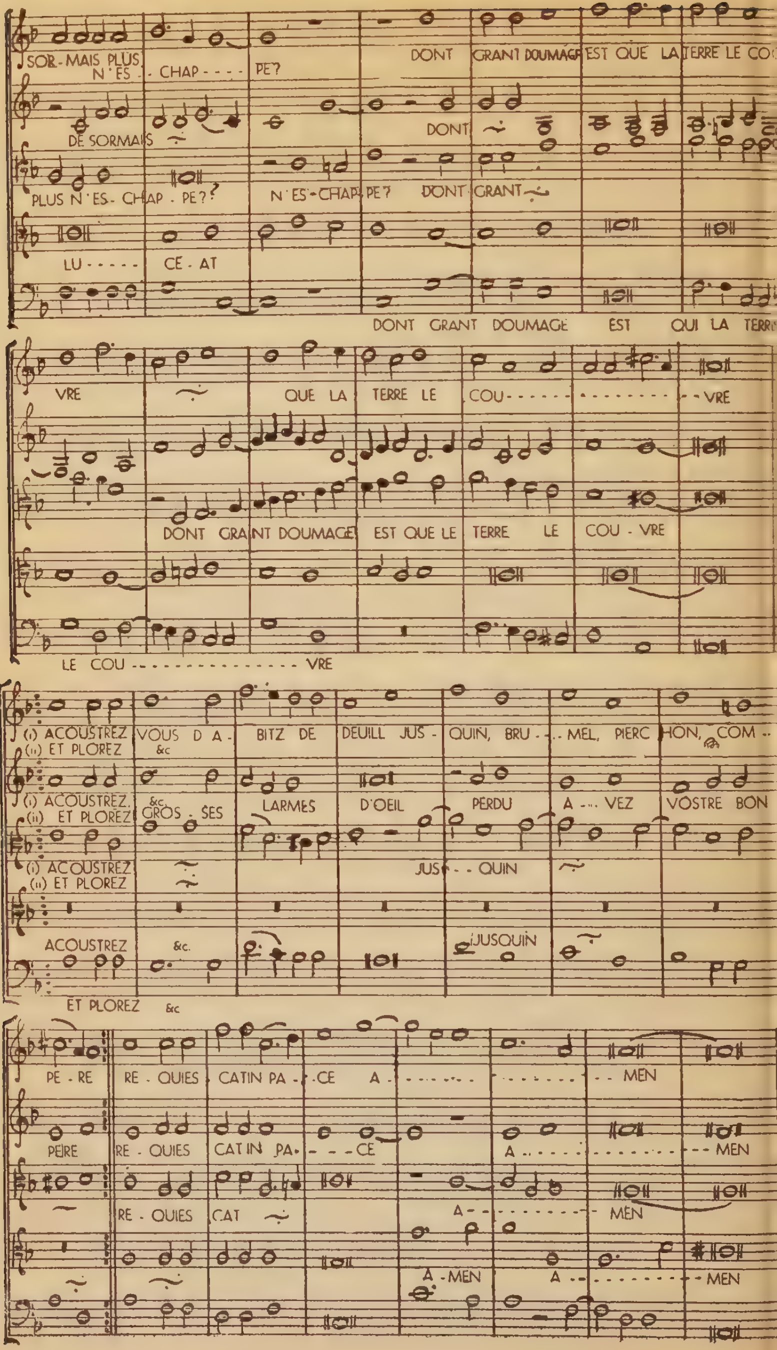
FONTAIN - - - - - ES CHANTRES CHAN - - -


GEZVOS VOIX FORT CLAIRES ET HAULTAIN- - - - - ES EN CRIS TRANCHANTZ ET-
VOIX FORT CLAIRES ET HAUL TAINES . . . . . . EN CRIS
CHANGEZ VOS VOIX
ENCRIS TRANCHANTZ ET LANEN -TA - TI
GEZ VOS VOIX FORT
ET LAMEN
LAMENTA - TI - ONS CAR DATTRO POS LES MOLES TA - TI - ONS-
. . ONS CAR DATTROPOS LES MOLES TA TI - - -
DO - MI - - - - - NE
TA - TI - ONS CAR LES
VOS - - TRE OKEGHEM PAR SA RI GUEUR ATTRAP
VOS - - - - - TRE OKE - GHEM PAR SA RI - GUEUR ATTRAP
ET LUX
VOS - TRE OKE - GHEM
- PE LE VRAY TR - SOIR DE MUSICQUE ET CHEF D'OEU - VRE QUI DE TRO POS DE
LE VRAY QUI DE TROPOS
- - PE LE VAY TRE - SOIR QUI DE TRO - POS DE SORMAIS
PER PE - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - TU - A
LE VRAYTRE - SOIR DE MUSIQUE QUI DE TRO POS


SOR-MAIS PLUS N'ES - CHAP - - - - PE?
DONT GRANT DOUMAGE EST QUE LA TERRE LE CO
DE SORMAIS
DONT
PLUS N'ES- CHAP - PE?
N'ES-CHAP PE? DONT GRANT
LU - - - - - CE - AT
DONT GRANT DOUMAGE EST QUI LA TERR
VRE QUE LA TERRE LE COU - - - - - - - - - VRE
DONT GRANT DOUMAGE EST QUE LE TERRE LE COU - VRE
LE COU - - - - - - - - - - - - - - VRE
(i) ACOUSTREZ VOUS D A - BITZ DE DEUILL JUS - QUIN, BRU - - MEL, PIERC HON, COM
(ii) ET PLOREZ &c
(i) ACOUSTREZ, &c. GROS - SES LARMES D'OEIL PERDU A - - VEZ VOSTRE BON
(ii) ET PLOREZ
(i) ACOUSTREZ
(ii) ET PLOREZ
JUS - - QUIN
ACOUSTREZ &c.
JUSQUIN
ET PLOREZ &c
PE - RE RE - QUIES CATIN PA - CE A - - - - - - - - - - - - - MEN
PEIRE RE - QUIES CAT IN PA - - - CE A - - - - - - - - - - - MEN
RE - QUIES CAT A - - - - - - - - - MEN
A - MEN A - - - - - - - - - - MEN

The next great Contrapuntist, of the Flemish School, to Okenheim, was his Scholar, Josquin Des Prez [*c*. 1445-1521], Del Prato, or, as he was styled in Latin, Iodocus Pratensis, the author of the preceding Dirge, whose compositions for the church, though long laid aside, and become obsolete by the gradual changes in Notation, continue still to merit the attention of the curious. Indeed the laws and difficulties of Canon, Fúgue, Augmentation, Diminution, Reversion, and almost every other species of learned contrivance allowable in ecclesiastical compositions for voices, were never so well observed, or happily vanquished, as by Josquin; who may justly be called the father of modern harmony, and the inventor of almost every ingenious contexture of its constituent parts, near a hundred years before the time of Palestrino, Orlando di Lasso, Tallis, or Bird, the great musical luminaries of the 16th century, whose names and works are still held in the highest reverence, by all true judges and lovers of what appears to me the true and genuine style of choral compositions.

This ingenious, learned, and voluminous composer, is enumerated by Lewis Guicciardini (*b*), among Flemish musicians. However, the constant addition of Pratensis, or Del Prato, to his name, seems rather to make him a native of *Prato* in Tuscany; and the frequent mention that is made of him by Italian writers, implies at least, if he was not a native of Italy, that he had lived there, and that his works were very familiar to them; for not only by the name of Josquino, Jodoco del Prato, is he often mentioned by Franchinus, and all the musical writers of Italy in the next age, as a most excellent composer, but by miscellaneous writers, who only speak of music incidentally.* As a proof of this, I need give no better authority than the following passage in Castiglione's admirable *Cortegiano*.

This author, speaking of the operations of prejudice in favour of great names, tells us of the eagerness and delight with which a polite company of his acquaintance had read a copy of verses, supposing them to have been written by Sannazaro, who afterwards, when it was certain that they were not of his composition, thought them execrable. "So likewise," says one of the interlocutors, "a Motet sung before the Duchess of Urbino, was unnoticed, till it was known to be the production of Josquin."

Franchinus (*c*), enumerating the great musicians of his time, specifies Tinctor, Gulielmus, Guarnerius, *Jusquin de Pret,* Gaspar, Agricola, Loyset, Obrecht, Brumel, Isaac, and calls them most delightful composers (*d*).

(*b*) *Descritt. di tutti i Pæsi bassi,* p. 42.

(*c*) *Praet. Mus.* lib. iii. cap. 12.

(*d*) *Jocundissimi Compositores.*

* Josquin was a native of Hainault and his entry into the Papal Choir was in 1486. He seems to have remained at Rome until 1494 with brief periods of absence.

The collected works of Josquin, edited by A. Smijers, are in course of publication by the V.V.N.M.

The same author, in another work (*e*), lets us know that he had been personally acquainted with Josquin: for, speaking of some inaccuracies in the Sesquialterate proportion, he says: *Di questi inconvenienti ne advertite gia* molti anni *passati* Jusquin Despriet *et* Gaspar *dignissimi compositori*. This was printed in 1508, so that "many years ago," must throw these composers far back into the 15th century; and, he adds, "though they acquiesced in my opinions, yet, having been corrupted by long habit, they were unable to adopt them."

Zarlino (*f*), who likewise speaks of him among the *practici periti*, gives another instance of predilection in favour of Jusquin at Rome (*g*), "which," says he, "was at the expence of my friend, the admirable Adrian Willaert, who has often himself confirmed the fact." The Motet *verbum bonum et Suave*, for six voices (*h*), having been long performed in the Pontifical Chapel at Rome, on the festival of our Lady, as the production of Josquin, was thought to be one of the finest compositions of the time; but Willaert, having quitted Flanders, in order to visit Rome, in the time of Leo X. and finding that this Motet was sung as the composition of Josquin, whose name was affixed to it in the chapel books, ventured to declare it to be his own work, and not that of the famous Josquin: but so great was the ignorance, envy, and prejudice of the singers, that, after this declaration, the Motet was never again performed in the Pontifical Chapel.

Adami (*i*), in his historical list of the singers in the Pope's Chapel, mentions Josquin next to Guido, as one of the great cultivators and supporters of Church Music; he calls him "*Uomo insigne per l'inventione*," and says that he was a singer in the Pontifical Chapel during the time of Sixtus the Fourth (*k*).

After quitting Italy he was appointed Maestro di Capella to Lewis the Twelfth of France, who reigned from 1498 to 1515, and it is hardly probable that such an honour should have been conferred upon him till he had arrived at great eminence in his profession; he must either have acquired the public favour by his works or performance, before he could be noticed by a sovereign; indeed the impediments to their approximation must have been reciprocal, and it has been well observed, that it is as difficult for a prince to get at a man of merit, as it is for a man of merit to approach a prince.

It is related (*l*), that when Josquin was first admitted into th

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(*e*) *Angel. ac. Div. opus Musicæ Tract.* 5 *Cap.* 6.

(*f*) *Parte 4ta.* p. 346.

(*g*) Ib. p. 175.

(*h*) We shall have further occasion to speak of this composition hereafter.

(*i*) *Osserv. per ben regolare il Coro della Cap. Pontif.*

(*k*) This Pontiff reigned from 1471 to 1484.

(*l*) Glareano, *Dodecachordon*, p. 441.

service of Lewis, he had been promised a benefice by his majesty (*m*); but this prince, contrary to his usual custom, for he was in general both just and liberal, forgot the promise he had made to his Maestro di Capella; when Josquin, after suffering great inconvenience from the shortness of his Majesty's memory, ventured by a single expedient to remind him publicly of his promise, without giving offence; for being commanded to compose a Motet for the Chapel Royal, he chose part of the 119th Psalm: *Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo;* "Oh think of thy servant, as concerning thy word"; which he set in so supplicating and exquisite a manner, that it was universally admired, particularly by the king, who was not only charmed with the music, but felt the force of the words so effectually, that he soon after granted his petition, by conferring on him the promised preferment. For which act of justice and munificence, Josquin, with equal felicity, composed, as a hymn of gratitude, another part of the same psalm: *Bonitatem fecisti cum servo tuo Domine,* "Oh Lord, thou hast dealt graciously with thy servant."

Josquin seems to have been possessed of a certain vein of wit and humour, as well as musical genius; of which Glareanus has given his readers several instances, besides those just related. In consequence of the long procrastination of the performance of Lewis XII's promise relative to the benefice, Josquin applied to a nobleman, in high favour at court, to use his interest with this prince in his behalf, who, encouraging his hopes with protestations of zeal for his service, constantly ended with saying, "I shall take care of this business, *let me alone—Laisse faire moi,* (*laisser moi faire*) when, at length, Josquin tired of this vain and fruitless assurance, turned it into *Solmisation,* and composed an entire Mass on these syllables of the Hexachords: *La sol fa re mi;* which Mass is among the productions of our author in the Brit. Mus. [K. 1, d. 13] and is an admirable composition.

The following circumstance, which likewise happened during Josquin's residence at the court of France, has been recorded both by Glareanus (*n*) and Mersennus (*o*). These writers inform us, that Lewis, though Music afforded him great pleasure, had so weak and inflexible a voice, that he never was able to sing a tune, and that he defied his Maestro di Capella to compose a piece of Music in which it was possible for him to bear a part. However the musician accepted the challenge, and composed a canon for two voices, to which he added two other parts, one of which had nothing more to do than to sustain a single sound, and the other only the key note, and its fifth, to be sung alternately. Josquin gave his Majesty the choice of these two parts, and beginning with the long note, after some time, his royal scholar was enabled to

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(*m*) This seems to imply that Josquin was an Ecclesiastic.

(*n*) *Ubi supra.*

(*o*) *Harm. Univ. Liv. de la Voix,* p. 44.

continue it, as a drone to the canon, in despite of nature, which had never intended him for a singer (*p*).

Rabelais, in his prologue to the third book of Pantagruel, places Josquin des Prez at the head of all the fifty-nine *Joyeulx Musiciens* whom he had formerly heard (*q*). Josquin, among Musicians, was the Giant of his time, and seems to have arrived at that universal monarchy and dominion over the affections and passions of the musical part of mankind, that has been mentioned above (*r*). Indeed his compositions seem to have been as well known, and as much practised throughout Europe, at the beginning of the 16th century, as Handel's were in England, about forty years ago.

In the music book of Prince Henry afterwards Henry VIII., which is preserved in the Pepys collection at Cambridge, there are several of his compositions; and we are told that Anne of Boleyn, during her residence in France, collected and learned a great number of them. In a very beautiful MS. at the British Museum (*s*), consisting of French Songs of the 15th century, in three and four parts, there are likewise many of Josquin's compositions (*t*). But the most capital collection of his works, and of cotemporary Contrapuntists, which, I believe, is now subsisting, is that of the British Museum, already described (*u*); and as these productions are not only precious, from their age and scarcity, but intrinsic worth, I shall here be more ample and diffuse in my extracts and accounts of them.

My first intention was only to transcribe from this collection two or three movements of Josquin's celebrated Mass upon the old tune, called *l'Homme Armé,* as specimens of his style; but I was so drawn on and amused by the author's ingenious and curious contrivances, that I scored the whole mass and several others, and regard them as the most subtle and elaborate productions that I have ever seen in this kind of writing.

Josquin's Mass, *Sine Nomine* (*x*), consisting of upwards of twenty movements, is wholly made up of Canons in the different intervals of Diatessaron, Diapente, Diapason; and one, very curious, in the second above, and another in the second below the subject.

(*p*) This Canon is printed in Glareanus, and Mersennus, *ubi supra.*

(*q*) Rabelais died in 1553, at seventy years of age; so that he might have heard Josquin while he was in the service of Lewis XII.

(*r*) P. 706.

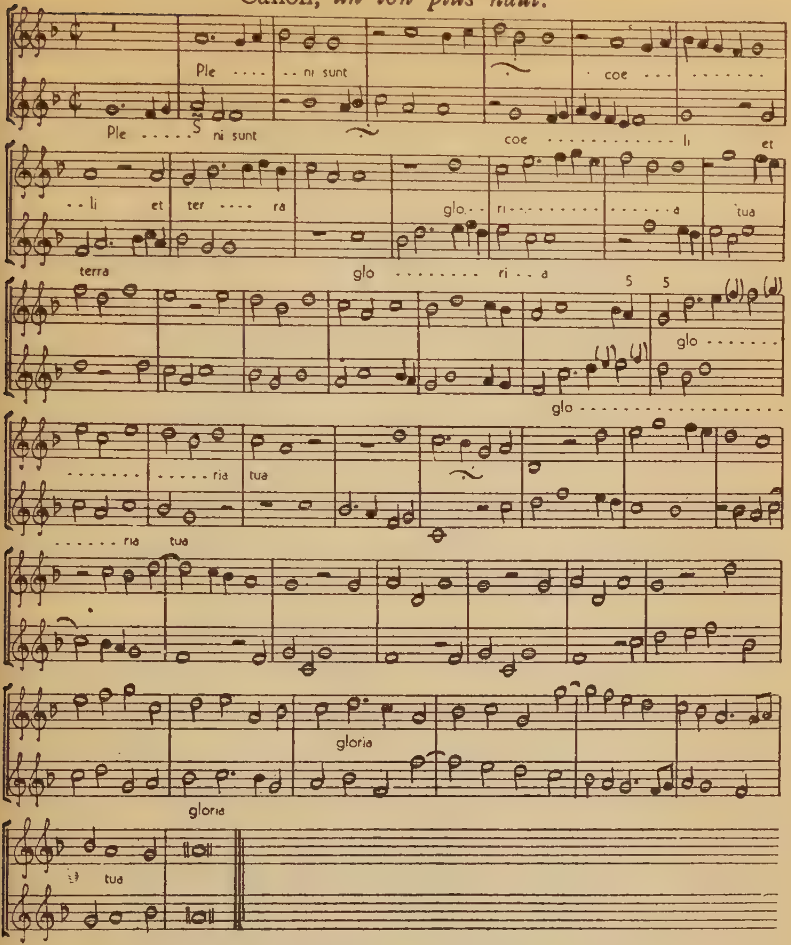
(*s*) Bib. Reg. 20 A. 16.

(*t*) The names of the other composers in this MS. are Heyne, Brumel, and Crespieres. The parts are generally Soprano, Tenor on the third line, and Contra Tenor in the clef of F, either on the third or fourth line, or of C on the fifth. In Josquin's compositions, and in two or three more, the under part is called BASSUS, and this is the earliest use which I have seen made of the word. These Songs are chiefly in Fugue, and all in common time. The treble clef on the second line only occurs once, and then the second part is in the Soprano, the third is the Alto tenore, and the fourth in the common base. In the first song the lowest part which is written in the Base Clef on the fourth line, is called *concordans,* a term still used by the French for the Middle Base: they have *Basse-taille, Concordans,* and *Basse-contre.*

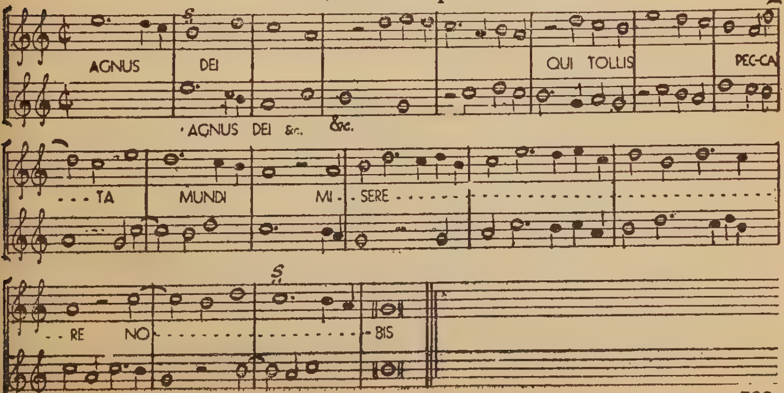
(*u*) P. 709.

(*x*) This is a title given by the old Masters to such Masses as were not composed on Fragments of Canto Fermo, or on Old Tunes, but on a subject *invented* by the author. See *Ragionamenti di Musica, del* P. Pontio, p. 156.

Canon, *un ton plus haut.*


Ple ni sunt
coe li
Ple ni sunt
coe li et
li et ter ra
glo ri a
tua
terra
glo ri a
5 5
glo
glo
ria
tua
ria
tua
gloria
gloria
tua

Canon, *un Ton plus bas.*


AGNUS
DEI
QUI TOLLIS
PEC-CA
AGNUS DEI &c.
&c.
TA
MUNDI
MI SERE
RE
NO
BIS

Sometimes the superius, or upper part, is to be drawn out of the altus, and sometimes out of the tenor, or base, without being written; a task the more difficult, as the sign where they are to begin is frequently omitted.

These compositions must have been studied, and frequently rehearsed, before their performance; for though no rapidity of execution is required, yet, as there are no bars, and the value of the notes is frequently changed by position, as well as by the modal signs, upon very short notice, this, joined to the difficult solution of the canons, must have made it impossible for them to have been sung at sight, even by those who were accustomed to the notation.

There are more than twenty compositions, by Josquin, inserted in Glareanus, among which are several from his celebrated Mass, *l'Homme Armé*. P. Martini (*y*) supposes the subject of it to have been the tune of a Provençal song: *il canto d'una certa canzone Provenzale*: but though I have taken great pains, both by enquiry and reading, to find the words to which this old melody used to be sung, yet I have never been successful. Nothing, however, has appeared to me more probable, than that this is the famous *Cantilena Rolandi,* or air to the song which the French armed champion used to sing at the head of the army, in honour of their hero Roland, in advancing to attack an enemy (*z*).*

But, whatever may have been the import, or merit of the poem, the tune was in such favour among composers, at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, that not only Josquin composed two different masses upon it, but De Orto, Pipilare, Brumel, Pierre de la Rue, and, afterwards, Morales, and Palestrina, in friendly contention, and trials of skill, made it the theme of very elaborate compositions for the church (*a*).

In every movement of Josquin's Mass, some part or other, but generally the tenor, is singing the tune in different notes and measures: sometimes in augmentation, and sometimes in diminution. In the *Kyrie,* or first movement, the tenor has the first part of the tune, which the superius, or upper part, had led off; in the next movement, or *Christe,* it has the second part. In the third, fourth, and sixth movements, the tenor has the subject-tune in different and difficult notations, and in the fifth and seventh, the same part sings it in *retro,* or, as it is called in the musical technica of the times, *cancrizans*.

In the *Sanctus,* the soprano leads off the subject, in D minor, moving in breves and semibreves, accompanied by the tenor, in a free and airy melody; and, after six bars, the countertenor

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(*y*) *Saggio di Contrap. Parte* 1ma, p. 129.

(*z*) See above, p. 597.

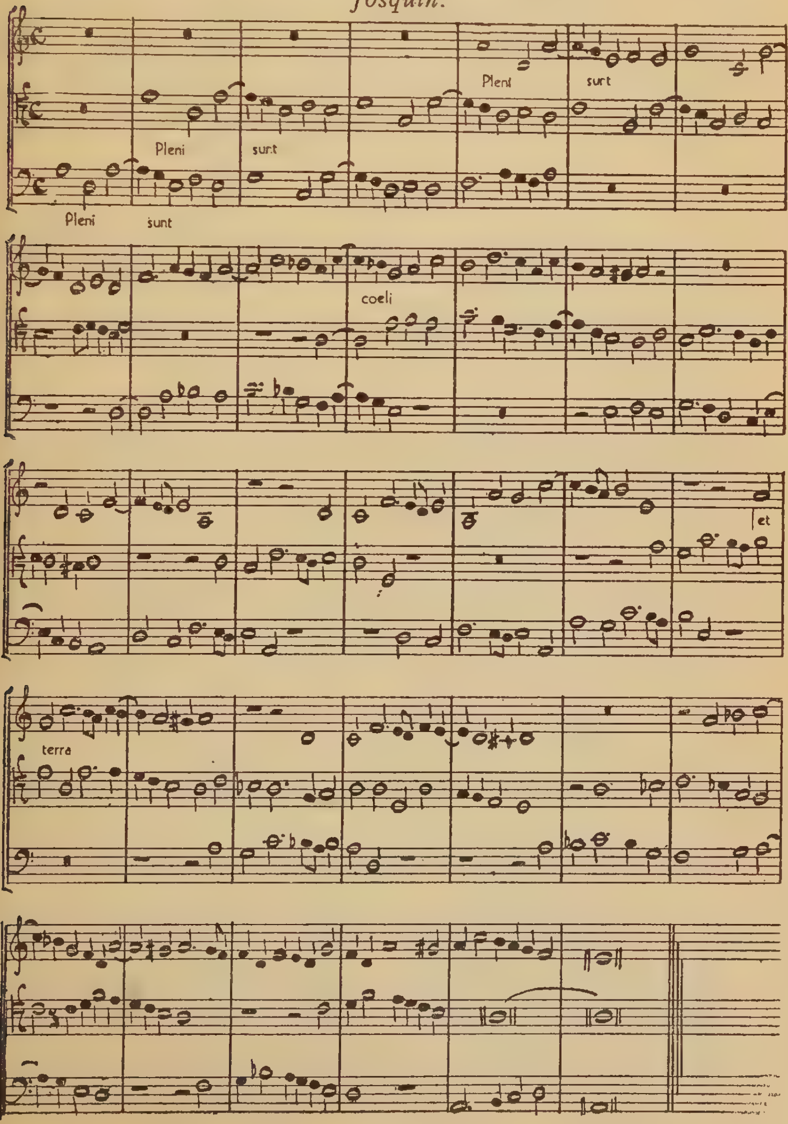
(*a*) Those of Josquin are both preserved, as is that of De la Rue, in the Museum Collection; and I have made a score of Palestrina's. from the single parts which Zacconi has inserted in his *Pract. Mus.* printed at Ven. 1596, which, though it contains many admirable combinations and contrivances, is in nothing superior to that of Josquin, except in clearness and facility; advantages, that a period of near an hundred years had, perhaps given to music in general.

* This assumption is incorrect. The melody *L'Homme Armé* is given in Grove's (Vol. iii., p. 151). A copy of Josquin's Mass on this melody is in the B.M. (K. 1. d. 13).

sings the theme, in F major, and in augmentation; when the first part is finished, the base leads off a new subject of close imitation between that, the tenor, and the soprano; and while the counter-tenor is singing the second part of the tune, the intelligent musician will see several ingenious contrivances in the other three parts.

The next movement, *Pleni sunt,* is only in trio; but the subjects of fugue are so well treated, and the texture of the parts is so masterly, that I shall present it to my readers.

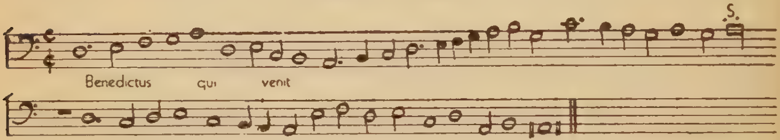
Josquin.



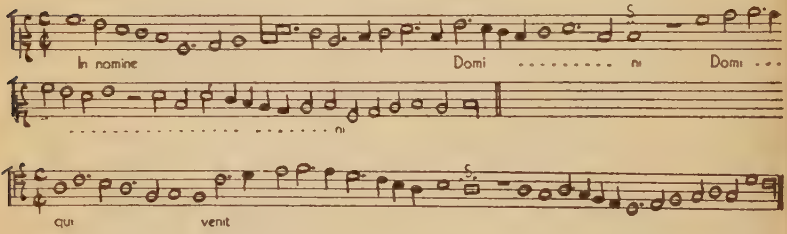
Whoever examines these compositions of Josquin in score, will find that no notes have had admission by chance, or for the sake of *remplissage*, but that, like the prints of Hogarth, every thing not only contributes to the principal design and harmony of the whole, but has a specific character, and meaning in itself.

The *Osanna* has many curious contrivances in *moto contrario, double counterpoint*, &c. in three parts; while a fourth is still singing *l'Homme Armé*. In the two next movements, "*Benedictus qui venit*," and "*In Nomine*," by a curious species of contrivance, *Duos*, are formed by two parts singing the same intervals in different measures: that is, while one performs the melody in semibreves, the other sings in minims, and é contra. After furnishing the musical student with this hint at a solution, I shall present him with these short movements in the same manner as they appear in the printed copy, and leave the rest to his sagacity.

Duo in unum.



Duo.



The next movement, "*Agnus Dei*," in four parts, is an exercise for time, as the proportions in all of them are different.

After this, there is a second movement, to the same words, where three parts, in different measures, are drawn out of one: *tria in unum*. At the beginning of this canon, three characters for time are placed over each other, thus $\begin{array}{l}\text{₵}\\ \text{C}^{3}_{:}\\ \text{₵}\end{array}$ but as it is inserted by Glareanus with its solution, I shall only refer the curious reader to p. 442 of the *Dodecachordon*.

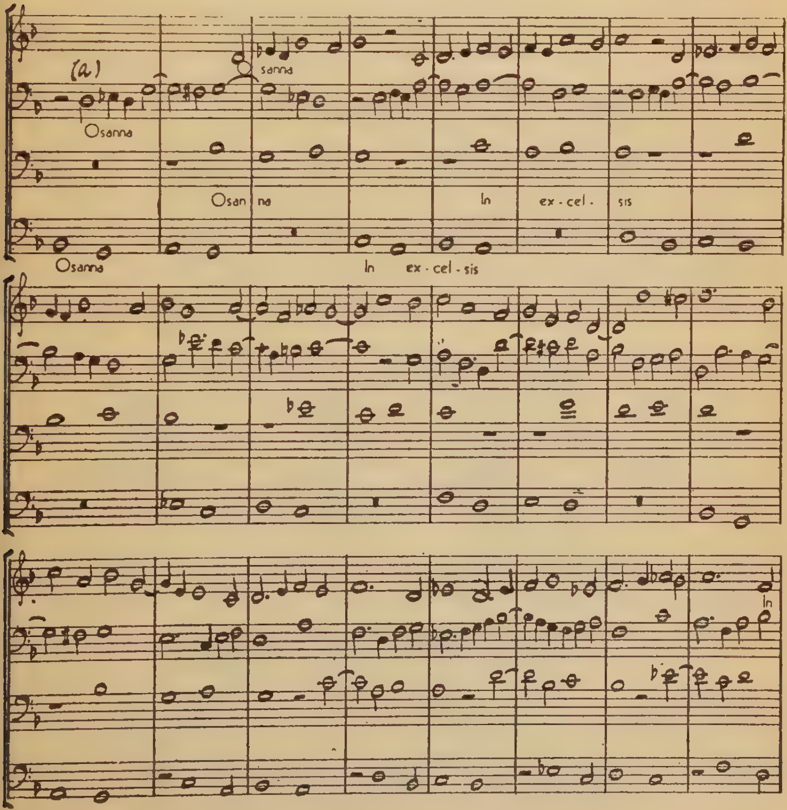
The next and last movement, is a third *Agnus Dei*, á 4, in which the *superius*, or upper part, performs the tune in Longs and Breves, with this direction, *clama ne cesses;* which implies perpetual singing, without keeping any of the rests that may occur, allowing only for the time of the notes. The other three parts are in close fugue, during the whole movement, and often in canon, the tissue of which is carried on with wonderful art and ingenuity.

But though this mass has not only been more celebrated than any of Josquin's other masses, but than any of his motets, or songs, I think there are many of his compositions which manifest equal abilities, and yet are more clear, natural, and pleasing.

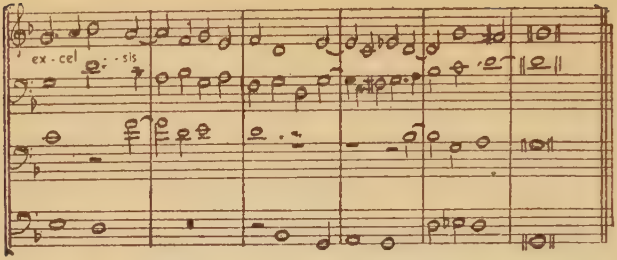
The *Osanna,* in his mass upon the melody of an old song beginning "*Faysans regrés*" is truly curious: the tenor and base are in constant canon, and the other two parts in free fugue, consisting of little traits of natural and pleasing melody.

Osanna.

JODOCI PRATENSIS.



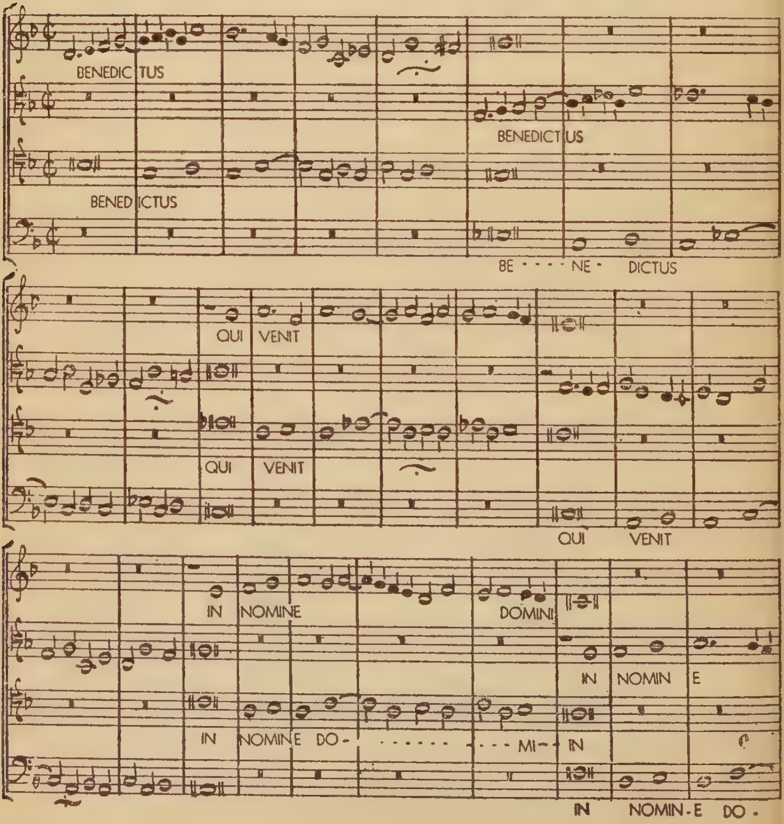
(a) No accidental Flats or Sharps occur in the ancient Copy; and perhaps those which are inserted in this, will not satisfy every Musical Reader.

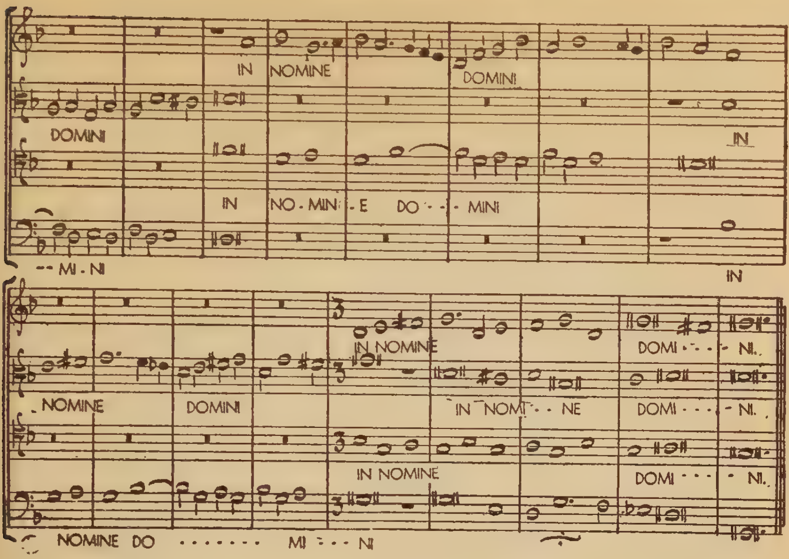


The *Benedictus* of the same Mass is almost a double Canon in four parts, upon two very different subjects; that of the Tenor and Base being a fragment of the old tune *Faysans Regrets*.

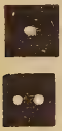
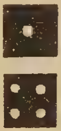
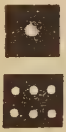
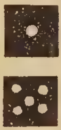
Benedictus.

EJUSDEM.


BENEDIC TUS
BENEDICT US
BENED ICTUS
BE - - - - NE - DICTUS
QUI VENIT
QUI VENIT
QUI VENIT
IN NOMINE DOMINI
IN NOMIN E
IN NOMINE DO- - - - - - - - - - MI- IN
IN NOMIN-E DO -



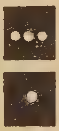
His mass, called *Didadi,* is likewise a very curious and elaborate composition, on a tune that was probably well known in the time of Josquin, and which the tenor part is continually singing in different measures, of so uncommon a kind, that the author has thought it necessary not only to give their *resolution* in notes, but to place at the beginning of each, one of the following signs of prolation.

To the *Kyries,* or two 1st movements.	To the 3rd and 4th movements, *Et in terra,* and *Qui tollis.*	*Patrem omnipotentem,* and *crucifixus,*	and in the *Sanctus.*
			

(*b*)

His mass, "*De beata Virgine,*" abounds with canons, fugues, and imitations, of admirable contrivance. Almost every movement is in five parts, yet only four are printed, as some two of them are constantly in canon, for which, though frequently of difficult solution, only one part is followed.

(*b*) The author doubtless gives these types of his Rhythmical proportions in allusion to the Song which he had taken as the theme of his Mass; *Dadi,* from *Dado,* being the Italian word for *Dice,* and *Di dadi,* as it should have been printed, were either the initial words, or title, of a popular Song upon *Hazard* or *Gaming* in general, during the fifteenth century. Our fanciful author might faintly have completed the *six faces* of the *Dado,* or *Dice,* by the proportions in the perfect Mood, or Ternary Measure, O, where one long is equal to 3 Breves, or a Breve to 3 Semibreves:



Josquin's "*Missa, Sine Nomine,*" is almost the only one which he composed without taking a Chant or old tune for his theme; but the writing upon vulgar melodies was not a practice peculiar to him, for Pierre de la Rue, Brumel, Mouton, Gaspar, Fevin, or Feum, and all his cotemporaries, did the same, as appears by the titles of their Masses in the same collection; and Zarlino (*c*), long after, tells us, that it was an ancient custom, which still prevailed in his time, not to compose a Mass, unless upon a certain theme or subject, taken from a well known Chant, Motet, or Song. Glareanus (*d*) informs us, likewise, that hardly any Mass was composed in his time, except an old subject.

That Chants, and the Canto Fermo, to which the Hymns of the Church had been sung for many ages, should be made the subject, or basis of Counterpoint, in the Church, had something of piety and propriety in it, which would naturally silence censure, and incline the heads and rulers of ecclesiastical rites to excuse, if not encourage the attempt; but when Composers polluted pious ears with the light and contaminated strains of the vulgar and licentious, most profanely adapted to humble supplications, Hymns of praise, or sacred injunctions, the sentiments of which must be perpetually driven from the minds of the congregation, by the frequent repetition of these profane fragments, in all the several parts of a Chorus, they abused the privilege they had obtained of harmonizing the Chants, and discovered an egregious want of understanding, decorum, and reverence, for the religious rite which they were appointed to direct (*e*).

But Josquin's Masses, though more frequently cited and celebrated by musical writers, than those of any other author, and, indeed, than any of his other works, seem to me inferior to his Motets in every respect; for these are not only all composed upon subjects of his own invention, or upon fragments of the most beautiful and solemn Chants of the Church, but in a style more clear and pleasing. The following Motet, which is the eighth of the fourth Book *della Corona,* will afford the musical reader an opportunity of forming a judgment of the solemnity and science with which he treated sacred subjects.

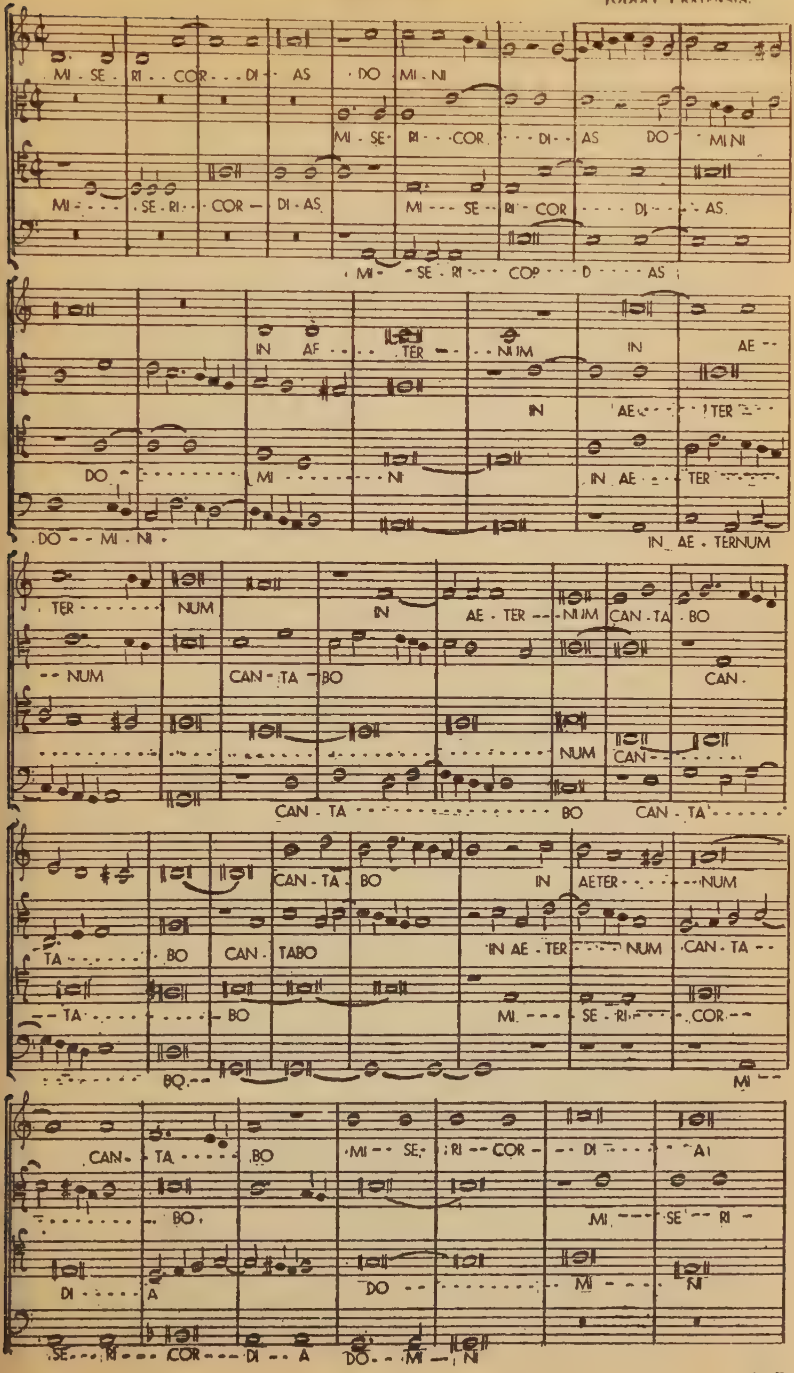
(*c*) P. 172 and 267.

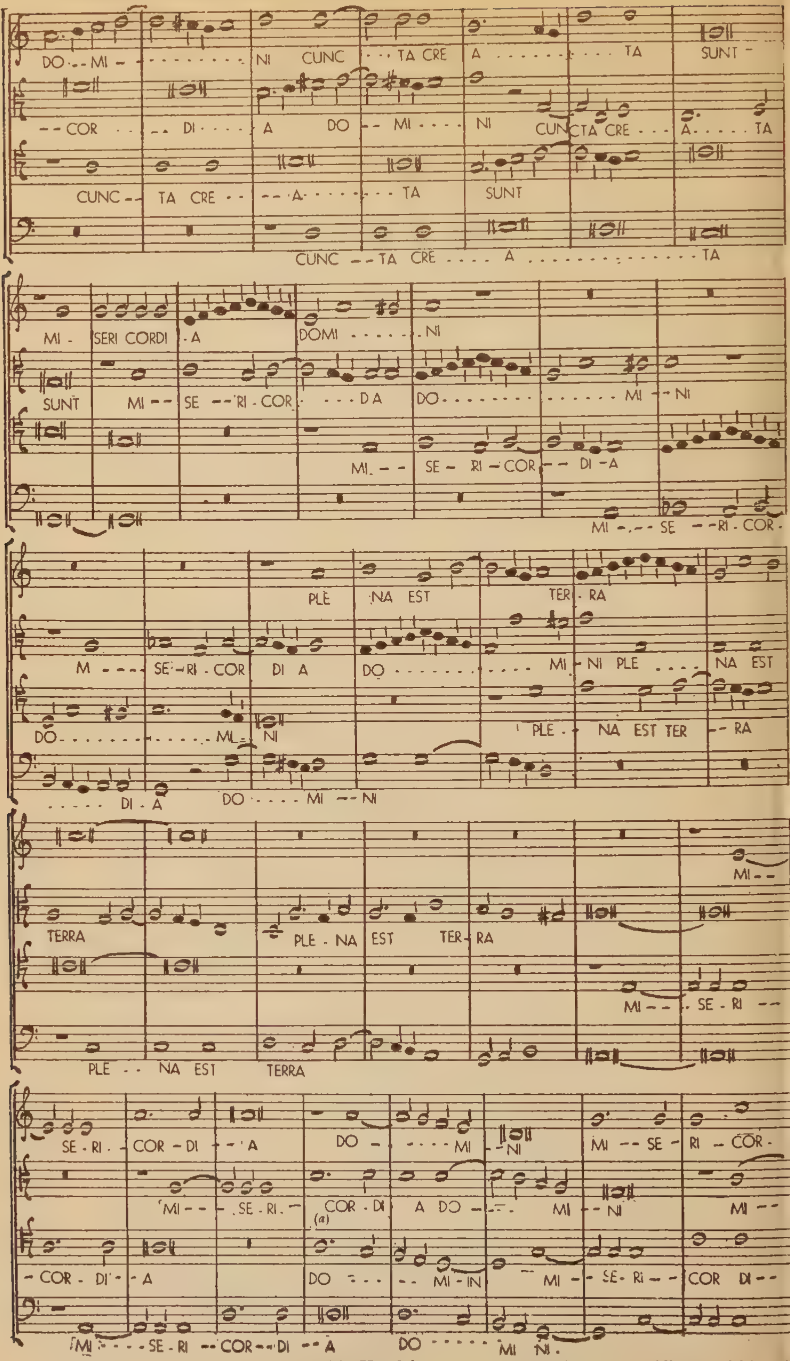
(*d*) P. 275.—*Nulla est fere hodie Missa, quæ non ex antiquo Themate quopiam deprompta.*

(*e*) This censure must not, however, be confined to Josquin and his cotemporaries; for we find that Francis the First and all his court, sung Clement Marot's translation of the Psalms, when they first appeared, to the tunes of favourite songs; indeed, at this time, all melody was psalmody. See Bayle, Art. Marot.

Motectus.

JODOCI PRATENSIS.


MI - SE - RI - - COR - - - DI - AS · DO MI - NI
MI - SE - RI - - COR - - - DI - - AS DO MI NI
MI - - - - SE - RI - - COR — DI - AS MI - - - SE - - RI - COR - - - - DI - - - AS.
MI - - SE - RI - - - COR - - - D - - - - AS
IN AE - - - - TER - - - NUM IN AE - -
IN AE - - TER - - -
DO - MI - - - - - - NI IN AE - - TER
DO - - MI - NI IN AE - TERNUM
TER - - - - - - NUM IN AE - TER - - NUM CAN - TA - BO
- - NUM CAN - TA - BO CAN -
NUM CAN - -
CAN - TA - - - - BO CAN - TA - - - - -
CAN - TA - BO IN AETER - - - - NUM
TA - - - - - - BO CAN - TABO IN AE - TER - - - NUM CAN - TA - -
- - TA - - - - - - - BO MI - - - SE - RI - - - COR - -
BO - - MI - -
CAN - TA - - - - BO MI - - SE - RI - - COR - - - DI - - - - AI
- - - - - - - - BO MI - - - SE - - RI -
DI - - - - - A DO - - - - - - - - - MI - - - - NI
SE - - RI - - - COR - - - DI - - A DO - - MI - - NI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(a)
- COR - DI - A DO - - MI - IN MI - SE - RI - - COR DI - -
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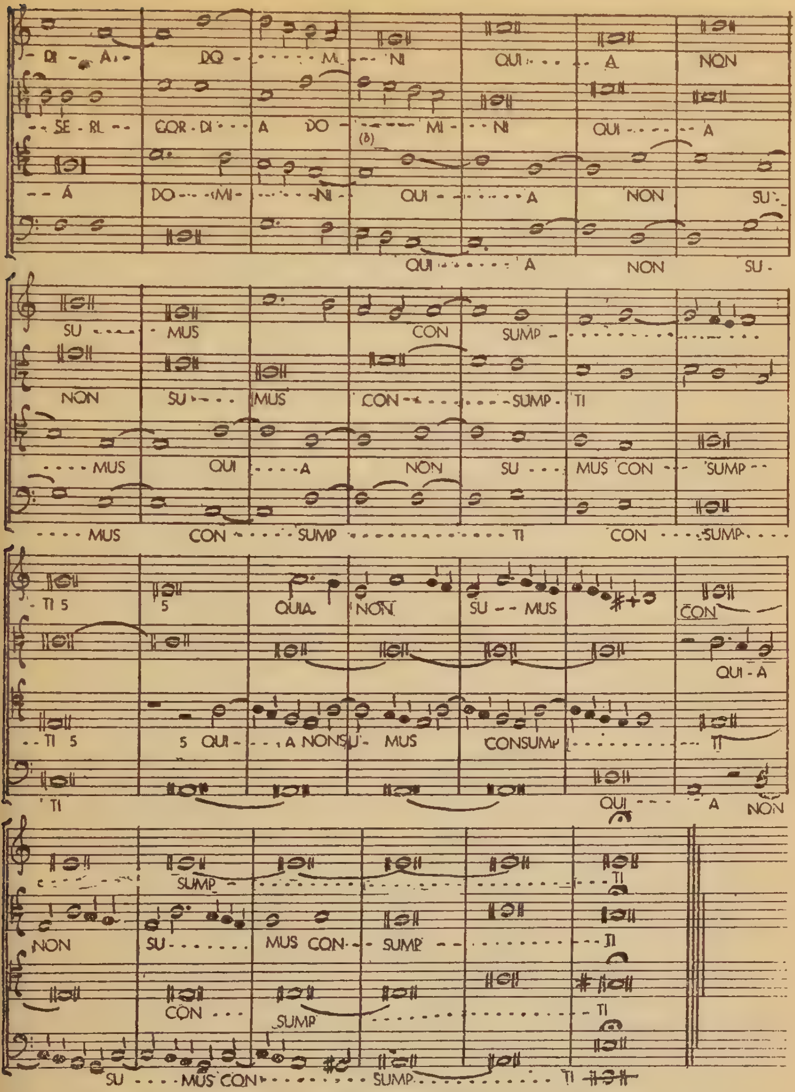
(*a*) This was a favourite Point, with Handel, as may be seen in the 1st Allegro of his 1st Organ Concerto, and in several of his Choruses.


DI - A - DO - M - NI QUI - A NON
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(b)
A DO - MI - NI - QUI - A NON SU -
QUI - A NON SU -
SU - MUS CON SUMP -
NON SU - MUS CON - SUMP - TI
MUS QUI - A NON SU - MUS CON - SUMP -
MUS CON - SUMP - TI CON - SUMP -
TI 5 5 QUIA NON SU - MUS CON
QUI - A
TI 5 5 QUI - A NON SU - MUS CONSUMP - TI
TI QUI - A NON
SUMP - TI
NON SU - MUS CON - SUMP - TI
CON - SUMP - TI
SU - MUS CON - SUMP - TI

In the third and fourth collection of Motets, published at the beginning of the sixteenth century, under the title of *Motetti della Corona,* there are many by Josquin, which are truly admirable, particularly a *Miserere* for five voices, which, as it consists of three movements, is too long to be inserted in a work of this kind, but appears to me a model of choral composition, without instruments; as the subjects of fugue and imitation are simple, and free from secular levity; the style is grave and reverential; the harmony, pure; the imitations are ingenious; and all constructed upon a fragment of Canto Fermo, to which the second tenor is wholly confined: repeating it, in the first part, a note lower every time, beginning at the fifth of the key, and descending to its octave; in the second part, ascending in the same manner; in the third part, beginning at the fifth, and descending to the key note.

(b) The Imitation here, a *Contre-Tems,* is admirable, and has served as a Model to Corelli, in the *Alla Breve* Fugue of his 1st Concerto, and to many others.

This species of laboured composition has been frequently censured, and stigmatized by the name of pedantry, and Gothic barbarism, which, perhaps, it would *now* deserve, out of the Church; but in the time of Josquin, when there was little melody, and no grace in the arrangement, or measure of single notes; the science of harmony, or ingenuity of contrivance in the combination of simultaneous Sounds, or music in parts, as it was the chief employment of the Student, and ambition of the Composer, so the merit of both, and the degree of regard bestowed upon them by posterity, should be proportioned to their success, in what was their chief object, and not in what had no existence at the time in which these musicians lived. Another apology offers itself for Josquin, as well as for his scholars and followers, who composed for the Church: which is, that pure harmony, and contrivance, are less favourable to that kind of levity which is inseparable from Airs clothed with little harmony, which seem unfit for the gravity of Ecclesiastical purposes.

With respect to some of Josquin's contrivances, such as Augmentations, Diminutions, and Inversions of the Melody, expressed by the barbarous Latin verb *Cancrizare,* from the retrograde motion of the crab, they were certainly pursued to an excess; but to subdue difficulties, has ever been esteemed a merit of a certain kind, in all the arts, and treated with respect by artists. Michael Angelo, in delineating the difficult attitudes into which he chose to throw many figures in his works, and which other artists had not courage, or, perhaps, abilities to attempt, procured himself a great name among the judges of correct drawing, and bold design; though a great part of the spectator's pleasure in viewing them, must arise from reflecting on the difficulty of the undertaking. There are different roads to the temple of Fame in every art; and that which was followed by Josquin and his emulators, was too full of thorns, brambles, and impediments, to be pursued by men of common diligence and abilities. Painting and sculpture, which are to delight and deceive the eye, do not, any more than music, confine their powers to the mere endeavour at pleasing the sense, of which they are the object; and there are pictures, statues, and musical compositions, which afford very little pleasure to the eye or ear, but what is intellectual, and arises from reflecting on the learning, correctness, and great labour which the artist must have bestowed on them.

Canons of difficult solution, were, to musicians, a species of problem, and served more to exercise the mind than please the sense; and though a peculiar genius, or penetration, is requisite for the quick discovery of riddles and rebusses, yet, still more cunning is necessary to their production; and, however contemptuously these harmonical contrivances may be treated by the lazy lovers of more airy and simple compositions, the study of them is still of such use to musical students, in their private exercises, that a profound and good Contrapuntist has, perhaps, never yet been made by other means. Those who despise this seeming Gothic pedantry too much, resemble such half-bred scholars, as have expected to arrive at a consummate knowledge of the Roman Classics, without submitting to the drudgery of Grammar and Syntax. Indeed a great Composer has, perhaps, never existed since the invention of Counterpoint, who, at his moments of leisure, has not attempted to manifest superior learning and skill, in the production of Canons, and other difficult arrangements and combinations of sound; and who, if he succeeded, was not vain of his abilities. Before the cultivation of Dramatic Music, as Canon and Fugue were universally studied and reverenced, they were brought to such a degree of perfection, as is wonderful; and though good taste has long banished them from the Theatre, yet the Church and Chamber still, occasionally, retain them, with great propriety; in the Church they preclude levity, and in the Chamber exercise ingenuity.

As Euclid ranks first among ancient geometricians, so Josquin, for the number, difficulty, and excellence of his Musical Canons, seems entitled to the first place among the old Composers, who have been most assiduous and successful in the cultivation of this difficult species of Musical calculation.

But though the style of Josquin, even in his secular Compositions, is grave, and chiefly in Fugue, Imitation, and other contrivances, with little Air or Melody ; yet this defect is amply supplied to Contrapuntists, and lovers of Choral Music, by purity of harmony, and ingenuity of design. Indeed, I have never seen, among all his productions that I have scored, a single movement which is not stamped with some mark of the great master. And though Fugue and Canon were so universally cultivated in his time, when there were many men of abilities in this elaborate and complicated kind of writing ; there is such a manifest superiority in his powers, such a simple majesty in his ideas, and such dignity of design, as wholly justify the homage he received.

Yet, notwithstanding the eminence to which our great Contrapuntist arrived, neither his fame nor his fortune, his protectors, nor friends, seem to have exempted him from mortifications, during the time he was in Italy ; when he seems to have complained to his friend Serafino Acquillano, the poet, of the splendor in which some fashionable buffoons lived, while he was in want and obscurity. A sonnet, which was produced on the occasion, is preserved by Zarlino, which we shall present to our readers, though it will perhaps be said to border a little on that *clinquant* and *concetto*, of which Boileau unjustly accuses Tasso.

Sonnet on Josquin des Prez.

Giosquin non dir che'l ciel sia crudo e empio,
  Che t'adornò de si soblime ingegno:
  Et s'alcum veste ben, lascia lo sdegno ;
  Che di cio gode alcun Buffone ò Sempio
Da quel ch' io ti dirò prendi l'essempio ;
L' argento e l'or, che da se stess' è degno,
  St mostra nudo, è sol si veste il legno,
  Quando s'adorna alcun Theatro ò Tempio.
Il favor di costor vien presto manco,
  E mille volte il di, sia pur giocondo,
  Si muta il stato lor di nero in bianco,
Ma chi hà virtù, gira à suo modo il mondo ;
  Com' huom che nuota e há la Zucca al fianco.
  Metti 'l sott' acqua pur, non teme il fondo (*f*).

It will perhaps be thought, that too much notice has been taken of this old Composer, Josquin, and his works ; but, as he is the type of all Musical excellence at the time in which he lived, the less need be said of his cotemporaries, who, in general, appear to have been but his imitators. And, indeed, it seems as if only *one original genius* of the same kind, could ever burst out at a time in any art or nation. Perhaps, two causes may be assigned for the servility and contraction of the rest: the prejudice of the public, and timidity of individuals. First impressions are difficult to efface, and candidates for favour or applause, eagerly pursue the road to it, which has already been traced by a successful traveller.

(*f*) Ne'er say, O Josquin, Fate's to thee unjust,
  Blest with a genius so divine;
Nor let the dress of vile buffoons disgust,
  Who but in borrow'd plumage shine.
Nor gold, nor silver, want to be adorn'd,
  Their price from worth intrinsic springs;
While structures form'd of meaner wood are scorn'd,
  Till cover'd with more precious things.

Of these Buffoons how soon the favour fades,
  Who ev'ry hour their trappings change;
But short neglect true virtue ne'er degrades,
  She safely through the world may range!
Buoy'd up like one whom friendly cork surrounds,
  Though plung'd in ocean fathoms deep,
Elastic still with native force she bounds,
  And still above the wave will keep.

Serafino dall' Acquilla, the author of this Sonnet, was born 1466, and died in the year 1500. He was much esteemed, says Crescimbini, *Ist della Volg. Poesia,* p. 206, by the first personages of his time; not only for his Poetry, but *Music*. His epitaph is cited by this writer as beautiful and curious.

Qui giace Serafin: *partiti hor puoi,*
Sol d'aver visto il sasso che lo serra,
Assai sei debitore agli occhi tuoi.

Here, reader, Serafino lies,
  Behold his monumental stone;
Then pass, and grateful bless thy eyes:
  They now for thee enough have done.

Josquin, according to Walther (*g*), was buried in the church of St. Gudule, at Brussels,* where his figure and epitaph are still to be seen. His death must have happened early in the sixteenth Century, but the exact time I have not been able to discover, though I have found, not only several Latin poems that were written on the occasion, but the Music to two of them, in the seventh collection of French Songs in five and six parts, printed at Antwerp, by Tylman Susato 1545, and preserved in the British Museum [K. 3. a. 7] (*h*). One of these was set by Jerom Vinders, a Netherlander, in seven parts (*i*) ; in scoring it, I found the harmony good, but without much fancy, or ingenuity of design. The other has been set twice, by Benedictus, in four parts, and by Josquin's scholar, Nicholas Gombert, in six. Both these compositions are in the third Ecclesiastical mode of *E*, with a minor second, as well as third ; which M. de Blainville some years ago wished to pass on the public for a third, or new key, different from the major and minor, which comprise all secular Music, at present. And it is extraordinary, that this pretension should have had any abettors in a Roman Catholic country, where old Compositions in this Mode are daily performed in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches. However, it was a matter of wonder and debate, during some time, in France (*k*).

After performing the tedious task of scoring the Music of the *Nænia* on Josquin, as set by Gombert,**I found its chief merit to consist in Imitations of his master. The composition of Benedict has, however, considerable merit ; and though I can hardly allow room to a movement of such length, I shall insert it here, in honour of the admirable Josquin, and likewise as an example of the method of writing in this equivocal Key, and the dexterity with which all Semitones are avoided, except those of the Diatonic Scale, and Hexachords.

There are several agreeable combinations in this Monody, which have a modern appearance, and seem hazarded for the first time, by the author, or his cotemporaries; though they are now so common and so necessary, that a Contrapuntist would find it difficult to avoid them.

(*g*) Musicalisches Lexicon.

(*h*) *Le septieme livre, contenant 24 Chansons a 5 & a 6 parties, par feu de bonne memoire & tres excellent en Musique* Josquin des Prez. *Avec trois epitaphes du dict* Josquin. *composees par divers aucteurs.*

(*i*) Lamentatio super morte Josquin de Prez. Per Jeronimum Vinders. 7 vocum.
O mors inevitabilis,
Mors amara, mors crudelis, &c.

(*k*) See *Mercure de France,* 1751, & *Dict. de Musique par Rousseau,* Art. Mode.

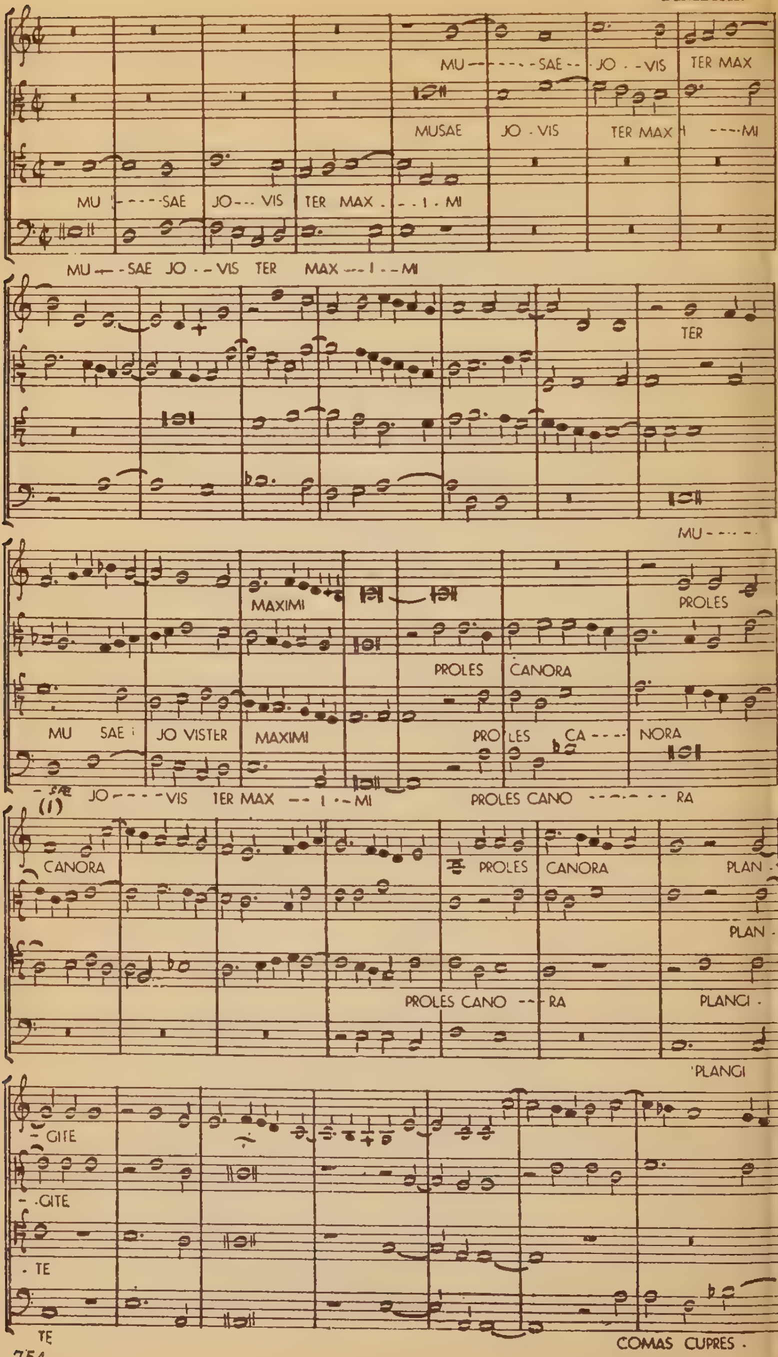
* Late in life Josquin was appointed to the post of Provost of the Collegiate Church of Condé (St. Quentin) where he died in 1521. He was buried in the choir of that church.

** It is a great pity that Burney did not include this work in this History. At the time of Josquin's death Gombert must have been only a young man, and it would have been interesting to see an early composition from one who afterwards became famous.

There is a work by Gombert in Susato's 7th Book of *Chansons* (*B.M. K.* 3, *a.* 7) and in the B.M. (Add. MSS. 31390) is a fantasy for 6 viols by him dating from about 1578.

In Josquinum a prato, Musicorum principem Monodia.

BENEDICTI.


MU - - - - - SAE - - JO - - VIS TER MAX
MUSAE JO - VIS TER MAX I - - - MI
MU - - - - SAE JO - - - VIS TER MAX - - - I - MI
MU - - SAE JO - - VIS TER MAX - - - I - - MI
TER
MU - - - -
MAXIMI
PROLES
PROLES CANORA
MU SAE JO VISTER MAXIMI PRO LES CA - - - NORA
- SAE JO - - - - VIS TER MAX - - I - - MI PROLES CANO - - - - - - RA
(1)
CANORA PROLES CANORA PLAN -
PLAN -
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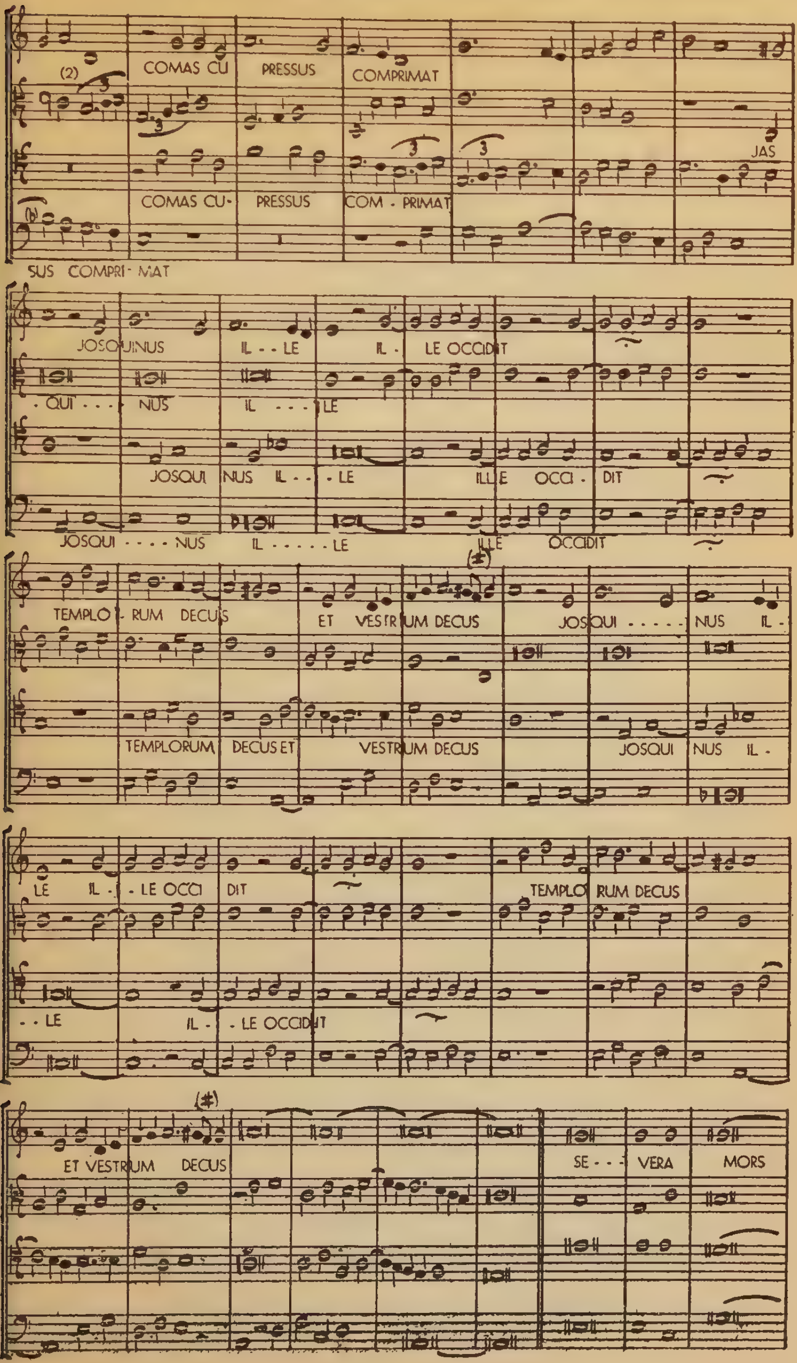
(2)
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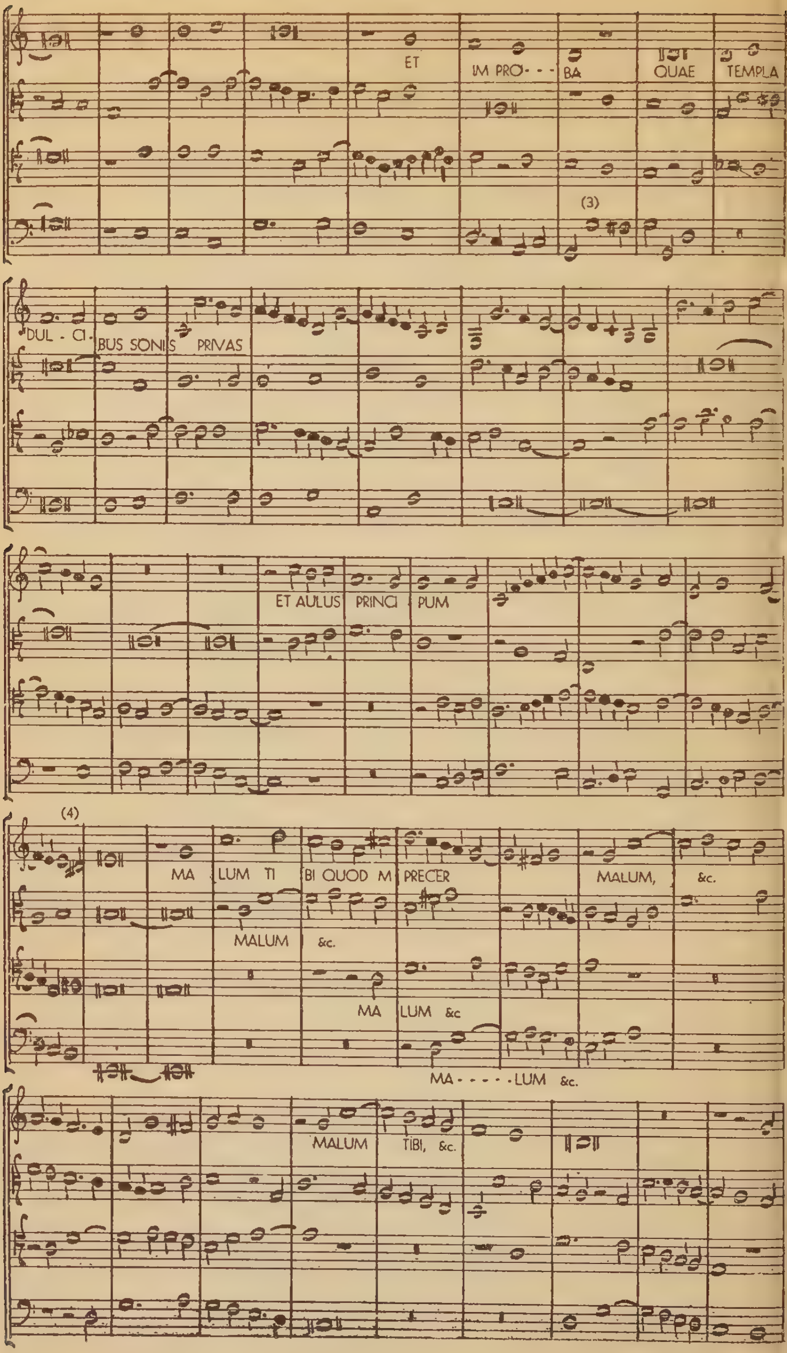
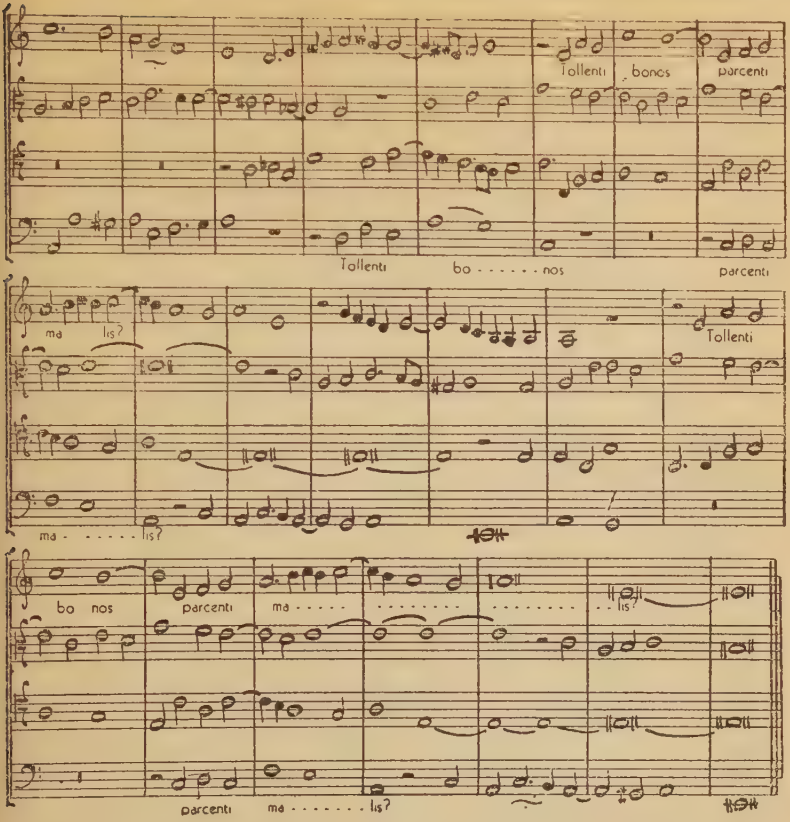
3
JAS
COMAS CU-
PRESSUS
COM - PRIMAT
(b)
SUS COMPRI- MAT
JOSQUINUS
IL - - LE
IL -
LE OCCIDIT
- QUI - - -
NUS
IL - - - LE
JOSQUI
NUS IL - -
- LE
ILLE OCCI - DIT
JOSQUI - - - - NUS
IL - - - - - LE
ILLE OCCIDIT
(♯)
TEMPLO - RUM DECUS
ET VESTRUM DECUS
JOSQUI - - - - NUS IL -
TEMPLORUM DECUS ET
VESTRUM DECUS
JOSQUI NUS IL -
LE IL - - LE OCCI DIT
TEMPLO RUM DECUS
- - LE
IL - - LE OCCIDIT
(♯)
ET VESTRUM DECUS
SE - - - VERA MORS


ET
IM PRO- - -
BA
QUAE
TEMPLA
(3)
DUL - CI
BUS SONIS
PRIVAS
ET AULUS
PRINCI
PUM
(4)
MA
LUM TI
BI QUOD M
PRECER
MALUM,
&c.
MALUM
&c.
MA
LUM &c
MA- - - - -LUM &c.
MALUM
TIBI, &c.



Remarks on the preceding Composition

(1) At the twenty-third bar, we have a $\frac{6}{5}$ to A, and a false 5th to B, both difficult to find in compositions of equal antiquity.

(2) Triplets are introduced in the *Altus,* and afterwards in the *Tenor,* while the other parts continue to move in Common Time. This mixture of Measures was very fashionable in the Music of all Europe, about the beginning of the sixteenth Century, particularly in England, as we shall see hereafter.

(3) The 2d is here accompanied by the 4th, which is continued as a false 5th, to the succeeding base; circumstances which are so unusual in these early times of Counterpoint, that a musical antiquary would doubt the evidences of his eyes and ears, if other circumstances did not confirm it. At this time, the usual accompaniment of the 2d was the 5th; and if a 4th sound was wanting, the Octave of the 2d or 5th was used. But here the point of imitation between the *Tenor* and *Altus* made the 4th a necessary accompaniment of the 2d.

(4) Here is a very beautiful and unexpected close in E minor, *alla moderna,* which I never saw, in Music of this early period, before, and of which I should have doubted, as no accidental Flats or Sharps are marked in the printed copy, had not the ancient rules of Counterpoint authorised, and even required an F♯ in the *Tenor,* to prevent a false 5th with B in the *Base;* and a D♯ in the *Soprano,* as a major 3d to that same B, previous to its falling a 5th. The solemnity of the Modulation, and ingenuity of Fugue and Imitation, in this Composition, render it not only worthy of these remarks, but the attention of learned Musicians.

BENEDICT,* who set this *Nænia,* or Monody on the death of Josquin, to Music, flourished early in the sixteenth Century, and was author of several Motets, and sacred Songs, that were printed at Antwerp and Louvain, in Collections which are preserved in the British Museum; in one of which (*l*), he is twice styled *Appenzeller,* which seems to imply, that he was a native of Appenzel, in Switzerland. Though his name occurs not in the lists of Flemish and French Musicians, given by L. Guicciardini, and Rabelais, nor in the Dictionary of Walther; yet, in scoring his productions, it appears, that, with respect to Harmony, built on such rules as were then established, no Composer of the same period wrote with more ease and purity.

We find that Counterpoint was cultivated in Italy during the fifteenth Century, not only at Rome, for the use of the Pontifical Chapel, but at Florence, for secular purposes. Antonio Francesco Grazzini, commonly called *Il Lasca,* in the dedication of the first edition of the *Canti Carnascialeschi* (*m*), or Songs that used to be sung through the streets of Florence, by persons in masks, during Carnival time, tells us, that the first of these Songs which was performed in this manner, in the time of Lorenzo il Magnifico, was set to Music in three parts, by a certain Arrigo Tedesco, Maestro di Capella of the Church of St. John, and a Musician of great reputation, in those times. Soon after, many such Songs were composed in four, eight, twelve, and even fifteen parts (*n*).

However I may be inclined to celebrate the activity, talents, enthusiasm, and success, with which the Italians have long

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(*l*) *Lib. primus. Ecclesiasticarum Cantionum quatuor vocum, vulgo* Moteta *vocant, tam ex Veteri, quam Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque hujus ætatis Musicis Compositarum. Antea nunquam excusus,* 1153.

(*m*) *Tutti i Trionfi, Carri. Mascherate o Canti Carnascialeschi andati per Firenze dal tempo di Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici fino al anno,* 1559.

(*n*) These Songs, after the manner of the Greek *Scolia,* are applicable to persons of different trades and occupations; among the rest, there is one for those who played on the Rebec, the Trumpet, and various Musical instruments, used then by the German Troops, called by the Italians, *Lanzi.*

* Benedictus Ducis (b. *circa* 1480; date of death unknown). A good number of his compositions are known, including an Elegy on the death of Erasmus. A remarkably fine motet of his, *Peccantem me quotidie,* was printed at Augsburg in 1545. He is supposed to have visited England about 1515 but there is no mention of this in contemporary records.

The Benedict styled Appenzeller is another composer who was born at Oudenaarde early in the 16th cent.

cultivated Music, I shall not do it with that malignant spirit of comparison, which never praises one nation or individual, except at the expence of another. And it is but justice to say, that earlier proofs of correct Counterpoint, learned Fugue, and ingenious contrivance, can be produced by the Netherlanders, Germans, French, and English, than by the natives of Italy; who seem at first to be stimulated to the study of Counterpoint, in different parts of Italy, by the precepts and examples of foreigners. Tinctor was at the head of the Neapolitan school, and Josquin of the Roman, about the same time as we meet with the name of Arrigo Tedesco, in the writings of Politian, and other Florentine authors of the fifteenth century. I always imagined, that this last must have been a German Composer, but was unable to meet with any specimens of his works, till I discovered from a passage in Glareanus, p. 348, that ARRIGO TEDESCO, and HENRY ISAAC, [*c*. 1450-1517] were the same person. " Politian," says this author, "celebrates Henry Isaac; but by a corrupt name, and foolishly calls him Arrigo." But it is common with the Italians, in speaking of foreigners, to use only their Christian names; or, if any cognomen be added, it is that of their country.

Glareanus has preserved several of Henry Isaac's compositions, "in which," he says, " great genius and erudition are discoverable. Henry Isaac," continues he, " embellished the Ecclesiastical Chants, in which he found any majesty or force, with such Harmony, as made them superior to any new subjects of modern times. He was particularly fond of making one part sustain a note, while the rest were moving about, like the waves of the sea, against a rock, during a storm." However, we are enabled to judge by a Score of the Compositions of this author, upon whom Glareanus bestows such warm praises, how remote the Art of Music was from perfection, when his *Dodecachordon* was written. There is, indeed, some ingenuity in the imitations of a movement, in four parts, inserted in this book (*o*), but no grace in the melody, or remarkable sweetness in the Harmony: the one is rendered uncouth, and the other crude, by too close an adherence to the mode, which he is pleased to call *Mixolydian* (*p*).

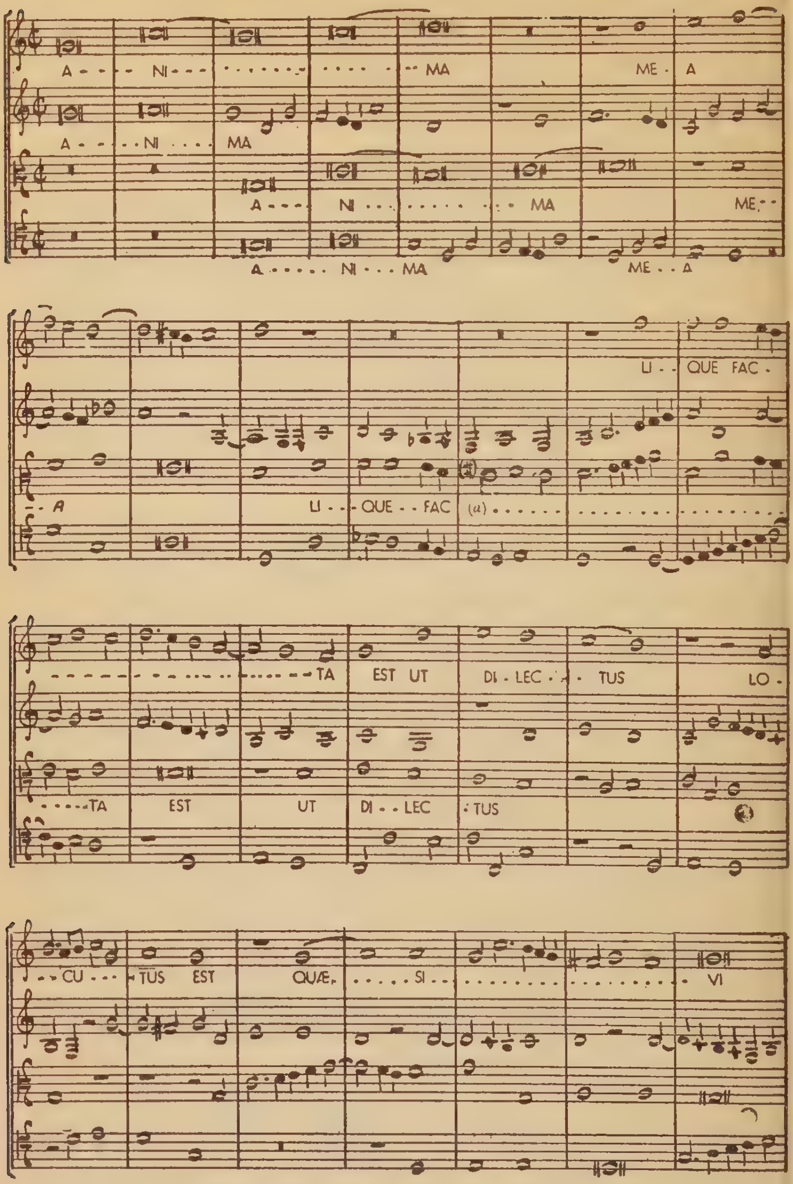
The following Composition, however, will shew the progress which Counterpoint had now made, if we remark how frequently this author uses discords, of which he has pressed a considerable number into his service; particularly a naked ninth, which I do not remember to have seen before.*

(*o*) *Exemplum—cujus exordium plus quam dici potest admirandam habet gravitatem, non absque summa aurium voluptate.* P. 346.

(*p*) *Ubi supra.*

* Henry Isaacs was undoubtedly one of the greatest composers of his day. According to Grove's (Vol. ii., p. 742) "Isaac's genius, versatility and fecundity place him among the great musicians. He was fertile in every mode of musical expression practised in his period, sacred and secular." A modern reprint of his great compilation of music for the Offices according to the Constance use, known as the *Choralis Constantinus* (completed by Ludwig Senff and published by Johan Ott at Nuremburg between 1500-55) was issued by the *D.T.O.* in 1898 and 1909. The same Society also published a volume of his secular music (*Vol.* xiv. 1).

Henry Isaac.


A - - - NI - - - - MA ME - A
A - - - NI - - - - MA
A - - - NI - - - - MA ME - -
A - - - - - NI - - - MA ME - - A
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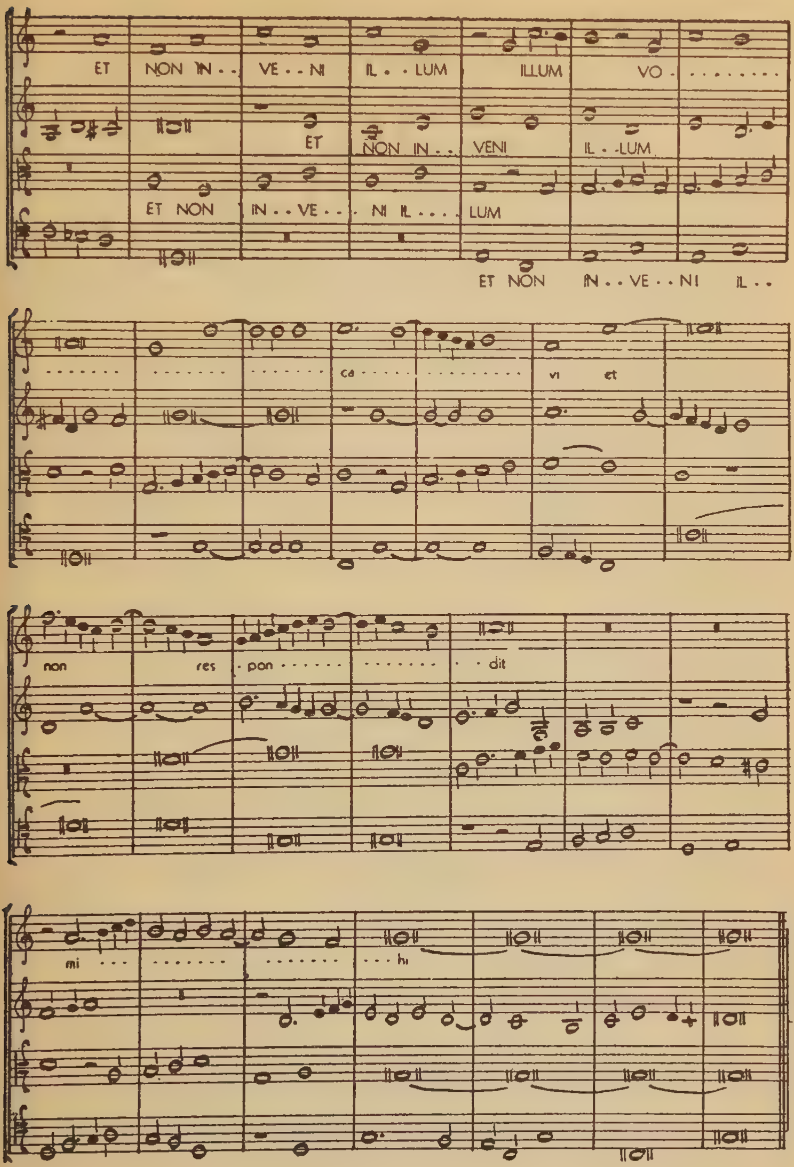
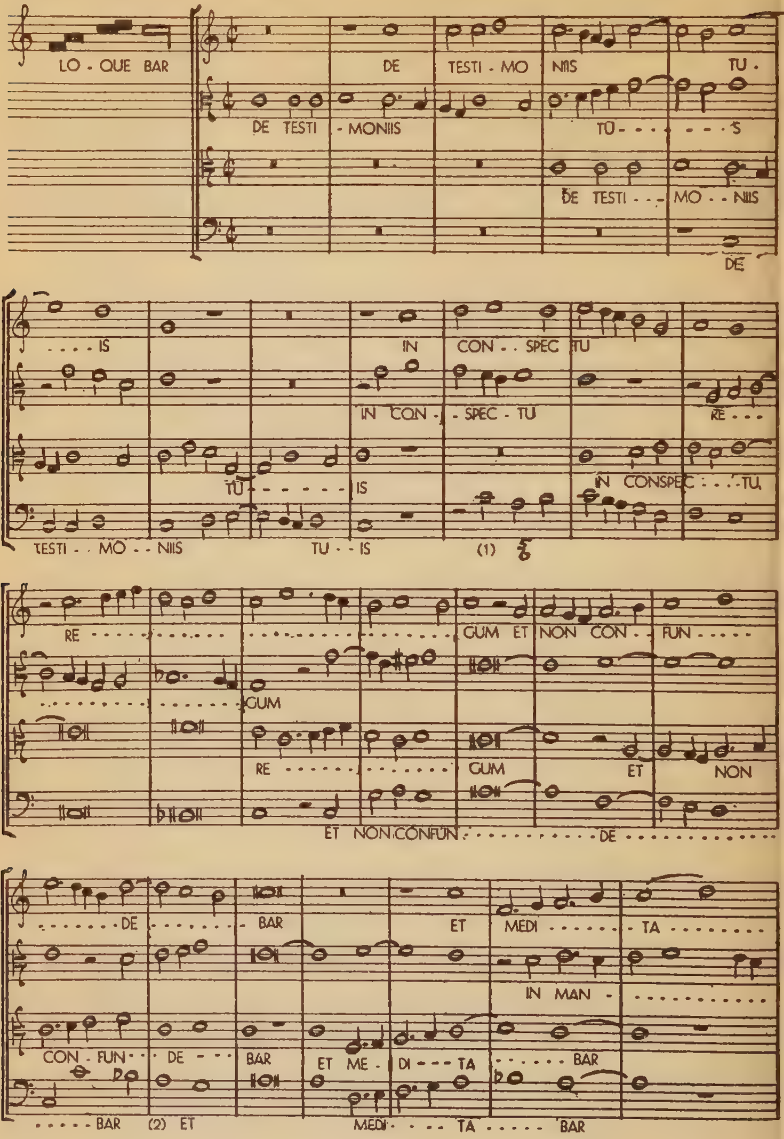
- - A
LI - - QUE - - FAC (a)
TA
EST UT
DI - LEC - - TUS
LO -
- - - - TA
EST
UT
DI - - LEC
TUS
- - CU - - - TUS EST
QUÆ, - - - - - SI - - - - - VI

(*a*) None of the Chromatic Semitones are marked in the printed Copy of either of the Compositions of Henry Isaac; nor indeed would the Puritans in Church Music, at the time they were written, have suffered the Lydian or Mixolydian Mode to be contaminated by altered intervals. (The last note in the treble part of the penultimate bar should be a minim.)


ET NON IN . . VE . . NI IL . . LUM ILLUM VO . . . .
ET NON IN . . VENI IL . . LUM
ET NON IN . . VE . . . NI IL . . . LUM
ET NON IN . . VE . . NI IL . .
ca vi et
non res . pon . . . . . . dit
mi . . . . hi

The most pleasing production of Henry Isaac that has been preserved seems to be the following, which, if we may believe Glareanus, is in the true Lydian Mode of the Ancients.

Example from Henry Isaac, of the Ancient Lydian Mode, according to Glareanus.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CON - - SPEC TU
IN CON - - SPEC - TU
RE - - -
TU - - - - - - - IS
IN CONSPEC - - - TU
TESTI - - MO - - NIIS
TU - - IS
(1) 6 4
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GUM
RE
GUM
ET
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ET NON CONFUN - - - - DE
DE
BAR
ET
MEDI - - - - TA
IN MAN -
CON - FUN - - DE - - -
BAR
ET ME - DI - - - TA
BAR
BAR
(2) ET
MEDI - - - - TA - - - - - BAR

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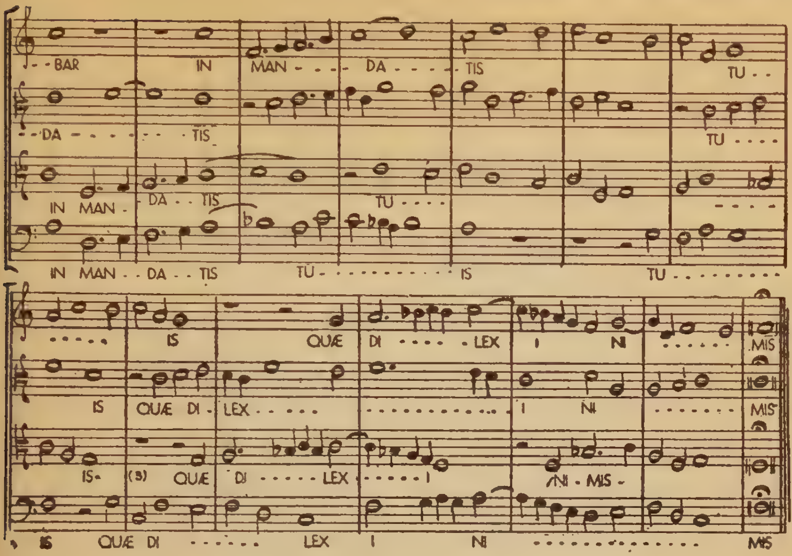
(1) As I regard Henry Isaac to have been a more ancient Composer than Benedictus (see Page 758) the $\frac{6}{4}$, if I may depend on my Memory, occur here for the first time.

(2) Though the Harmony of $\begin{smallmatrix}5\\4\\3\end{smallmatrix}$, which is here given to the Base A, seems uncouth and unwarrantable to the Eye, yet it will not offend the Ear in this place; and it is curious to find so early a Contrapuntist venturing upon a Combination of sounds, that would be audacious in a Modern.



The next eminent contrapuntist, in point of time, to Okenheim, Josquin, and Henry Isaac, is JACOB HOBRECHT [*c.* 1430-1505] or OBRETH, a Netherlander, who initiated Erasmus, when a youth, in the secrets of his art, as Damon was formerly the Music-master of Socrates (*q*). Glareanus, the disciple of Erasmus, says, that he had frequently heard his Preceptor speak of Hobrecht as a Musician who had no superior, and say, that he had such a rapid and wonderful facility in writing, that he composed an excellent Mass in one night, which was very much admired by the learned (*r*). Indeed, in scoring his Mass *Si Dedero,* which was printed at Venice in 1508 (*s*), it appears, though the movements are somewhat too similar in subject, that the Counterpoint is clean, clear, and masterly. And this is the chief praise that is justly due to most of the compositions of the same period ; which, in other respects, so much resemble each other, that the specimens already given exhibit almost all the variety of melody and pleasure which the productions of a whole century can furnish. Indeed, as air and grace were not at this time the objects of a Composer's pursuits, they should not be sought or expected. Those, however, who have heard modern Melody, Harmony, and Modulation, to a degree of satiety, and admire the Fugues, Canons, and other ingenious contrivances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, would have great pleasure in the performance or contemplation of such Music as this, which is become new by excess of antiquity.* Few or none of the passages have been retained in modern Music ; and the harmony and modulation having been regulated by the ecclesiastical tones, or modes, which have been so long exploded in this country, every thing would be as new to a *Dilettante* of the present age, as if he only now heard Music for the first time ; so that, those who can tolerate nothing but what is ancient, and those, who are in constant search of something new, will, in these authors, find Music equally adapted to the several tastes, and be likewise furnished with an excuse for their fastidiousness.

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(3) Here if the $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{6}{2}$ were accompanied by a 3d sound it must be the 4th, which would perhaps be the 1st time of admitting such a Chord; as the $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{6}{2}$ were long used before the $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{4}{2}$

(*q*) See Book i. p. 325.

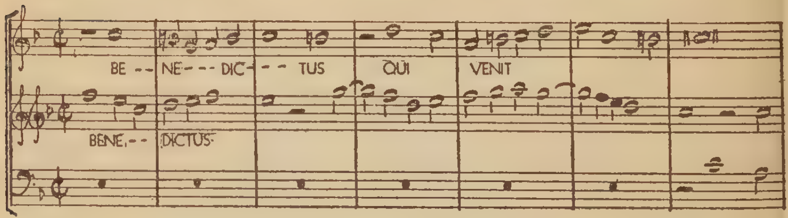
(*r*) Dodecachord, p. 456.

(*s*) *Missar. divers. auct.* l. 1.

One of the most voluminous Composers of the period under consideration, was PIERRE DE LA RUE [*d.* 1518] or, as he is called by writers in Latin, PETRUS PLATENSIS. What country gave him birth, is now difficult to ascertain ; Walther calls him a Netherlander ; Glareanus, a Frenchman: others suppose him to have been a Spaniard. It is, however, certain, that he was in high favour with Prince Albert, and Princess Isabella, of the Low Countries ; that a work under his name was published at Antwerp, with this title: *El Parnasso Espanol de Madrigales y Villancicos à quatro, cinco y seis voces ;* besides Masses and Motets to Latin words ; and that he was a very learned Contrapuntist.

Many of his compositions for the church are still extant in the Museum Collection of Masses and Motets, some of which were published as early as the year 1503, immediately after the invention of Musical Types.** The following *Benedictus,* from his Mass *de beata Virgine,* is selected as a specimen of his style, and free use of the four principal discords, of second, fourth, seventh, and ninth. In the fourteenth Bar of this movement, likewise, the fifth, though somewhat aukwardly, is made a discord by the sixth (*t*).

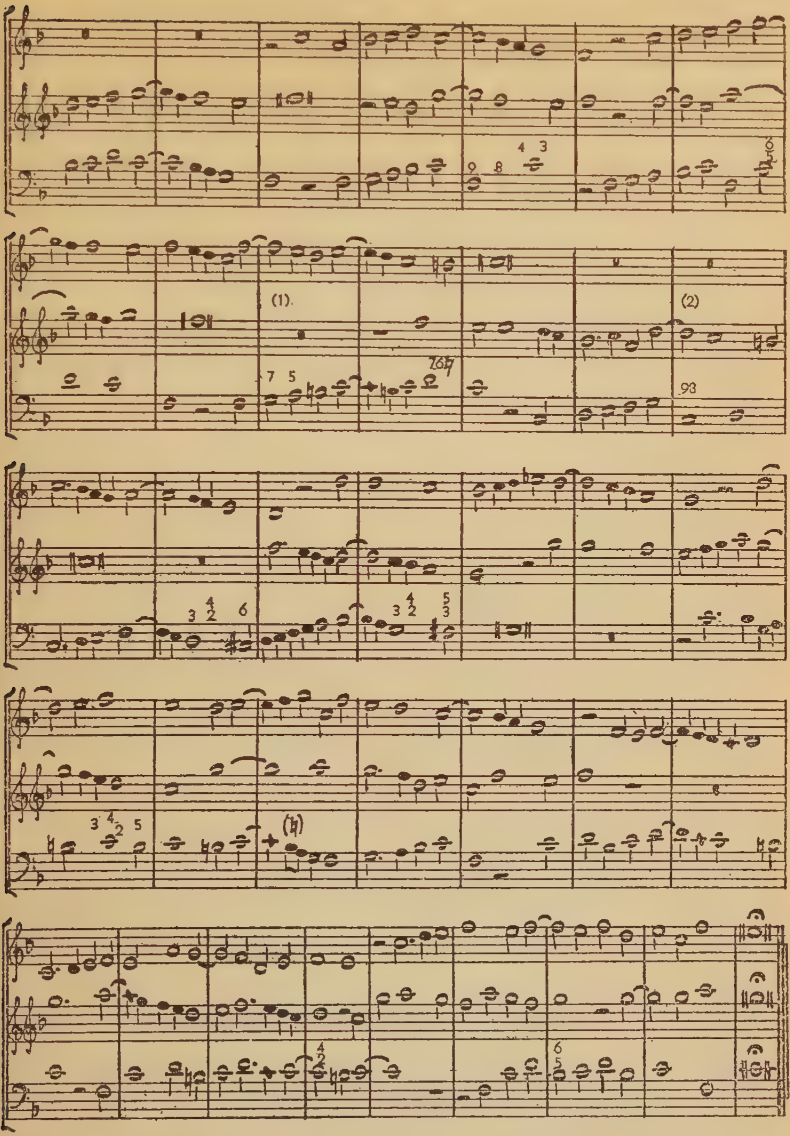
Pierre de la Rue.



(*t*) At No. (1) the seventh, for the first time that I have observed it, in only two parts, is resolved upon the fifth. And at No. (2) the ninth, which is wholly unaccompanied by a concord, must have been very unusual, at this early period of Counterpoint.

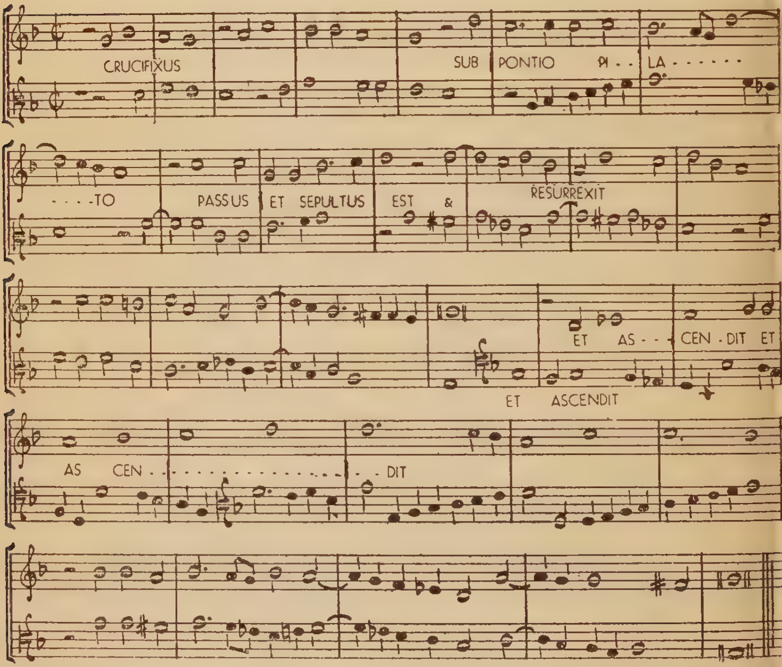
* The *V.V.N.M.* has published the complete works of Obrecht edited by J. Wolff.

** He was a native of Picardy and was born about the middle of the 15th cent. Petrucci published 5 of his masses in 1503 and one or two more later. There are 23 Masses by him in MS. Scattered amongst various collections of the 16th century are to be found about 25 Motets and 10 secular pieces.



The most ancient Contrapuntist of the French school, of whose Compositions I have been able to find any remains, is ANTHONY BRUMEL, [*c.* 1480—*c.* 1520] cotemporary with Josquin, and scholar of Okenheim, I scored an entire Mass by him, called *Δϱιγζ*, I know not why, unless it be the name, or initial word of a German drinking Song. It is printed in the first book of *Missarum diversorum*, in the Museum collection [K.1.d.8.]. He does not appear to have had much invention ; however, his harmony in general, is pure, and melody and notation more clear and simple than was common at the period when he flourished. Glareanus seems to characterise him justly, when he says, that he was a very able Contrapuntist, but was possessed of more learning than genius (*u*). The same author informs us (*x*), that at the beginning of the sixteenth Century, when he was arrived at an extreme old age, he composed a Kyrie Eleison, in competition with Josquin, in which not only in the Tenor, but in all the parts, he introduced the subject, ascending and descending, with wonderful skill. There is much more plain and simple Counterpoint in his Mass, which I have scored, and less Fugue, Canon, or imitation, than I have ever seen in a composition of the same length and period. The following short *Duo* has some faint glimmerings of expression, besides the merit of harmony and contrivance.*

Duo.



(*u*) Antonius Brumel *dignus qui inter eximios Symphonetas numeretur, magis tamen diligentia & arte valuit, quam naturæ indulgentia.* Dodecachordon, P. 456.

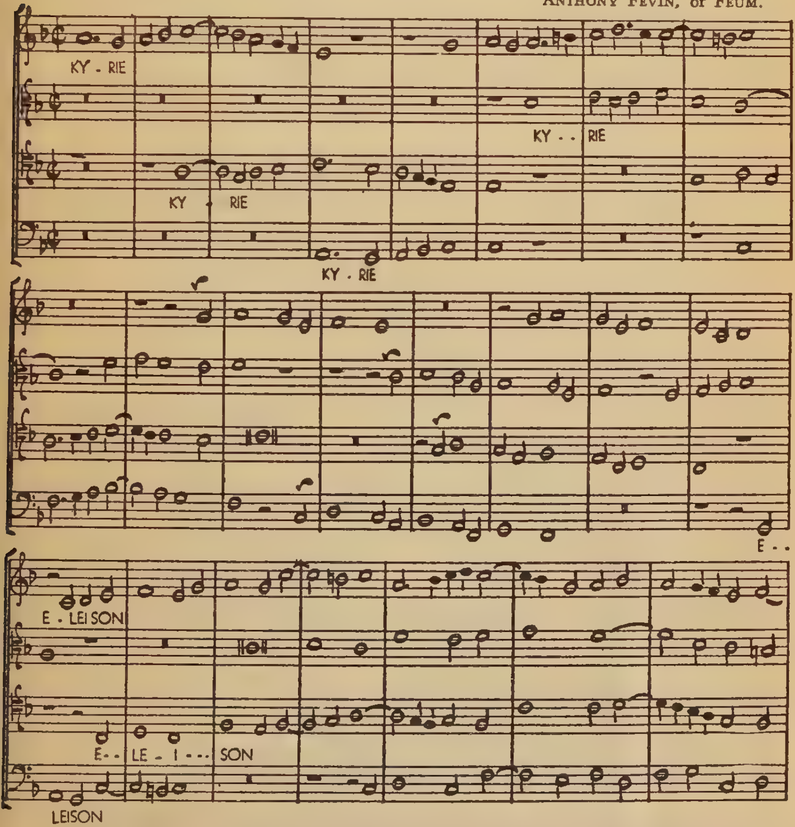
(*x*) P. 152.

* Reprints of some of his work are in Vol. 8 of Expert's *Les Maitres musiciens de la Renaissance.* A remarkable work in 8 parts, each part being in a different mode is included in Faber's *Institutiones Musicæ* (1553). A copy of Faber's work is in the B.M. (7897. a. 77).

There is a Mass in the same collection by Gaspar,* an old composer, probably a native of France, whose name occurs in Franchinus among the *most delightful* Contrapuntists of his time. The composition of this Mass, which is upon the subject of an old Song, *n'as tu pas,* is excellent, with respect to harmony; and the points of Imitation are such as would not disgrace Palestrina, or even a much more modern author, as to Melody, though printed in 1508, and probably composed much sooner.

Anthony *Feum,* or *Fevin,* a native of Orleans, is mentioned by Glareanus with great encomiums, as the successful emulator of Josquin, and a young man whose modesty was equal to his genius. There are three of his Masses in the Museum Collection, which, in scoring, I find excellent, particularly that which is called *Sancta Trinitas*, the second Movement of which I shall give, as a specimen of his abilities.**

ANTHONY FEVIN, or FEUM.



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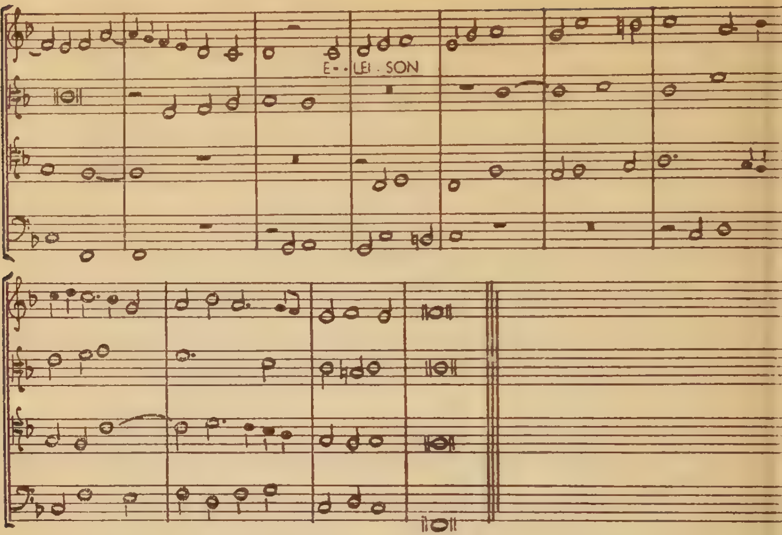
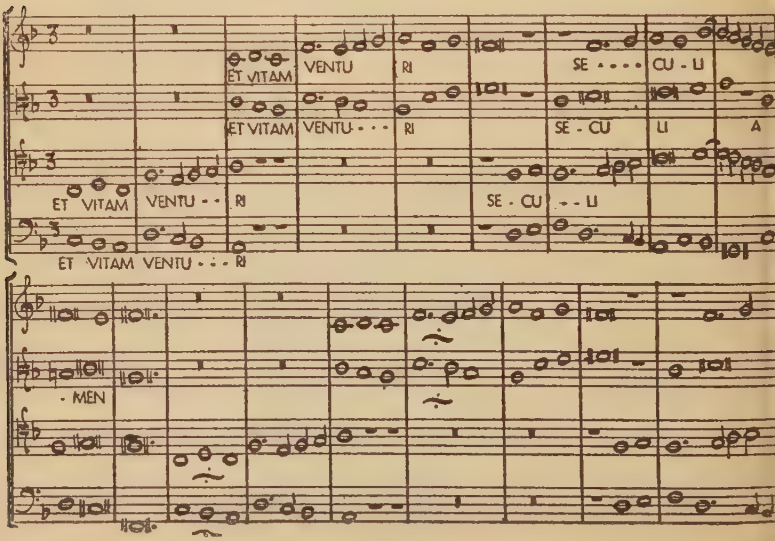
* Better known as Gaspar van Weerbeck (born about 1440; date of death unknown). Some Masses and other works were published by Petrucci between 1505 and 1509. An *Agnus Dei*, by him is given by Wooldridge in *Ox. H.M.* (Vol. ii. p. 93).

** Henri Expert has reprinted a Mass. *Mente Tota,* by Fevin. Works by him were published by Attaingnant in 1534. Other works appear in various other collections, and there are works in MSS. at Munich, Vienna, Rome (Sistine Chapel) and Toledo.



The Points in this Movement are pleasing, and Introduced in a Masterly manner: Morley, who tells us in his List of Authors, at the end of his Introduction, that he had consulted the works of Fevin, has made great use of the point, which is led off at this Mark, ✓ in one of his 3 part Songs, beginning " Cease myne Eyes."

The other Movements are all on agreable Subjects, and treated in a clear and able manner, but are too long for insertion; however the close of one of them being in triple time, is curious, and beautiful, for the age in which it was Composed.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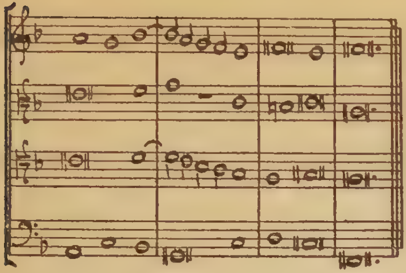


Among the first Masses that were printed, there is one by Philip Basiron, which is dry, aukward, and devoid of invention and contrivance. Its extreme difficulty of notation, from the frequency of ligatures, and obscurity of obsolete prolations, encourages a belief that the author preceded Josquin; but as none of his works remain, except the Mass in this collection, it cannot be determined when, or where he lived, no mention having been made of him by Glareanus or Walther.*

This author was peculiarly fond of unlimited Pauses, in the middle of his movements, having sometimes four together, and once, in the *Credo,* at the words *& homo factus est,* he has eight successively. As every thing has been tried in music, at all times, that was likely to please, surprise, or impress the public with an idea of the author's superior genius, taste, or science; so there has been at every period, some fashionable folly, extravagance, or affectation among musicians: for whenever a happy novelty has been started, by a man gifted with real genius, immediately another, with none, has given it to the public in a larger dose, with as little discretion as a cook, who, hearing that an ounce of some particular ingredient had rendered a new invented dish extremely palatable, should think it would be still more exquisite, if he doubled the quantity.

There is no other Composer of this high period whose Masses have been preserved in the same collection as those of the great Contrapuntists already mentioned, to whom we shall assign a separate niche, except JOHN MOUTON [*c.* 1475-1522]. Glareanus calls him a Frenchman, but Lud. Guicciardini claims him as a native of the Netherlands. Wherever he was born, it is certain that he spent the chief part of his life in the service of the French court, during the reigns of Lewis the Twelfth, and Francis the First. He was a disciple ot Josquin (*y*), and master of Adrian Willaert, not his scholar, as Printz, and others after him, have asserted.

(*y*) See the notes on *Rabelais Moderne, To.* V. *2de partie,* P. 54.

* He was a follower and perhaps a pupil of Dufay and Binchois, and may be regarded as one of a small group which included Regis and Caron, and which formed a link between the first and second school of Netherland composers. A work by Basiron published in 1508, is in the B.M. (K. 1. d. 8).

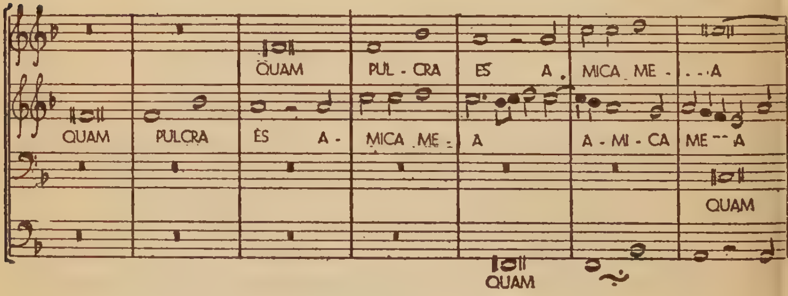
Notwithstanding the rapture with which Glareanus speaks of this Composer's Masses, they seem to me inferior in melody, rhythm, and design to those of Josquin, De la Rue, and Fevin. It is in his fourth Mass that I first met with two Flats at the Clef, and an accidental Flat upon A. In scoring this composition, consisting of fourteen movements, I can discover no variety of measure or subject; nor is the want of melody compensated by richness of harmony, ingenuity of contrivance, or learning of modulation. His Motets, however, if not more nervous and elaborate than those of his cotemporaries, are more smooth and polished: but he lived in a court.

His Motet, *Non nobis Domine*, is not only pleasing, but masterly. It was composed in 1509, for the birth of Renée, the second daughter of Lewis the Twelfth, by Anne of Bretagne, as appears in the body of the Motet (*z*); and this is sufficient to confute the opinion of Mouton having been the scholar of Adrian Willaert, who, according to his own account, went into Italy very young, during the pontificate of Leo the Tenth (*a*).

He composed another Motet in 1514, on the death of Queen Anne de Bretagne, but the best of his compositions that I have seen, is the Motet *Quam pulchra es Amica mea,* from the Song of Solomon. It is composed for three Tenors and a Base; the subjects of Fugue are pleasing, and treated with abilities. It is unfortunately too long for the whole to have a place in this volume; but, as examples of his style, I shall insert the first movement, and a short *Duo* from one of his Masses.*

Jo. Mouton.

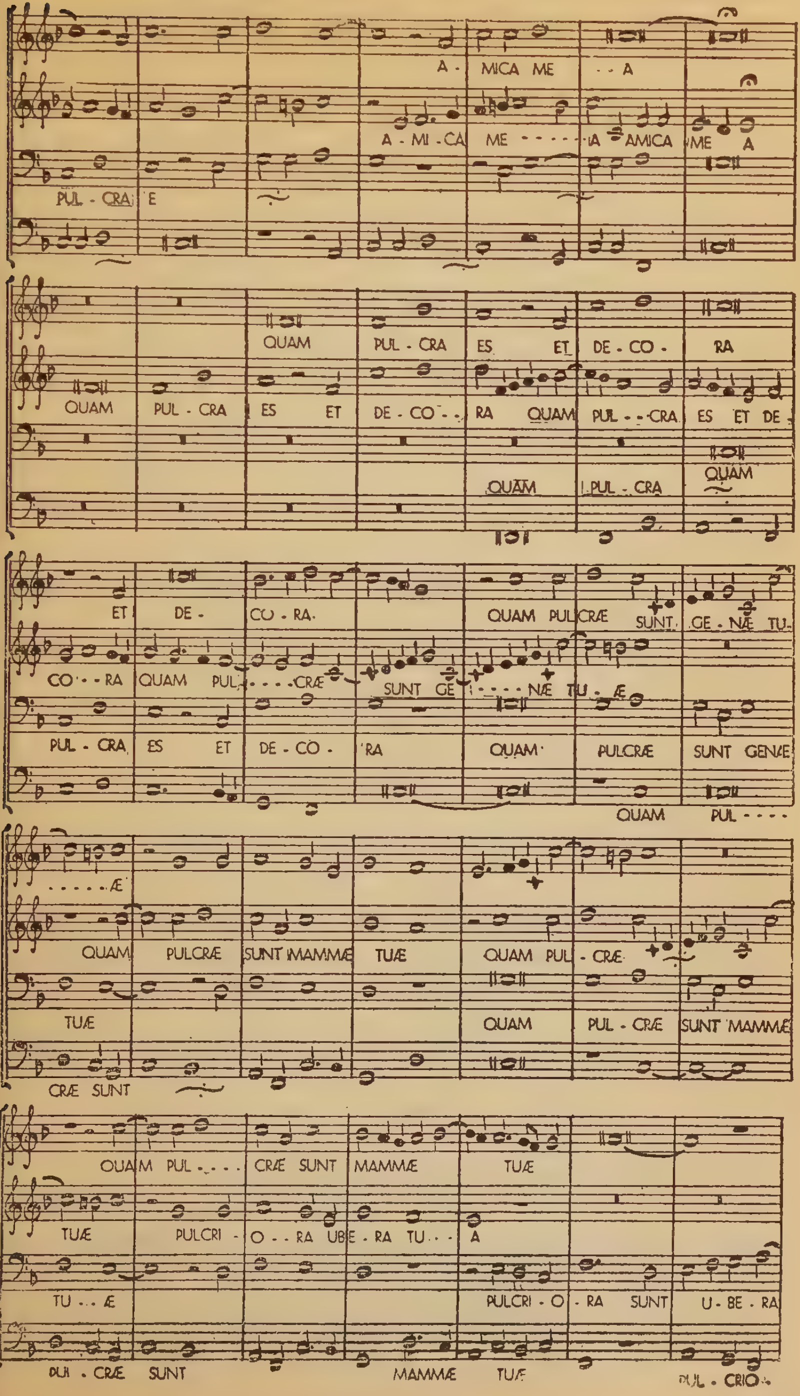
Motetti della Corona.
1: iii. No. xii.



(*z*) This princess was married during the reign of Francis the First, to the Duke of Ferrara, after whose death she became a Hugonotte. Clement Marot, the poet, was her Secretary; she died at Montargis, 1575.

(*a*) Zarlino, *Istit. 4ta. parte,* P. 346.

* Mouton's birthplace is now supposed to have been in the Department of the Somme. In the Burney MSS. (B.M. Add. MSS. 11582) are to be found more examples scored by him. Eitner (Q.L.) lists 75 motets, etc., 9 masses and some chansons. Petrucci printed a collection of 21 motets by Mouton (Motteti de la Corona, 1514 and 1519) Le Roy printed 22 of his Motets in 1555. A copy of this work is in the B.M. (K. 4. c. 14).
The Motet *Quam Pulchra* given by Burney was at one time attributed to Josquin.


A - MICA ME - - A
A - MI - CA ME - - - - - A AMICA ME A
PUL - CRA E
QUAM PUL - CRA ES ET DE - CO - RA
QUAM PUL - CRA ES ET DE - CO - - RA QUAM PUL - - CRA ES ET DE -
QUAM PUL - CRA QUAM
ET DE - CO - RA. QUAM PULCRÆ SUNT GE - NÆ TU.
CO - - RA QUAM PUL - - - - CRÆ SUNT GE - - - - NÆ TU - Æ
PUL - CRA ES ET DE - CO - RA QUAM PULCRÆ SUNT GENÆ
QUAM PUL - - - -
- - - - - Æ
QUAM PULCRÆ SUNT MAMMÆ TUÆ QUAM PUL - CRÆ
TUÆ QUAM PUL - CRÆ SUNT MAMMÆ
CRÆ SUNT
QUAM PUL - - - - CRÆ SUNT MAMMÆ TUÆ
TUÆ PULCRI - O - - RA UBE - RA TU - - A
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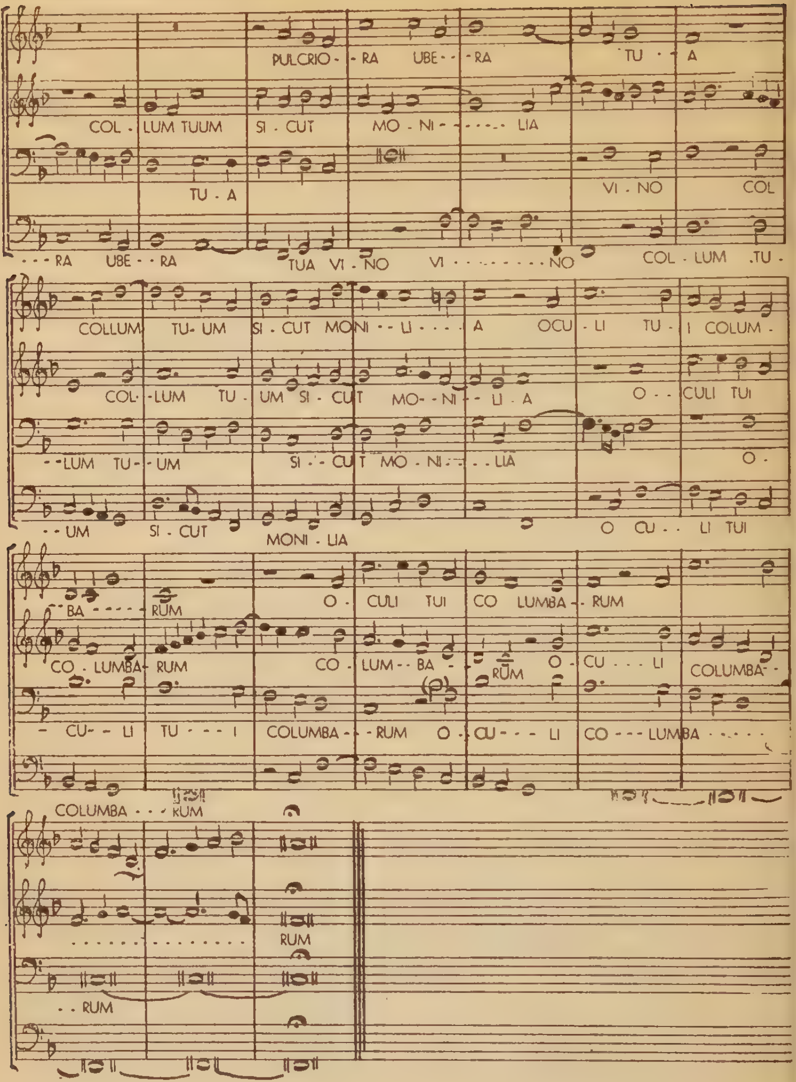
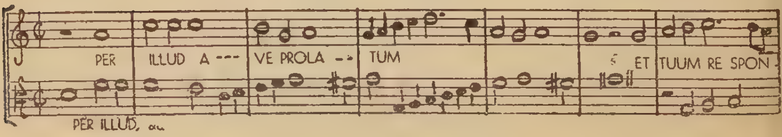
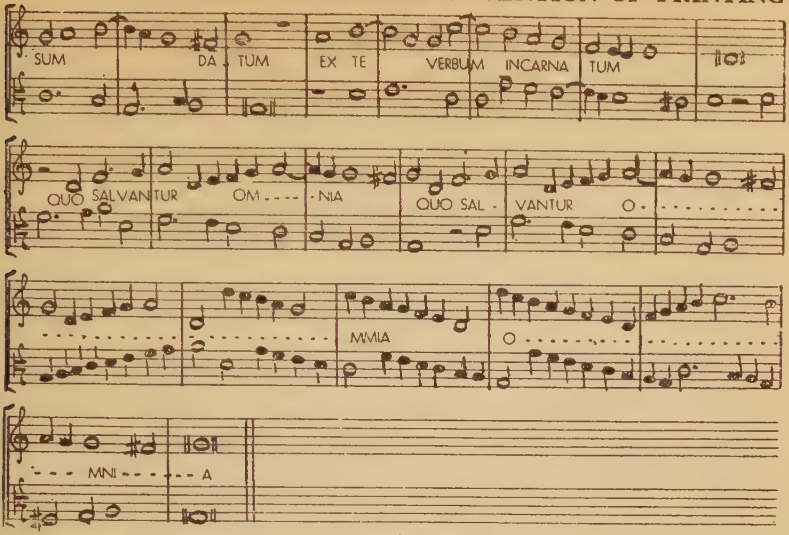
PUL - CRÆ SUNT MAMMÆ TUÆ PUL - CRIO -


PULCRIO - RA UBE - RA TU - A
COL - LUM TUUM SI - CUT MO - NI - LIA
TU - A VI - NO COL
RA UBE - RA TUA VI - NO VI - NO COL - LUM TU -
COLLUM TU - UM SI - CUT MO NI - LI - A OCU - LI TU - I COLUM -
COL - LUM TU - UM SI - CUT MO - NI - LI - A O - CULI TUI
LUM TU - UM SI - CU T MO - NI - LIA O -
UM SI - CUT MONI - LIA O CU - LI TUI
BA RUM O - CULI TUI CO LUMBA - RUM
CO - LUMBA - RUM CO - LUM - BA - RUM O - CU - LI COLUMBA -
CU - LI TU - I COLUMBA - RUM O - CU - LI CO - LUMBA
COLUMBA - RUM
RUM
RUM

Mixolydii exemplum, Johannis Mouton.

Duo Ex Glariano. P. 347.


PER ILLUD A - VE PROLA - TUM ET TUUM RE SPON
PER ILLUD, a



England

Having endeavoured to describe the progress of Counterpoint on the Continent, and to do justice to the genius and abilities of its first successful cultivators, of whose productions we have any remains, it is time, from such records and memorials as the diligence of research has discovered, to give an account of its state, during the same period, on our own Island; and it has already been shewn, from the MS. Musical Tracts, and Specimens of Composition of remote times, which have been preserved, that the natives were neither insensible to the charms of Music, nor negligent in its cultivation.

The examples of Counterpoint in other countries, which have hitherto been exhibited, are entirely confined to *Church Music,* and, of any other kind, I have been able to find but little, either in print or MS. of higher antiquity than near the middle of the sixteenth century; yet I have not only seen Masses in four, five, and six parts, composed by the natives of England, which are equally ancient with those on the continent, but *Secular Songs,* in our language, of two and three parts, and in good Counterpoint, of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century.

A very curious and valuable musical MS. is preserved, which once appertained to Dr. ROBERT FAYRFAX [d. 1521], an eminent English composer, during the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.; it was afterwards in the possession of General Fayrfax, and upon his demise made a part of the Thoresby collection, at the sale of which it was purchased by Mr. White (*b*).*

(*b*) This MS. is still the property of the worthy Mr. John White, of Newgate-street; who is likewise in possession of a valuable collection of ancient rarities, as well as natural productions, of the most curious and extraordinary kind; no one of which, however, is more remarkable, than the obliging manner in which he allows them to be viewed and examined by his friends.

* This MS., which according to Davy (History of English Music, 2nd ed. p. 84) dates from about 1504 or earlier, is now in the B.M. (Add. MSS. 5465).

It consists of a collection of the most ancient English Songs, to which the Music has been preserved. The writing is very clear and intelligible, for the period when it was transcribed, though the time of the musical characters, from the want of bars, and the use of ligatures and prolation, with a mixture of red notes for diminution, is sometimes difficult to ascertain.

Having been allowed by the present proprietor of this MS. to transcribe what part of it I pleased, I have scored the whole, by which I am enabled to judge of the progress which had been made in harmony by my countrymen, and to familiarize myself with the prevailing cast of their melody, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The Composers of these Songs are William of Newark [*c.* 1450-1509],——Sheryngham, Edmund Turges [d. 1502], Tutor, or Tudor, Gilbert Banester,——Browne, Richard Davy, William Cornyshe, junior [d. 1523], Syr Thomas Phelyppes (*c*), and Robert Fayrfax. But little is known now concerning these musicians, except that Turges is a name that occurs among the musicians of Henry the Sixth (*d*). Tudor was author of several compositions in the Music Book of Prince Henry, afterwards Henry the Eighth. Cornyshe was of Henry the Seventh's chapel; and Fayrfax was admitted to a Doctor's degree in music, at Cambridge, 1511; but as he is not styled Doctor in this MS. we may reasonably suppose his compositions in it, to have been anterior to his receiving that honour in the University.*

I shall select a few of the Songs in this MS, and insert them as specimens of our early Lyric Compositions.

(*c*) *Sir* was a title formerly given to persons in orders, as well as to Knights: and Fuller, in his Church Hist. book vi. instances a great number of this class among the incumbents of Chauntries, in the cathedral of St. Paul, in the time of Edward the Sixth; and says, that, "such Priests as have the addition of *Sir* before their Christian names, were men not graduated in the University, *being* in *orders*, but not in *degrees;* whilst others entitled *Masters*, had commenced in the Arts." P. 352.

This explains and gives considerable antiquity to a four-part *Round*, that was first printed by John Playford, in *Catch that Catch can*, or a Collection of Catches, Rounds, and Canons, published by John Hilton, 1652.

> Now I am married, *Sir John* I'le not curse:
> He join'd us together for better for worse;
> But if I were single, I must tell you plaine,
> I would be advis'd ere I married againe.

(*d*) See Gloss. to the late Edit. of Chaucer, at the word *Harpour*.

* William Newark was Master of the Chapel Royal Choristers in the reign of Henry VII.

Baneister (*c.* 1445-87) was the Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal in the later 15th century.

John Browne. For an article on the identity of this composer see an article by Grattan Flood in the *Musical Times* for August, 1920.

Richard Davy. Little is known about this composer beyond the fact that he was at Magdalen College, Oxford, about 1483, and was organist and choir master there from 1490—1492.

William Cornyshe succeeded William Newark as Master of the Chapel Royal in 1509.

Phelyppes. This seems to be the only known composition by this man.

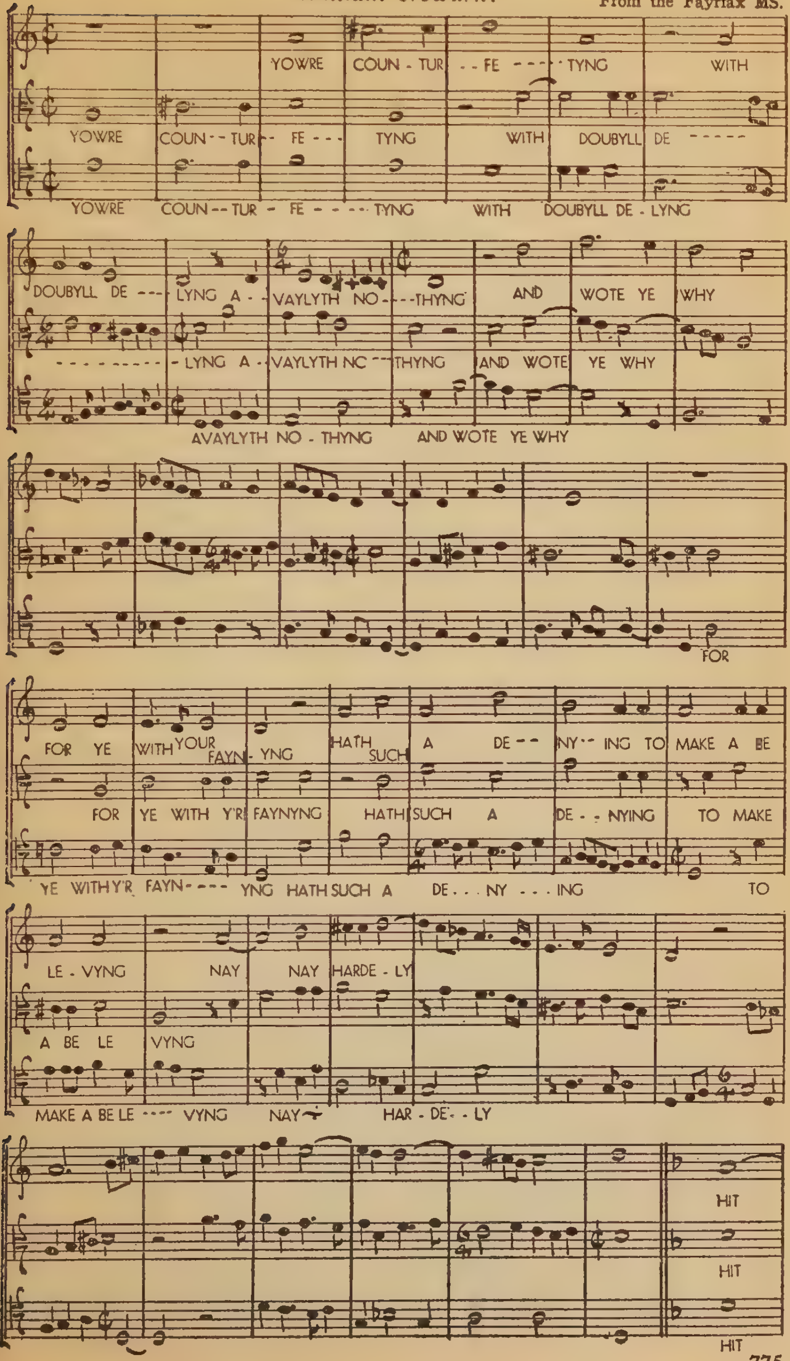
Tudor. The words of one of the compositions seem to refer to Prince Arthur Tudor.

Fayrfax. A mass, which he submitted as the exercise for his Oxford degree, is still in existence in the Lambeth MS. (*Cod. I*). He took his Mus. Doc. Cambridge in 1502.

The fullest information about these early Tudor composers is to be found in W. H. Grattan Flood's, *Early Tudor Composers* (*Oxford Press*, 1925).

William Newark.

From the Fayrfax MS.


YOWRE COUN - TUR - - FE - - - TYNG WITH
YOWRE COUN - - TUR - FE - - - TYNG WITH DOUBYLL DE - - - - -
YOWRE COUN - - TUR - FE - - - - TYNG WITH DOUBYLL DE - LYNG
DOUBYLL DE - - - LYNG A - - VAYLYTH NO - - - THYNG AND WOTE YE WHY
- - - - - - - - - - LYNG A - VAYLYTH NC - - THYNG AND WOTE YE WHY
AVAYLYTH NO - THYNG AND WOTE YE WHY
FOR
FOR YE WITH YOUR FAYN - YNG HATH SUCH A DE - - NY - - ING TO MAKE A BE
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YE WITH Y'R FAYN - - - - YNG HATH SUCH A DE . . . NY . . . ING TO
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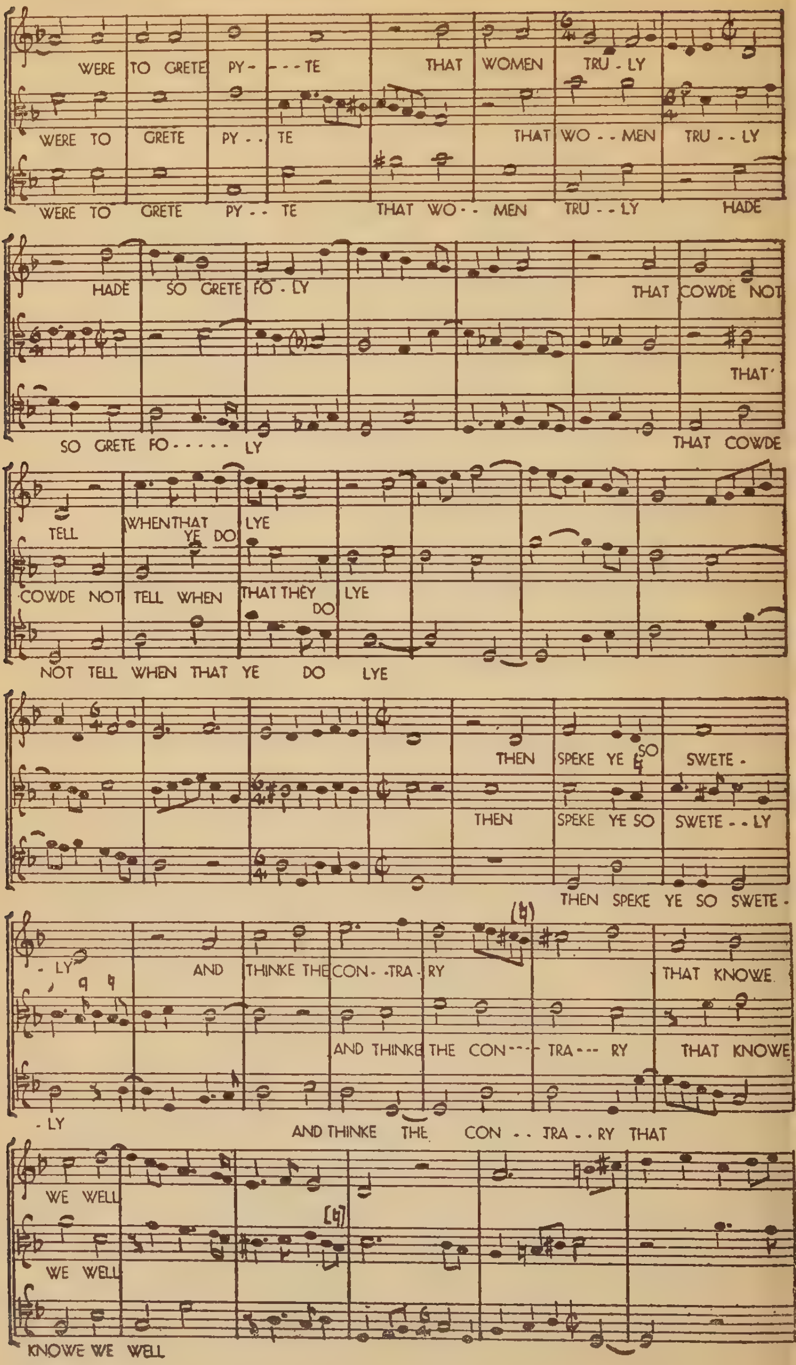
WERE TO GRETE PY - - - TE THAT WOMEN TRU - LY
WERE TO GRETE PY - - TE THAT WO - - MEN TRU - - LY
WERE TO GRETE PY - - TE THAT WO - - MEN TRU - - LY HADE
HADE SO GRETE FO - LY THAT COWDE NOT
THAT'
SO GRETE FO - - - - - LY THAT COWDE
TELL WHEN THAT YE DO LYE
COWDE NOT TELL WHEN THAT THEY DO LYE
NOT TELL WHEN THAT YE DO LYE
THEN SPEKE YE SO SWETE -
THEN SPEKE YE SO SWETE - - LY
THEN SPEKE YE SO SWETE -
- LY AND THINKE THE CON - TRA - RY THAT KNOWE
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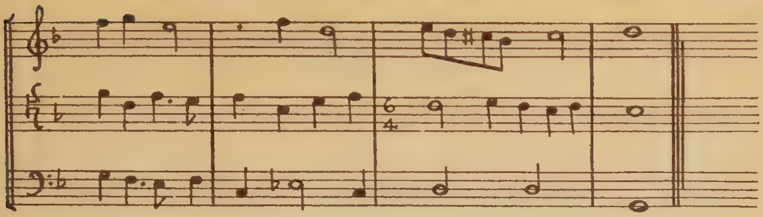
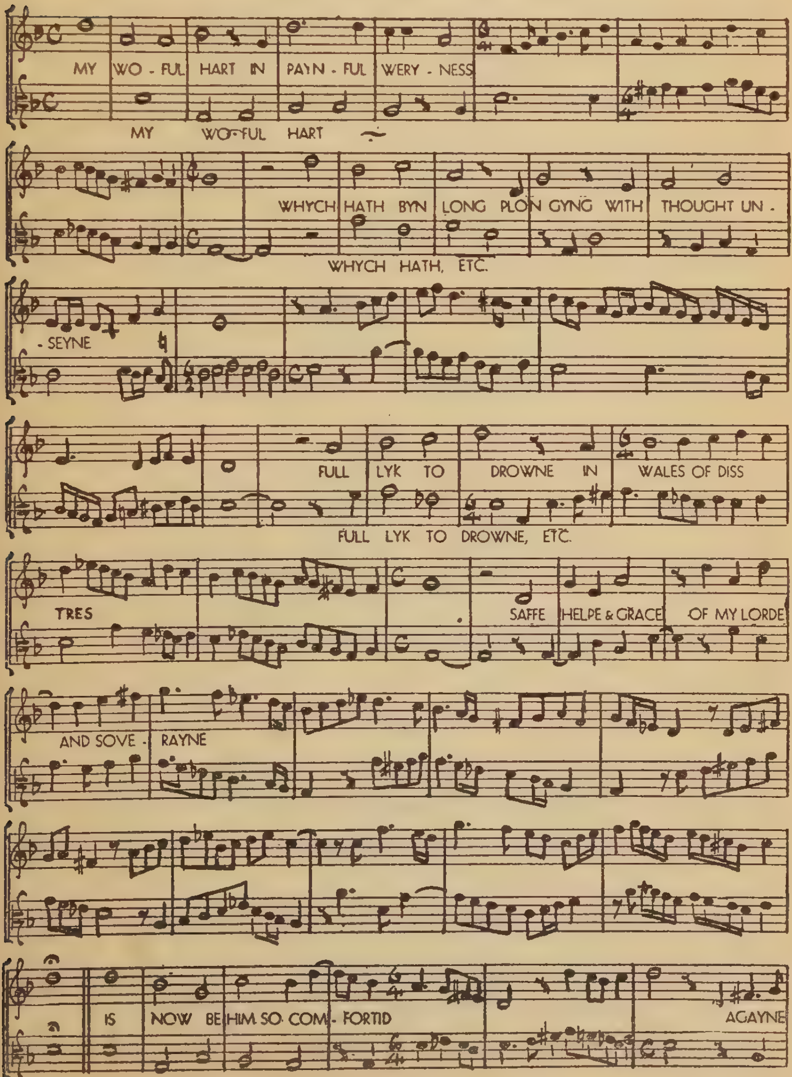
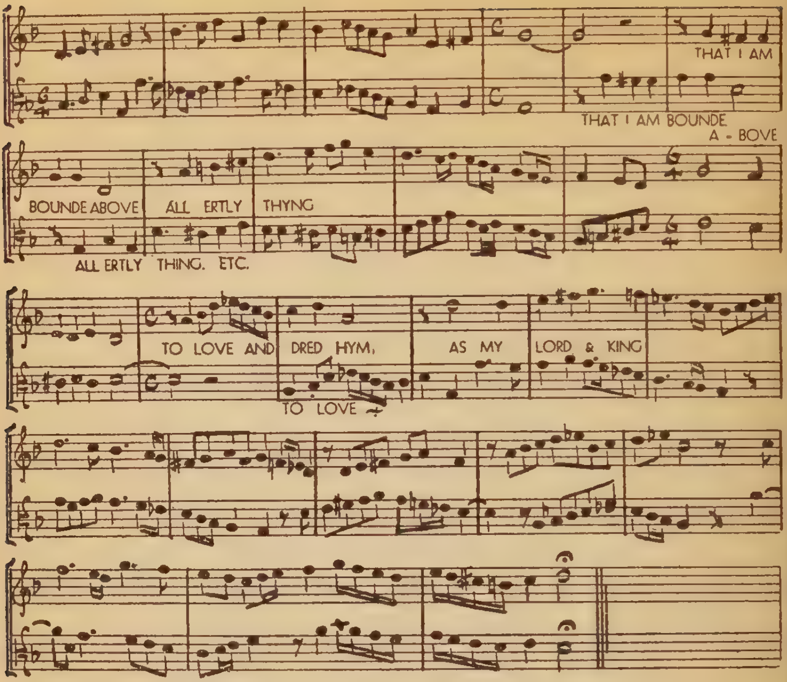
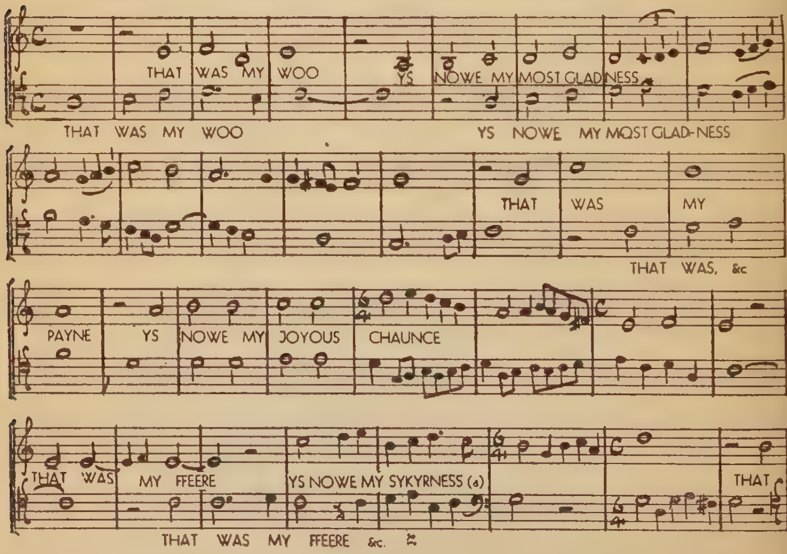


Sheryngham.

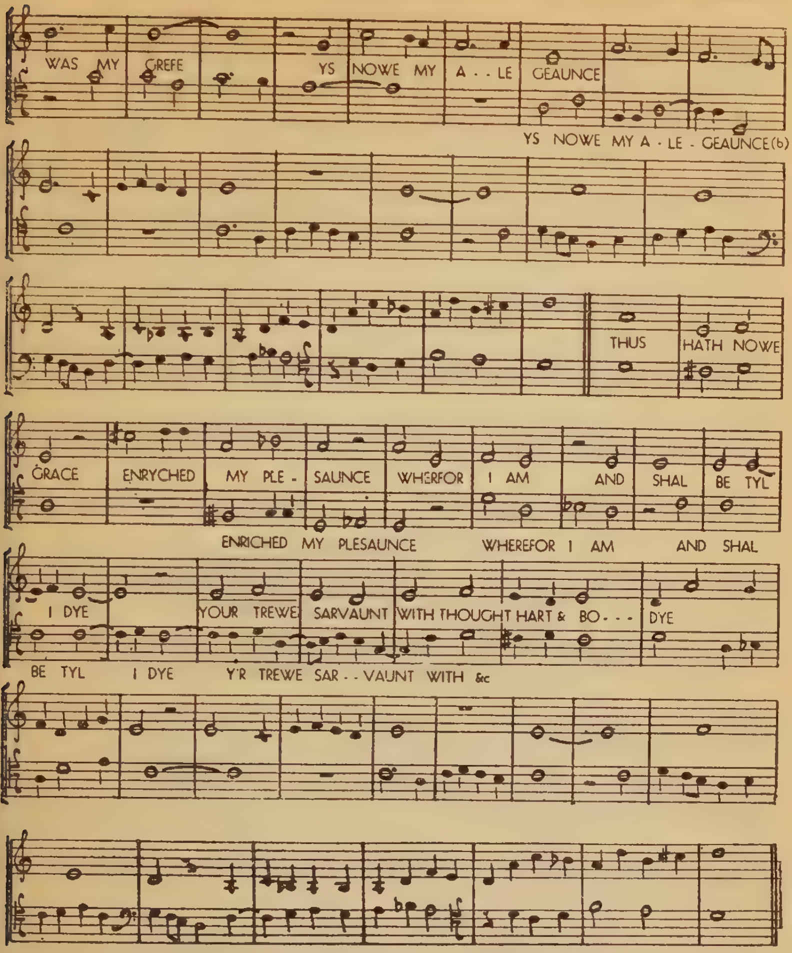

MY WO - FUL HART IN PAYN - FUL WERY - NESS
MY WO-FUL HART
WHYCH HATH BYN LONG PLON GYNG WITH THOUGHT UN -
WHYCH HATH, ETC.
- SEYNE
FULL LYK TO DROWNE IN WALES OF DISS
FULL LYK TO DROWNE, ETC.
TRES
SAFFE HELPE & GRACE OF MY LORDE
AND SOVE - RAYNE
IS NOW BE HIM SO COM - FORTID
AGAYNE


THAT I AM
THAT I AM BOUNDE
A - BOVE
BOUNDE ABOVE
ALL ERTLY
THYNG
ALL ERTLY THING. ETC.
TO LOVE AND
DRED HYM,
AS MY
LORD & KING
TO LOVE

Robert Fayrfax.


THAT WAS MY WOO YS NOWE MY MOST GLAD NESS
THAT WAS MY WOO YS NOWE MY MOST GLAD-NESS
THAT WAS MY
THAT WAS, &c
PAYNE YS NOWE MY JOYOUS CHAUNCE
THAT WAS MY FFEERE YS NOWE MY SYKYRNESS (a) THAT
THAT WAS MY FFEERE &c.

(*a*) Security.

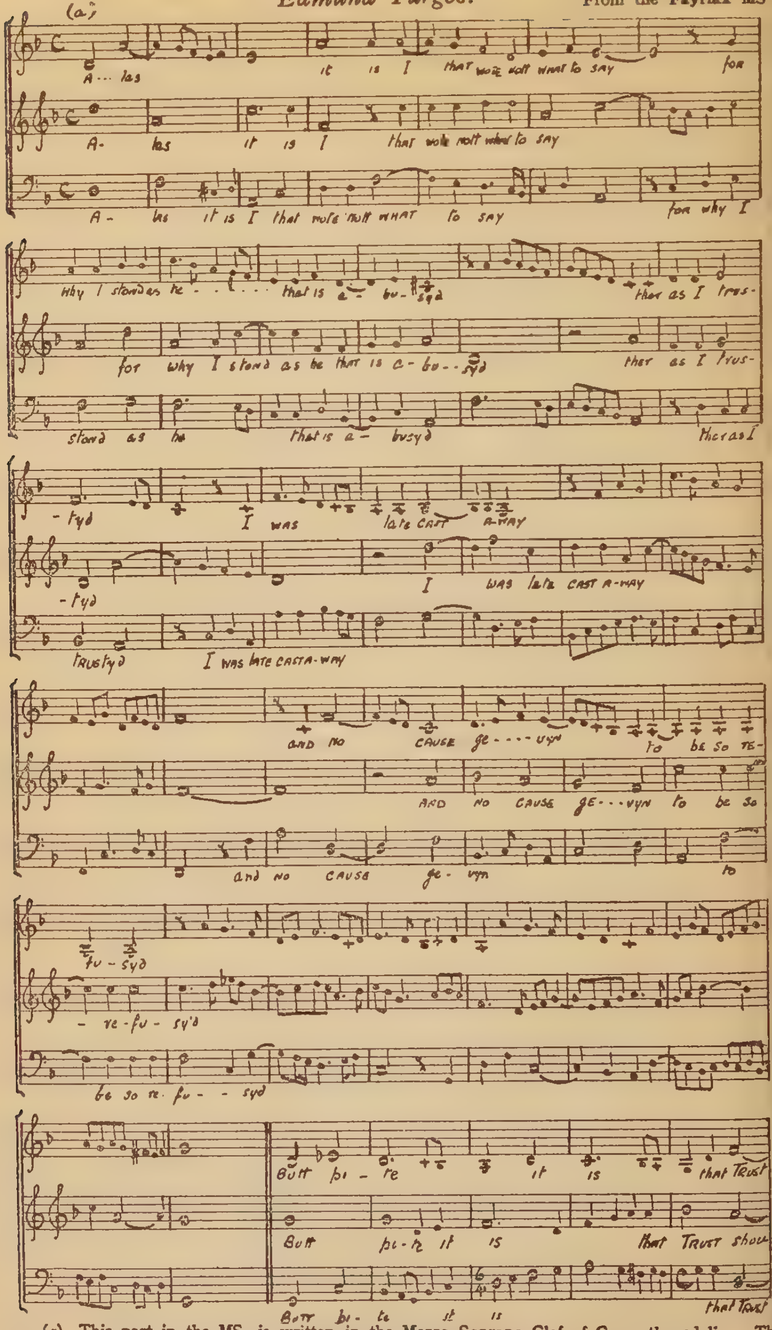

WAS MY GREFE YS NOWE MY A - - LE GEAUNCE
YS NOWE MY A - LE - GEAUNCE (b)
THUS HATH NOWE
GRACE ENRYCHED MY PLE - SAUNCE WHERFOR I AM AND SHAL BE TYL
ENRICHED MY PLESAUNCE WHEREFOR I AM AND SHAL
I DYE YOUR TREWE SARVAUNT WITH THOUGHT HART & BO - - - DYE
BE TYL I DYE Y'R TREWE SAR - - VAUNT WITH &c

This Song has been very incorrectly transcribed, in the Fayrfax M.S. I have tried to restore many passages, without being certain that I have succeeded; particularly where the Base Clef occurs: those, however, who wish to know how it stands in the Original, have only to erase that Clef.

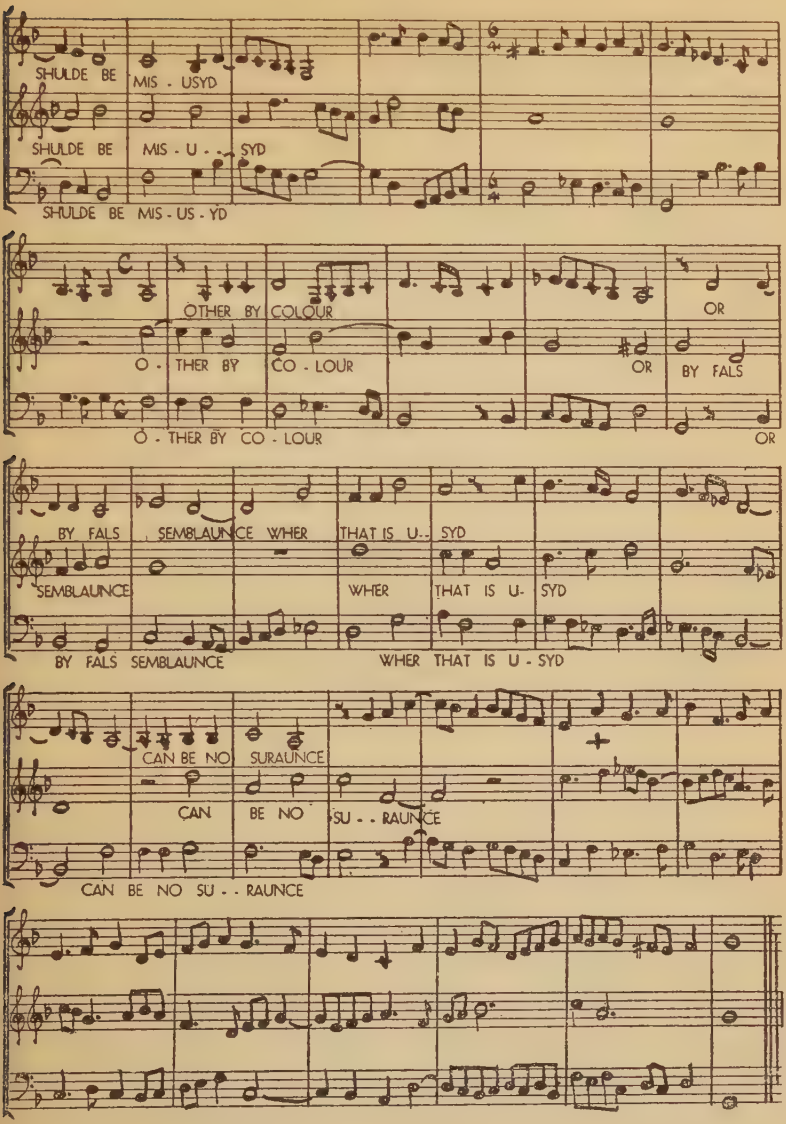
The Words of this Song seem to have been addressed to Henry the VII on his ascending the Throne, after the battle of Bosworth 1485.

(*b*) **Alleviation**

Edmund Turges. From the Fayrfax MS

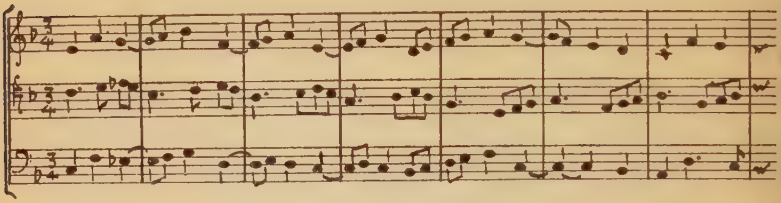

(a)
A... las it is I that wote nott what to say for why I stond as he . . . that is a- bu- syd ther as I trus- -tyd I was late cast away and no cause ge- - - vyn to be so re- fu - syd Butt pi - te it is that Trust
A- las it is I that wote nott what to say for why I stond as he that is a- bu- - syd ther as I trus- -tyd I was late cast a-way and no cause ge- - - vyn to be so - re - fu - sy'd Butt pi- te it is that Trust shou
A- las it is I that wote nott what to say for why I stond as he that is a- busyd ther as I trustyd I was late cast a-way and no cause ge- vyn to be so re- fu- - syd Butt pi- te it is that Trust

(*a*) This part in the MS. is written in the Mezzo Soprano Clef of C on the 2d line. The principal Melody seems to have been given to the Tenor.

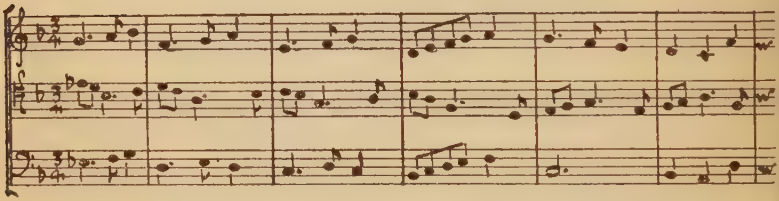

SHULDE BE MIS - USYD
SHULDE BE MIS - U - - SYD
SHULDE BE MIS - US - YD
OTHER BY COLOUR
O - THER BY CO - LOUR
OR
O - THER BY CO - LOUR
OR
OR BY FALS
OR
BY FALS SEMBLAUNCE WHER THAT IS U - SYD
SEMBLAUNCE WHER THAT IS U - SYD
BY FALS SEMBLAUNCE WHER THAT IS U - SYD
CAN BE NO SURAUNCE
CAN BE NO SU - - RAUNCE
CAN BE NO SU - - RAUNCE

All the Composers in Europe, about the end of the Fifteenth Century, seem to have had a passion for Mixed Measures; and there is not one Song in the Fayrfax MS. without instances of one part moving in Common Time while another is in Triple: a contrivance that occasions nothing but confusion to the Ear, which is utterly unable to form a determined Idea of the Measure in which any one of the parts is moving. But at the latter end of each Strain of this

Song, still more confusion is occasioned, by all the parts, continuing to perform, in Common Time, passages that are absolutely in Triple Measure; see at this mark + where the accent seems to require that the Notes should be executed thus.



or thus



Most of these musicians seem to have been merely *secular* composers, as I have met with none of their names, except that of Fayrfax, among those for the church. Cornyshe,* indeed, seems more a secular composer than the rest; and, if we may judge of his private character, by the choice of his poetry from Skelton's Ribaldry, he may be supposed a man of no very refined morals, or delicacy of sentiment. His compositions, however, though clumsy and inelegant, if selecting such words be forgiven, are not without variety or ingenuity, for so early a period of Counterpoint. He seems the first who had the courage to use the chord of the Sharp 7th of a Key, with a false 5th. He frequently changes the measure, like the French, in their old operas, and still more like them, composes in a kind of Rondeau, returning several times to the same short strain: Purcell, near two hundred years later, did the same.

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* Burney was unaware of Cornyshe's Church music, examples of which are to be found in the Eton Choir Books (4 pieces), at Caius College, Cambridge, and in the library of the Royal College of Music.

The music, indeed, of these Ditties, is somewhat uncouth, but it is still better than the poetry.*

The Saxons, who dispossessed the Britons of the greatest part of the Island, we find, from Bede's account of Cædmon (*e*), had poetry, though not rhyme, in the seventh century; for he repeatedly calls the compositions of Cædmon, *carmina, poemata,* and in one place *versus* (*f*). No traces, however, of rhyme, or metre, can be found in our language, till some years after the Conquest, at which time French was forced upon us, and, till the reign of Edward the Third, it was the practice in all schools to construe Latin into Norman French; a language which was fashionable at our court, even before the time of William the Conqueror; as Edward the Confessor, who had been brought up at the court of Normandy, encouraged many Normans to follow him into England.

In the thirty-sixth year of Edward the Third, however, a law was made, "That all pleas in the court of the King, or any other lord, shall be pleaded and adjudged in the *English tongue*": and the reason recited in the preamble was that the French tongue was too much unknown. And yet for near sixty years afterwards, the proceedings in parliament appear to have been in French (*g*).

The English of Robert of Gloucester, who flourished about 1265, during the reigns of Henry the Third, and Edward the First (*h*), is more Saxon than Norman; however, it would not be very difficult to read, if the characters in which it is printed had been those in present use, instead of Saxon, with which it abounds. The language

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(*e*) *Eccles. Hist.* l. iv. c 24.

(*f*) These words in the Saxon translation are rendered leoþ leoþ, songes, or, songes, and fers : and *ars canendi* is translated leoþ cræft, or sang cræft. Essay on the Lang. and Versif. of Chaucer. p. 46.

(*g*) Ibid. P. 25.

(*h*) His History of England, in Verse, was published by Hearne, 1724.

* Other important collections of about the same period as the Fayrfax MS. are now known:—

(1) The Eton College MS. It is assumed that the date of this is before 1502, as it does not mention the Cambridge degree of Fayrfax. Most of the composers whose works are found in the Fayrfax MS. are represented in the Eton College MS. Burney does not appear to have known this volume.

(2) The Lambeth MS.: This consists of 18 works, nearly all by Fayrfax, and includes his Oxford Degree exercise. This MS. is not mentioned by Burney.

(3) Royal MSS. Appendix 58. Besides vocal works dating from the late 15th or early 16th centuries, this MS. contains some very interesting instrumental music. There are some dance tunes, 3 solos for the virginals, and some lute pieces in tablature. In this volume is found the famous Hornpipe ascribed to Hugh Aston.

(4) Royal MSS. 8 g. 7; 11 e. 11 and Appendix 45-8, also contain much interesting early Tudor music.

(5) Another important work not known to Burney was Wynkyn de Worde's Song Book (1530) of which the Bass part only is known. The full title is: "In this boke ar cöteynyd xx söges, ix of iiii ptes and xi of thre ptes." It is now in the B.M.

(6) The Old Hall MS. This MS. contains 138 compositions representative of the period *circa* 1430-80, and is now at St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, near Ware.

(7) In the Selden MSS. Bodleian Library, Oxford, is a volume with over 50 pieces composed before 1455 (MS. b. 26).

This list is by no means complete. A more comprehensive list will be found in Davy's *History of English Music* (*2nd ed. p.* 64 *et seq.*).

of Trevisa, 1385 (*i*), is not very unintelligible, if the ȝ be regarded as a *g*, for which I believe it was originally meant. About the first year of Henry the Sixth, 1422, French and English seem pretty equally balanced, and to have been used indifferently; however, very little improvement was made in our language and versification from the time of Edward the Fourth, to that of Henry the Eighth. Indeed, few English songs are to be found, which were set to original music during that period; it having been the fashion for the great to sing none but French words, as appears by the Music Book of Prince Henry, son of Henry the Seventh, in which all the songs are in French, Italian, or Latin.

It was so much the custom for our old poets to write *new words* to *old tunes*, that there was little business for a composer. These tunes, like those of the *Improvisatori* of Italy at present, being very simple, and little more airy than the chants of the church, required no teaching, and were an easy and ready vehicle for the Bard who wished to get at the heart of his audience, or, at least, to engage its attention by the blandishments of his own art, not those of another. For Metrical Romances, and Historical Ballads of great length, this kind of plain and familiar melody was best adapted; as it had scarce any other effect, than just to render the tone of the narrator's voice a little *longer* and *louder*, and consequently more articulate and distinct, than in common speech.

It is related by Gio Battista Donado (*k*), that the Turks have a limited number of tunes, to which the poets of their country have continued to write for many ages (*l*): and the Vocal Music of our own country seems long to have been equally circumscribed; for, till the last century, it seems as if the number of our secular and popular melodies did not greatly exceed that of the Turks; and in Virginal books, we find no attempts at an invention, in point of Air and Melody: the business of our best composers for keyed-instruments, such as Bird, Morley, Bull, Giles Farnaby, and Gibbons, being to make variations upon old and well-known tunes; a fashion which was carried to such excess, that these melodies, which were in themselves so easy, that " Plowmen whistled them o'er the furrow'd land," by a mere multiplication of notes, without accent, grace, or meaning, became so difficult, that the greatest players in Europe of the present age, who are so frequently accused of levity, caprice and tricks, are utterly unable to perform them; and yet this has been pointed out as the period of perfection, and true simplicity in music, while modern musicians have said, " by a

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(*i*) "Trevisa was a painful and faithful translator of many and great books into English, as *Polichronicon*, written by Ranulphus of Chester, Bartholomæus *de rerum proprietatibus*, &c. But his masterpiece was the translation of the Old and New Testament. He died 1397." Fuller's Church History of Britain.

(*k*) This author was a Venetian Senator, and Ambassador at Constantinople, 1688.

(*l*) *L'habbiano (la Musica) i Turchi, solo per traditione che passa la memoria ne' successori, e che consistono in venti quattro arie: cioe sei Malenchoniche, sei allegre, sei furibonde, sei meliflue, o pure amorose.*

variety of treble Instruments, and a vicious taste, to have given harmony its mortal wound (*m*)."

We are told (*n*) that Sir Thomas Wyatt was the first who introduced Italian numbers into English versification: this may have contributed to improve our Lyric poetry; but, to confess the truth, from the few poets of the first class throughout Europe, who, at this period, condescended to write Madrigals, and Songs for Music, it seems that the rage for Canon, Fugue, multiplied parts, and dissimilar melodies, moving at the same time, had so much employed the composers, and weaned the attention of the hearers of these learned, or, as some call them, Gothic contrivances, from Poetry, that the words of a Song seem to have been only a *pretence for singing* (*o*); and as the poets of the two or three last centuries were in little want of music, musicians, in their turn, manifested as little respect for poetry; for in these elaborate compositions, the words are rendered utterly unintelligible by repetitions of particular members of a verse; by each part singing different words at the same time; and by an utter inattention to accent.

But, however inelegant, uncouth, and imperfect our Lyric compositions may have been, till after the middle of the sixteenth century, our Counterpoint and church Music arrived at a perfection with respect to art, contrivance, and correctness of harmony, about that time, which at least equalled the best of any other country.

A set of books, containing masses and services to Latin words, some of which were composed in the time of Henry the Seventh, and *all* before the Reformation, is preserved in the Music School at Oxford. These volumes contain compositions by John Taverner, Dr. Fayrfax, Avery Burton, John Marbec, William Kasar, Hugh Ashton, Thomas Ashwell, John Norman, John Shepherd, and Dr. Tye. The pieces by the three or four last, are entered in a modern hand, with different characters, and paler ink. The chief part of the compositions are transcribed in a large, distinct, and fine hand, and character, but Bars not having been yet introduced, and being all *ad longam, alla breve,* or in *tempo di Capella,* the ligatures, prolations, and moods, render these books extremely difficult to read, or transcribe in score (*p*). However, by dint of meditation and perseverance, I have arranged the parts under each other, of several movements by all these founders of our church Music,

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(*m*) Notes to Walton's Angler, p. 238, edit. of 1760. If, in the variety of treble Instruments, the Violin tribe is included, the *murder* of Harmony is unjustly charged upon the moderns; as the most imperfect Instruments, with respect to tuning, that are now in use, were likewise those of the period of musical perfection, so much celebrated. Among these I include the Organ, Harpsichord, Hautbois, Bassoon, and all Instruments played *with Keys,* or *blown by Reeds.* As to the Flute and Lyre, the most ancient of all, with the Harp, Lute, Guitar, or Cithara, their imperfections in every Key, except one, need not here be pointed out; but the *Viols* of all kinds, which were so much in use during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, being fretted, could admit of no variety of modulation, without new tuning, or false intervals; and it would have been more just to have praised than censured modern instrumental Music, on account of intonation, if for no other excellence, the chief part of which being executed by VIOLINS and VIOLONCELLOS. admits of a perfection in the harmony of every Key, which, till these instruments became in general use, was utterly unknown to the ears of mankind.

(*n*) Miscel. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 8.

(*o*) Franklin's Philos. Essays, p. 478.

(*p*) Anthony Wood says, they were thought illegible by the Musicians of his time.

particularly John Taverner, Dr. Fayrfax, and Dr. Tye; having scored an entire Mass by each of them: as they are the most ancient and eminent of these old masters, in whose compositions the style is grave, and harmony, in general, unexceptionable, if tried by such rules as were established during their time; but with respect to invention, air, and accent, the two first are totally deficient.*

The compositions, however, of these early English masters, have an appearance of national originality, free from all imitation of the choral productions of the Continent, which have been already described. Few of the arts of Canon, Inversion, Augmentation, or Diminution, were as yet practised by them: short Points of Imitation are sometimes discoverable, but they seem more the effects of chance than design: and to characterise the chief of these composers in the order they have been named ; Taverner and Fayrfax have but little design and no melody in their compositions ; and it seems as if they should not have been ranked, as they are by Morley (*q*), with those of a much higher class, at a later period.

I can venture to give a character of TAVERNER [*c.* 1495-1545] from an *actual survey* of his principal works, which have been preserved, and which I have taken the pains to score. This author is in general very fond of slow Notes, so that all his pieces that I have seen, are *ad longam*, or, at quickest, *alla breve*. Long Notes in Vocal Music, unless they are to display a very fine voice, have little meaning, and are wholly destructive of poetry and accent ; but our old composers have no scruples of that kind ; and being as great enemies to short syllables, as to short Notes, exercised the lungs of a singer as frequently upon one as the other.**

As the first essays at harmony were made in extemporary Discant, upon a *Plain-Song*, so in written counterpoint it was long a favourite and useful exercise, to build the several parts of a movement upon some favourite chant, making it the groundwork of the composition. And this custom answered several purposes: it excited ingenuity in the construction of the parts ; it regulated and restrained the modulation within the ecclesiastical limits ; and as the plain song had been long used in the church, by the priests and people, it was still easy for the musical members of the congregation, to join the chorus in singing this simple and essential part, while the choristers and choirmen by profession, performed the new and more difficult Melodies, which had been superadded to it by the composer. The first Reformers, or at least their followers, who were perhaps no great musicians, wished to banish every species of Art from the church ; and either retaining small portions of ancient chants, or making melodies in the same plain and simple style for their Hymns

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(*q*) P. 150.

* This set of parts is now known as the Forrest-Heyther Collection and dates from about 1530.

** A collected edition of his Church Music was issued in the *Tudor Church Music* series (Vols. 1 and 3).

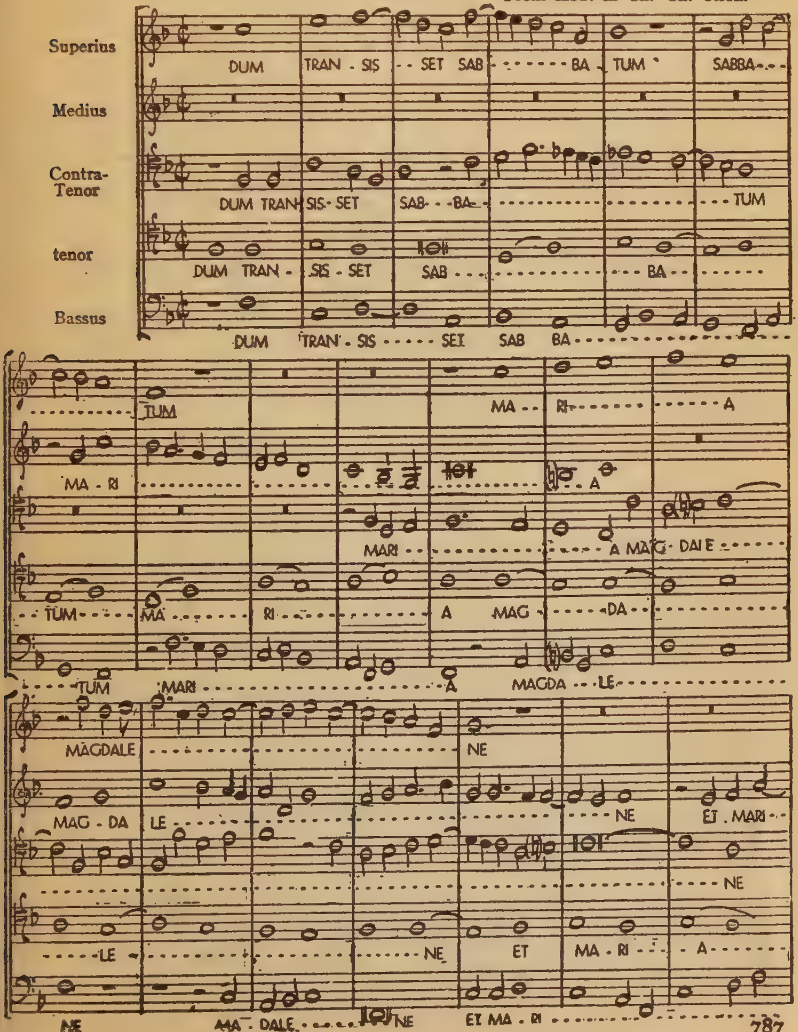
From the preface to the first volume the following may be quoted:

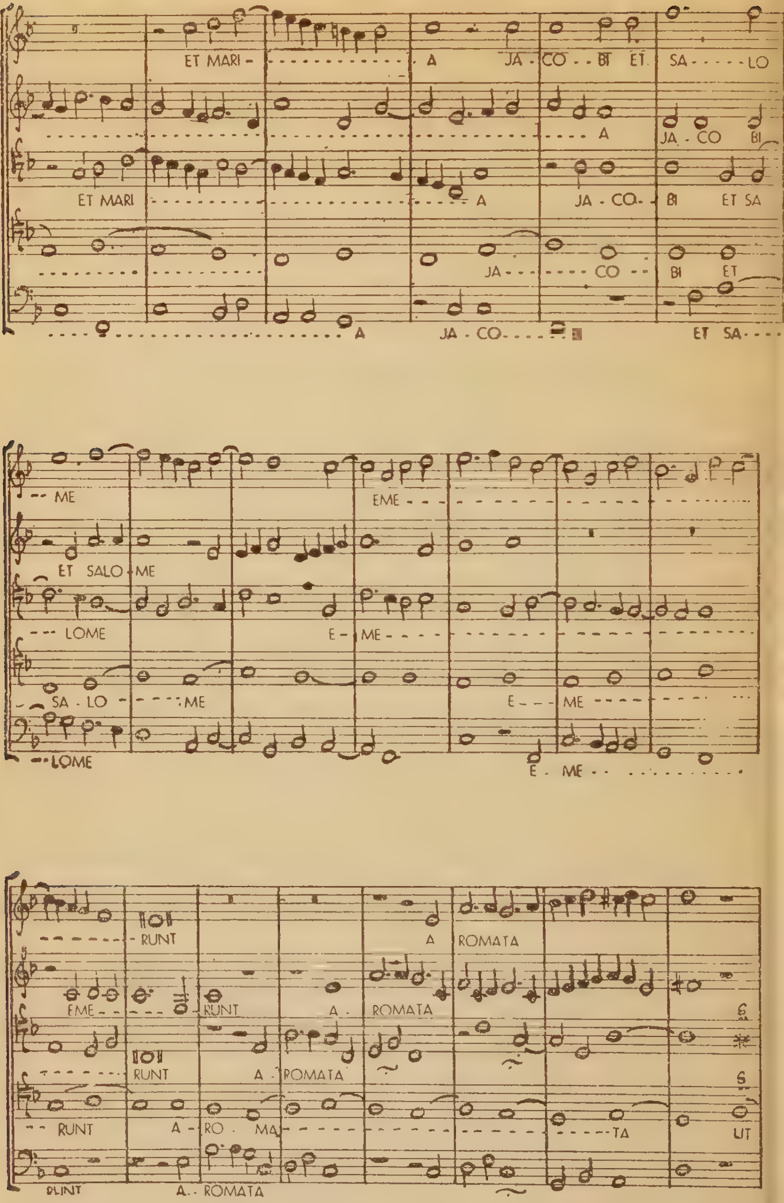
> "No account of English Polyphony would be complete that did not insist upon his eminence, not only relatively but absolutely. Relatively, he sums up all the qualities of his precursors and contemporaries, and expresses all their ideals——"

and Psalms, threw aside all figurative harmony and florid counterpoint ; and sung in Notes of equal duration, and generally in mere unison, those tunes which are still retained by the Calvinists, and in most of the reformed churches in Christendom. At the latter end of the fifteenth, and during the whole of the sixteenth century, as some chant or tune was the foundation upon which the harmony of almost every movement of a Mass or Motet was built, the following composition by our countryman Maister John Taverner, is given, not only as a specimen of his abilities in counterpoint, but of the custom which generally prevailed during his time, of writing upon a *Plain-Song*.

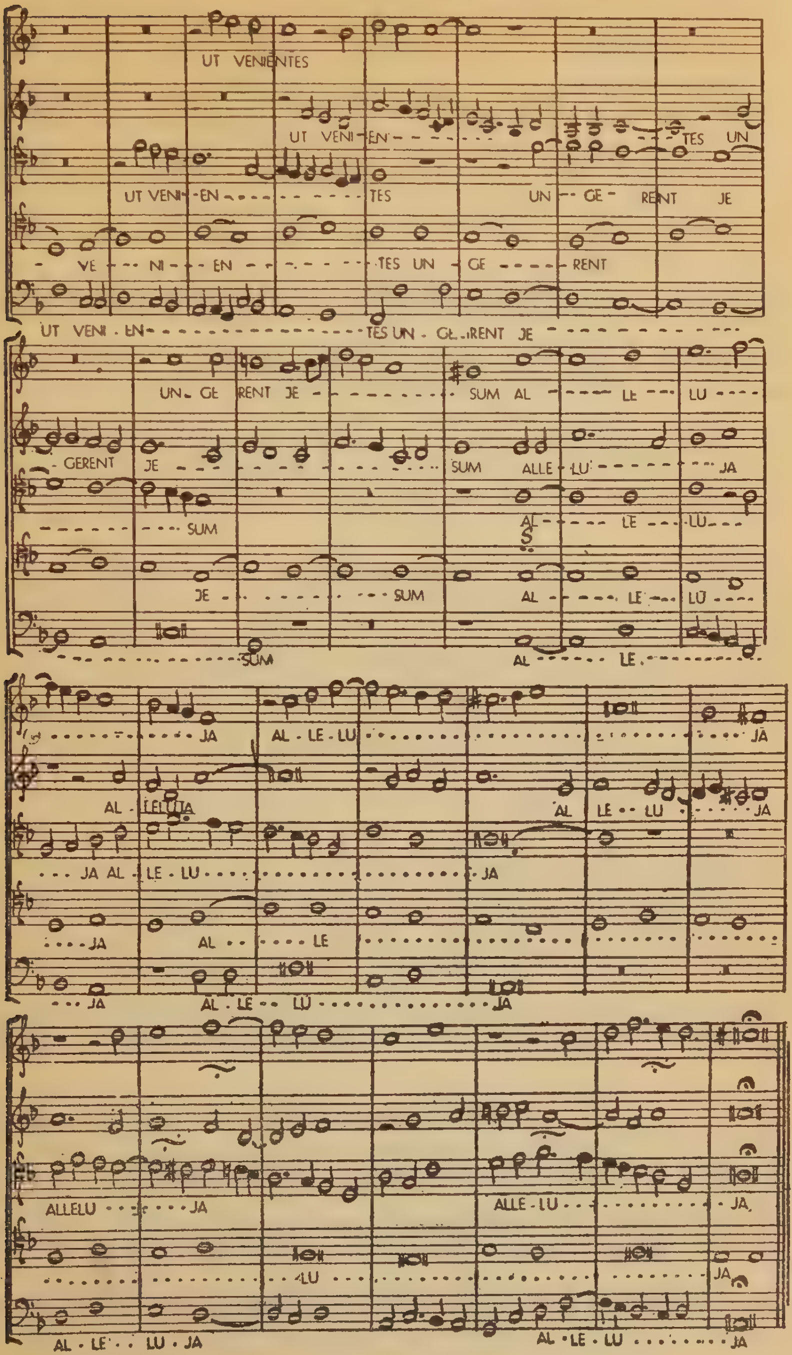
John Taverner.

From MSS. in Ch. Ch. Oxon.


Superius
Medius
Contra-Tenor
tenor
Bassus
DUM TRAN - SIS - - SET SAB - - - - - - - BA TUM SABBA - - -
DUM TRAN SIS - SET SAB - - BA - - - - - TUM
DUM TRAN - SIS - SET SAB - - - - - BA - -
DUM TRAN - SIS - - - - SET SAB BA - - - -
TUM MA - - RI - - - - - - A
MA - RI - - - - - - A
MARI - - - - A MAG - DALE - - -
- TUM - - MA - - RI - - - A MAG - - - DA - -
- TUM MARI - - - - A MAGDA - - LE - - -
MAGDALE - - - NE
MAG - DA LE - - - - NE ET . MARI - -
- - - - NE
- - LE - - - - - NE ET MA - RI - - A - - -
NE MA - DALE - - NE ET MA . RI - - -

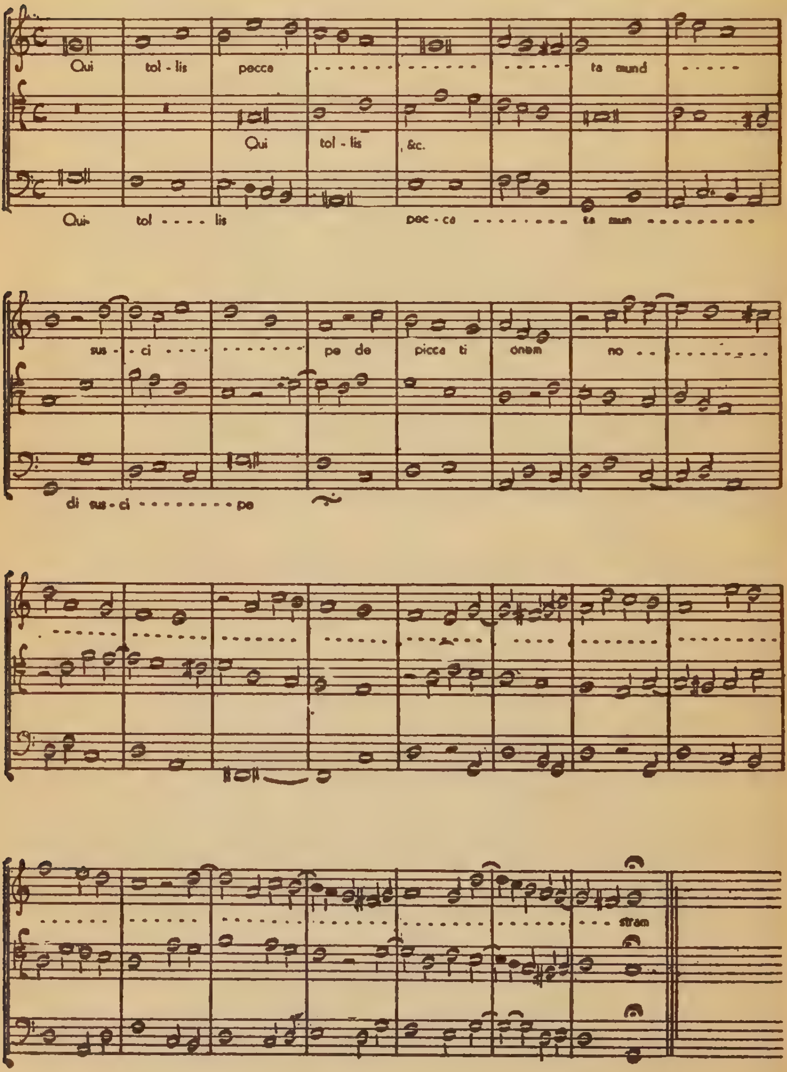

ET MARI - A JA - CO - - BI ET SA - - - - - LO - - ME EME
A JA - CO BI ET SALO ME
ET MARI A JA - CO - BI ET SA - - - LOME E - ME
JA - - CO - - BI ET SA - LO - - - ME E - ME
A JA - CO - - ET SA - - LOME E - ME
RUNT A ROMATA
EME - - - RUNT A - ROMATA
RUNT A - ROMATA
RUNT A - RO - MA - - - TA UT
RUNT A - ROMATA

*I see no other use in this Signum, S̤ throughout the Movement, than to indicate the beginning of a new Subject in the Words and Music, like the Mostra, proposed by the late Mr. Avison, for the same purpose; and this is all that it implies, in the examples from other old Authors, where no Canon is in question.

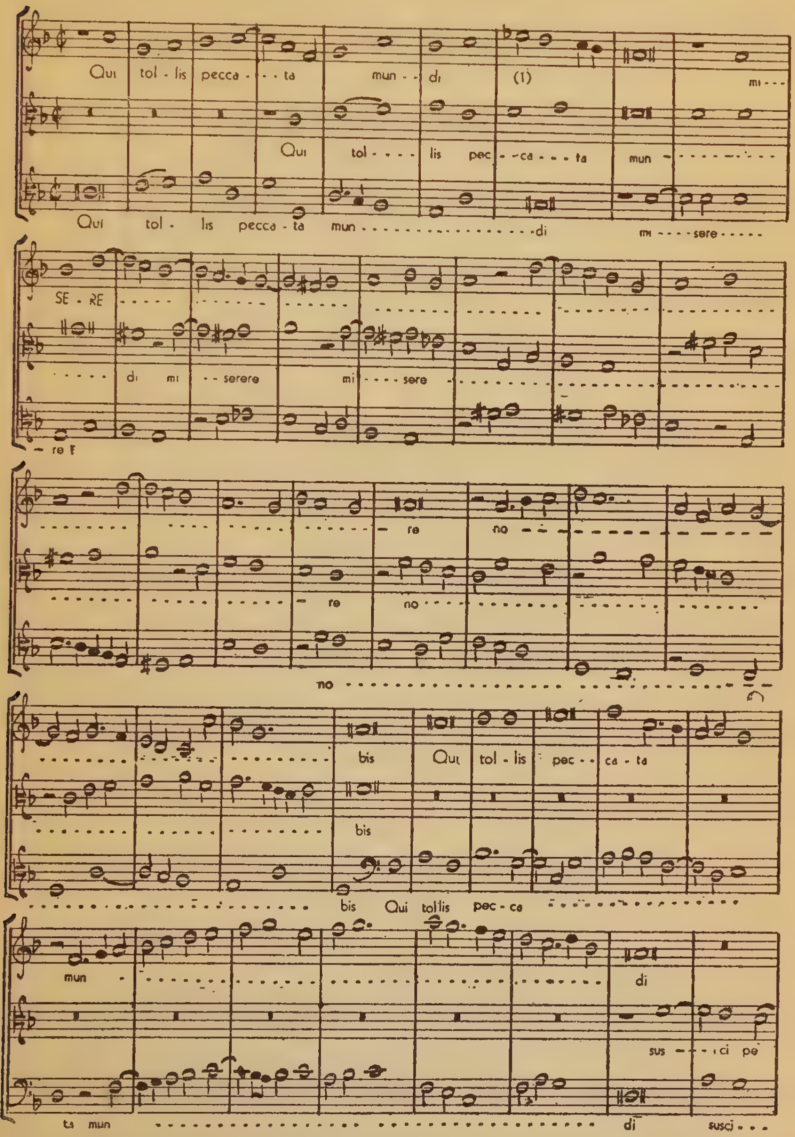

UT VENIENTES
UT VENI-EN - - TES UN
UT VENI-EN - - TES UN - GE - RENT JE
VE - NI - EN - TES UN - GE - RENT
UT VENI - EN - TES UN - GE - RENT JE
UN - GE RENT JE - SUM AL - LE - LU
GERENT JE - SUM ALLE - LU - JA
SUM AL - LE - LU
JE - SUM AL - LE - LU
SUM AL - LE
JA AL - LE - LU - JA
AL - LELUJA AL LE - LU - JA
JA AL - LE - LU - JA
JA AL - LE
JA AL - LE - LU - JA
ALLELU - JA ALLE - LU - JA
LU JA
AL - LE - LU - JA AL - LE - LU - JA

The only Canons I found in the Old Masses preserved in the Music-School at Oxford, which amount to 18, are in a Mass by Taverner, which he calls *O Michael*; the following is the best of all the Compositions which I have seen of this Author.

Two parts in one.


Qui tol-lis pecca .... ta mund .....
Qui tol-lis , &c.
Qui- tol .... lis pec-ca .... ta mun ....
sus- - ci .... pe de picca ti onem no .. ..
di sus-ci .... pe
stram

The following Movements, by Dr. Fayrfax, are selected from his Mass, *Albanus,* in the set of ancient Choral Books belonging to the Music-School at Oxford, as having more clearness and design, than any others that I have found among his Works.


Qui tol - lis pecca - ta mun - di (1) mi - - -
Qui tol - - - lis pec - - ca - - - ta mun -
Qui tol - lis pecca - ta mun - di mi - - - sere - - - - re !
SE - RE
di mi - - serere mi - - - sere
re no
re no
no
bis Qui tol - lis pec - - ca - ta
bis
bis Qui tol lis pec - ca
mun di
sus - - ci pe
ta mun di susci

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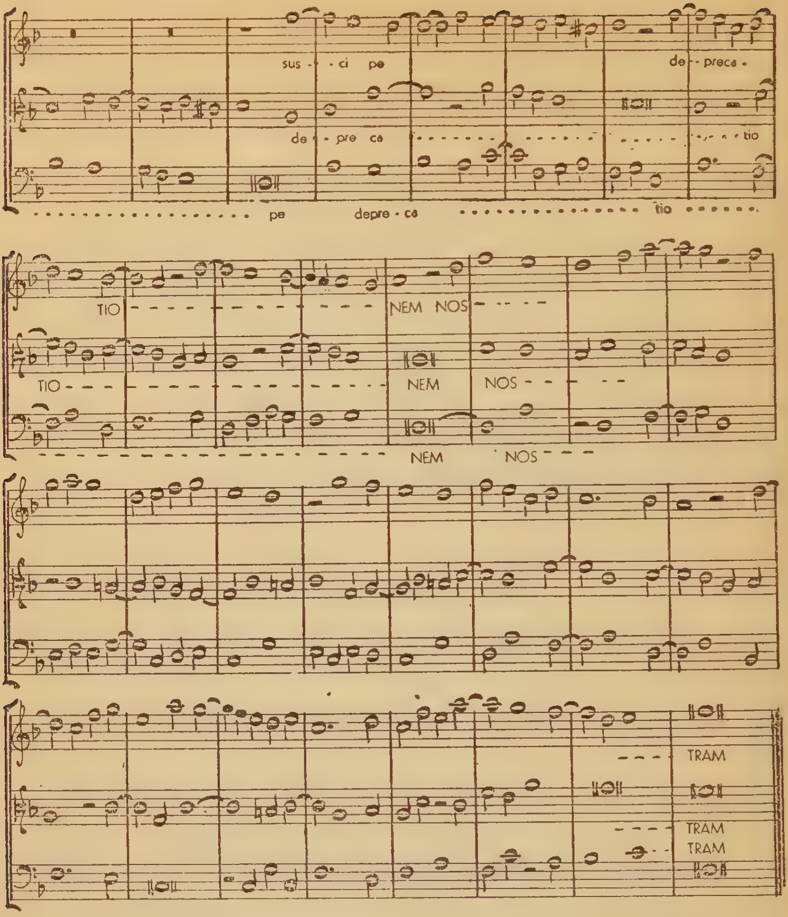
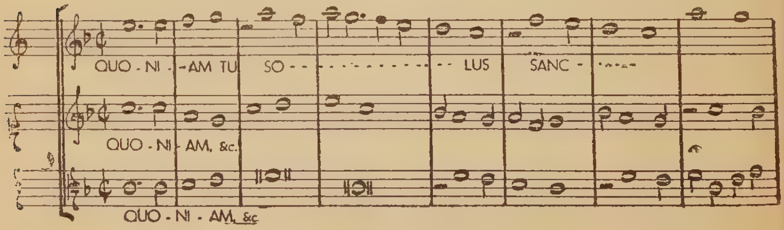
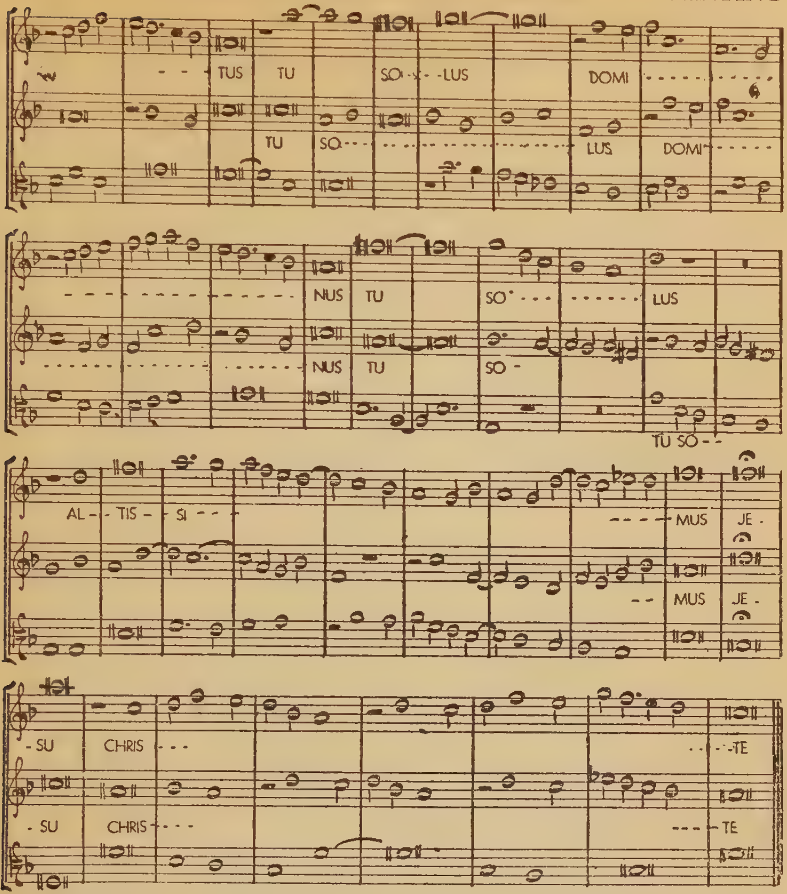
(1) This E♭ is a mere Appoggiatura, and a 4th, to B♭ wholly unprepared. But Notes of this kind, written as if essential to the Harmony, frequently occur in old Music.


sus - ci pe
de - preca -
de - pre ca
tio
pe
depre - ca
tio
TIO
NEM NOS
TIO
NEM
NOS
NEM
NOS
TRAM
TRAM
TRAM

From the same Mass.

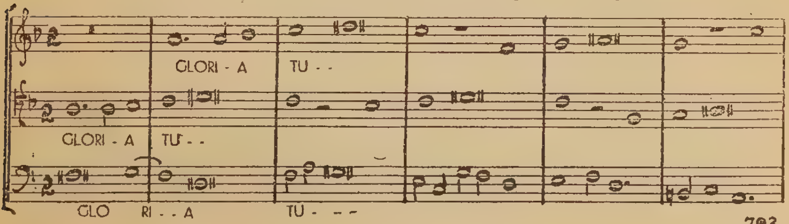
DR. ROBT. FAYRFAX.


QUO - NI - AM TU SO - - LUS SANC -
QUO - NI - AM, &c.
QUO - NI - AM, &c


TUS
TU
SO - LUS
DOMI
TU
SO
LUS
DOMI
NUS
TU
SO
LUS
NUS
TU
SO
TU SO
AL - TIS - SI
MUS
JE
MUS
JE
SU
CHRIS
TE
SU
CHRIS
TE

The Movements in Triple Time, of these Old Masters, in which it was the Custom to set the Kyrie of every Mass, are the most unlike Music of the present times, and the most difficult to decipher; on account of the Ligatures, mixture with black Notes, perfection and imperfection of the White, occasioned by the Modal sign, and by position, which render the Notation very embarrassing. Dr. Tye, in England, and Palestrina, in Italy, seem to have been the first to quit these Measures.

Verse for 3 Voices, in another Mass by Dr. Fayrfax.


GLORI - A
TU
GLORI - A
TU
GLO
RI - A
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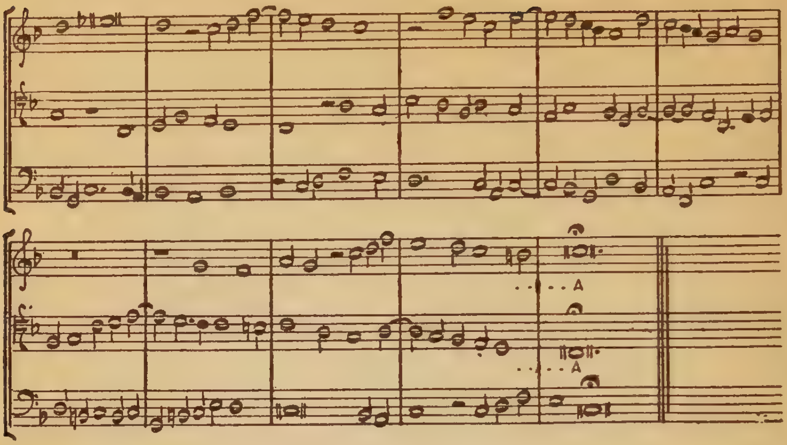

There is nothing characteristic in the compositions of Avery Burton ; and in those of Marbec, of this collection, I can discover no superiority, in Counterpoint, to the general cast of composition in Henry the Eighth's reign, which was not only deficient in Measure and Melody, but in design and contrivance. Here Marbec appears as a Roman Catholic Composer, the words he has set to Music being part of the Mass, in Latin ; but we shall have occasion to speak of him hereafter, in the character of a Protestant, who distinguished himself, very early, as a friend to the Reformation. William Kasar, Hugh Ashton, Thomas Ashwell, and John Norman, may still rest in that peace and obscurity, which they have long enjoyed ; as their garb is too uncouth, as well as antique, to bear the inspection of modern critics.

If we were to judge of JOHN SHEPHARD [d. *c.* 1563] by a specimen that has lately been given of his abilities, he would seem the most clumsy Contrapuntist of them all (*r*), and not only appear to be less dexterous in expressing his ideas, but to have fewer ideas to express ; yet, in scoring a Movement by this author, from a set of MS. books, belonging to Christ-Church College, Oxon, he appears to me superior to any Composer of Henry the Eighth's reign: in this production, with which we shall present the reader (*s*), we have a regular design, and much ingenuity in the texture of the parts ; three of which having carried on a Fugue for some time, in the fifth above, and eighth below the subject, are joined by two other parts, which form almost a Canon between the Superius and second Base, to the end of the Movement.*

(*r*) In the Counter-tenor part, Bar 16, there is a curious leap of a sharp seventh, from A, down to B♭, and then another up to C, the ninth above. See *Hist. of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. ii. p. 524.

(*s*) See among the plates, at the end of this Volume, Composition, No. 1.

* Only a few compositions by Shepherd have been published. There is a considerable amount of his work in MS., but the parts are frequently incomplete.
Some of his Masses and a few Motets have been scored by Sir Richard R. Terry.

This shews the fallacy and injustice of determining an author's character by a single production ; of whom, when more can be found, the best should be chosen. Anthony Wood tells us that Shephard supplicated for the degree of Doctor of Music at Oxford, in 1554, having, before that time, been a Student in Music for the space of twenty years ; but leaves it doubtful whether his request was granted.

Of DOCTOR TYE [*c.* 1500—*c.* 1572[3]] who survived the reformation, and contributed greatly to the perfection of our Cathedral Music, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter ; however, as an example of his style and abilities before that event, we shall give a movement from his Mass *Euge bone,* in the Oxford Music-School Books, which is much more clear, correct, and accented, than any other composition in the collection (*t*).

I have scored several Movements of such Masses and Services of our old masters, as were composed to Latin words, before the Reformation ; but must confess, that the reward I received for my labour was very inconsiderable. Indeed, none of the rules of Harmony are violated, by these venerable Contrapuntists, but there is such a total want of Design, Subject, Melody, and attention to the Accent and Meaning of the Words, that the Notes seem to be thrown upon paper at random ; nor could they be more devoid of meaning, if the sounds of such keys as these pieces are written in, had issued from a mill, or been ballotted for in the Laputan manner. But Johnson and Parsons must not be involved in this censure.

ROBERT JOHNSON,* an Ecclesiastic, and a learned Musician, was one of the first of our Church Composers, who disposed his parts with intelligence and design. In writing upon a plain-song, moving in slow Notes of equal value, which was so much practised in these times, he discovers considerable art and ingenuity, in the manner of treating subjects of Fugue and Imitation ; as will be evident from a composition (*u*), upon the same chant, and to the same words, as that upon which Taverner worked, in the example given above (*x*), but, in this production, Johnson seems greatly his superior.

ROBERT PARSONS [d. 1569/70] of Exeter, then of the Royal Chapel, and afterwards Organist of Westminster Abbey, was admirable in this kind of writing.** The building harmony upon an ancient ecclesiastical chant, was no more than *written Discant,* which is still an exercise for young contrapuntists in the Conservatorios of Naples, and practised in Italy, by all writers

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(*t*) See No. II. among the Specimens of Composition at the end of the Volume.

(*u*) See No. III. at the end of the volume.

(*x*) P. 787.

* Johnson was born at Duns in Scotland. He took Orders but had to leave Scotland to escape a charge of heresy. It is thought that he settled in or near Windsor.

MSS. of his works are to be found in the B.M. (Add. MSS. 33933; 30513; 30480-4; 29240; 4900, etc.), and also in the Bodleian and Christ Church Libraries at Oxford.

** There is no foundation for this statement with reference to the post of Organist at the Abbey. A John Parsons was organist at Westminster in 1621, and it is probable that he was the son of Robert Parsons, who was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. After his death (he was drowned in the river at Newark-upon-Trent) his place was taken by William Byrd.

Examples of Parsons work are in the B.M. Add. MSS. 22597; 29246; 31390; 30380-4; and 17786.

for the church. During the sixteenth century, many of our great harmonists displayed wonderful science and abilities in these laborious undertakings, and like some of the proud sovereigns that were led in triumph by the ancient Romans, preserved an appearance, at least, of dignity and independence, even *in chains*. There are some excellent compositions by Parsons in the MSS. of Christ Church College, Oxford, particularly an *Ave Maria*, and an *In Nomine* (*y*); but as we have already exhibited several specimens of church music, which do honour to the harmonical skill of our countrymen, if not to their taste, I shall now present the reader with a Song by this author, in which, though the melody and poetry are somewhat rude, the harmony and modulation will be found rich and curious (*z*).

If the Songs in the Fayrfax MS. be excepted, but little of our secular music of the beginning of the sixteenth century is preserved;* however, there must have been great plenty of it, such as it was; for we find that the nobility kept a number of Musicians in their service, under the denomination of *Minstrels*, and that these travelled about to the houses of great personages, as well as to the neighbouring monasteries. The salaries of the Earl of Northumberland's Minstrels, and the fees given to those of other noblemen who visited his castles, have been registered in the Earl's Household Book; from which I shall extract such passages as immediately concern my subject (*a*).

In the year 1512, and third of Henry VIII. a memorandum is made (*b*), that three Mynstralls were retained as part of the Earl of Northumberland's household; viz. a Taberett, a Luyte, and a Rebec. And afterwards (*c*) that "Every Mynstrall, if he be a Taberett, shall have iiij l; every Luyte and Rebec xxxiij. iiij d; and to be payd in householde if they have it not by patent or warraunt."

Sect. XLIII.—"REWARDIS usede customable to be geven yerely to *Stralgers*, as *Players, Mynstraills*, ande others, as the some of every rewarde, particularly with the consideration why and wherefore it is geven, with the names of the PARSONS to whom the said rewardes be geven, &c.

"*Furst*, My Lorde, usith and accustomyth to gyf to the King's Jugler if he have wone, when they custome to come unto hym yerely—viz. viiij d.

(*y*) This was an ancient Chant to that part of the Mass, beginning *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*, upon which the English masters of the sixteenth century had great delight in exercising their science and ingenuity.

(*z*) See No. IV. at the end of the Vol.

(*a*) These very curious domestic annals were printed and presented to the friends of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, and the learned editor, in 1770, under the following title: *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of* Henry Algernon Percy, *the fifth* Earl of Northumberland, *at his Castles of* Wresill *and* Lekinfield, *in Yorkshire, begun* 1512.

(*b*) Sect. v. p. 45. (*c*) P. 48.

* Mulliner's Book (B.M. Add. MSS. 30513), a collection of 117 pieces for the organ and probably made about 1550, shows the state of key-board music of the period.

"*Item,* My Lorde usith and accustomyth to gyf yerely the Kynge or the Queen's Barwarde, if they have wone, when they custom to com unto him yerely—vj s. viij d.

"*Item,* My Lorde usith and accustomyth to gyf yerely to every Erlis Mynstrellis, when they custome to come to hym yerely, iij s. iiij d. Ande if they come to my Lord seldome, ones in ij or iij yeres, than vj s. viij d.

"*Item,* My Lord usith and accustomyth to gyf yerely to an Erls Mynstrall, if he be his speciall Lorde, Frende, or Kynsman, if they come yerely to his lordschipe. . . . And if they come seldom, ones in ij or iij yeres—vi s. viij d (*d*).

"*Item,* My Lorde usith ande accustomyth to gyf yerely a Dookes or Erlis Trumpetts, if they com vj together to his lordshipp, viz. if they come yerly vi s. viij d. ande if they come but in ij or iij yeres, than—x s.

"*Item,* My Lorde useth and accustometh yerely, when his lordshipp is at home, to gyf to iij of the Kynges Shames, when they come to my Lorde yerely—x s (*e*).

"*Item,* My Lorde usith ande accustomyth to gyf yerely, when his lordschipp is at home, to his Mynstraills that be daly in his Houshold, as his Tabret, Lute, and Rebec, upon new-yeres-day in the mornynge, when they doo play at my Lordis chambre doure, for his Lordschipe and my Lady, xx s. viz. xiij s. iiij d. for my Lorde, and vi s. viiij d. for my Lady, if sche be at my Lords fyndynge and not at her owen. And for playing at my Lordis Sone and heir Chaumbre doure the Lord Percy, ij s. And for playinge at the Chaumbre doores of my Lords yonger Sonnes my yonge Maisters, after viij the pece for every of them—xxiij s. iiij d (*f*).

"*Item,* My Lorde usith and accustomyth to gyf yerely when his lordshipe is at home upon New-yeres-day, to his lordshipis vj Trompettes, when they doo play at my Lords Chaumbre Doure, the said New-Yers-Day in the Mornynge xx s. viz. xiij s. iiij d. for my Lord, vj s. viij d. for my Lady, if sche be at my Lords fyndynge and not at hir owen—xx s. (*g*)."

This Earl's Chapel-establishment in 1512, was equal to that of a Cathedral; for we find it recorded in the same family-kalendar, that the "Gentillmen of the Chappell consisted of x Parsons—As to say—Two at x Marc a pece—Three at iiij l. apece—Two at v Marc a pece—oone at xl s. and oone at xxs. viz. ij *Basses,* ij *Tenors,* and vj *Countertenors—Childeryn* of the Chappell vj after xxv s. the pece. (*h*)."

(*d*) P. 339.

(*e*) I am in possession of other proofs that the Minstrels of the principal Nobility and Gentry visited the houses of their patrons' friends on great Festivals, or, at least, annually, which I transcribed from the household account-book of the L'Estrange family, now in the possession of Nicholas Styleman, Esq., of Snettisham, Norfolk. This register was begun in 1508, the last year of Henry the Seventh, and continued till 1544. It is entirely in the handwriting of the lady of Sir Thomas L'Estrange, who was a daughter of Lord Vaux.

"To the Duke of Suffolke's *Trompetts,* and to my Lord Privy Sealles *Minstrelles.*

"To my Lord of Rutland's *Minstrelles.*

"To Mr. Hogans *Minstrels,* and my lord Fitzwaters *Jogeler,* &c." P. 341.

(*f*) P. 343.

(*g*) P. 344.

(*h*) P. 47.

In 1514 the number of Performers on the establishment was augmented: " Item, it is thought by my Lord and his Councell, that there shall be yerely ij Gentillmen of the Chappel COUNTER-TENORS, more than ordynarie appointed in the Booke of Orders of Housholde (*i*). Bicause it is now percyvid there was to fewe Gentillmen before in nomber appoynted in the Booke of Orders to kepe both Mattyns, Ladie Masse, Highe Masse, and Evyn-Songe (*k*), to serve the Queare, and to kepe the iiij Rector Choryes upon pryncipal feests, who are ordeynde to be had for that cause."

Though a person is appointed in one part of these regulations (*l*), to play on the *Orgaynes,* yet, in general, this office was not the department of a single individual, but of every Choir-man, "oon after an outher. ande " it is ordered, that " every man that is a player shall keepe his cours weikely (*m*)."

The nobility of these times, in imitation of Royalty, had, among other officers of their houshold, *a Master of the Revels,* " for the overseyinge and orderinge of *Playes* and *Interludes* and dressing that is plaid in the xii Dayes of Crestenmas (*n*)." Of these, the Gentleman and Children of the Chapel seem to have been the principal performers; for which, and for acting upon other great festivals, they are assigned particular rewards: " Item, my Lorde vseth to gyf yerely when his Lordeship is at home, in reward to them of his Lordschip Chappel, that doith play upon Shroftewsday at night, xs." And when they performed in the Dramatic Mysteries, such as " the play of the Nativity at Crestenmas (*o*), or of the Resurrection upon Esturday (*p*)," they were allowed xxs. The boys had also an extraordinary compensation " of vj. viijd. for occasionally singing in the responde callede *Exaudivi* at the Matynstyme for xj thousand Vergyns uppon Alhallowday—and *Gloria in excelsis* uppon Cristenmas-Day in the Mornynge." This magnificent nobleman dying 1527, his son, the sixth Earl, whose passion for Ann Bullen is supposed to have occasioned his disgrace at court, seems to have been treated with great insolence and indignity by Cardinal Wolsey, who, by an extraordinary stretch of power, to which the Earl thought it prudent to submit, demanded his Choral Books, for the use of his own Chapel. Letters concerning this requisition are still preserved in the family, in which the Earl says, " I do perceayff my Lorde Cardinalls pleasour ys to have such Boks as was in the Chapell of my lat Lord and ffayther (wos soll Jhu pardon). To the accomplychment of which at your desyer, I am confformable, notwithstandinge I trust to be able ons

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(*i*) Where so many *natural countertenor* Voices, which are so difficult to find at present, were procured at this remote period, is not easy to discover. Sometimes, however, there was a different arrangement in the Earl's Chapel; as we find it composed, p. 324, of 3 Basses, 4 Tenors, and 4 Countertenors, with 6 Boys; at this time, one of the Countertenors was *Maister* of the *Childer.*

(*k*) The *Evyn-Song* was now sung at 3 o'clock, as we find by an order for the domestics to meet "at ten of the clok to awaite at dynner till oon, that dynner be doon; and to remain in the Great Chaumbre daily at aftirnoon from oon unto *three of the Clok,* that they ryng to *Evyn-Song.*"

(*l*) P. 44.

(*n*) P. 343

(*o*) P. 343.

(*p*) P. 345.

to set up a Chapelle off myne owne.—I shall with all sped send up the Boks unto my Lords Grace, as to say iiij *Antiffonars* (Antiphoners), such as I think wher not seen a gret wyll—v *Gralls* (Graduals)—an *Ordeorly* (Ordinal)—a *Manuall*—viij *Prossessioners* (Processionals)."

Indeed the magnificence of Cardinal Wolsey's own Chapel-establishment, as described by Cavendish, his cotemporary and domestic, seems to have surpassed that of the Roman Pontiff himself.

First, he had there a Deane, a great Divine, and a man of excellent learning; a Sub-dean, a Repeatour of the Quire, a Gospeller and Epistollor; of singing Priests, ten, a Master of the Children. The seculars of the Chapell, being singing-men, twelve; Singing-children, ten, with one servant to waite upon them. In the Vestry, a Yeoman and two Grooms; over and besides other retainers that came thither at principal feats. And for the furniture of his Chapell, it passeth my weak capacity to declare the number of the costly ornaments and rich jewels that were occupied in the same. For I have seen in procession about the hall 44 rich Copes, besides the rich Candlesticks, and other necessary ornaments to the furniture of the same (*q*)."

Our vindictive and voluptuous monarch, Henry the Eighth, had studied Music very seriously in his youth, according to Lord Herbert of Cherbury: who tells us, in his life, that "his education was accurate, being destined to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, during the life of his elder brother, Prince Arthur.—By these means, not only the more necessary parts of learning were infused into him, but even those of ornament, so that besides being an able Latinist, Philosopher, and Divine, he was (which one might wonder at in a King) a curious Musician; as two entire Masses composed by him, and often sung in his Chapel, did abundantly witness (*r*)."

Hollingshead likewise (*s*) informs us, in describing the manner in which Henry employed his time, during his progress from one palace to another, that "He exercised himself daylie in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting of the barre, plaieing at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of Songes, and making of Ballades."

The attention that was paid to Choral Music during the reign of this Prince, before his breach with the Roman Pontiff, may be collected from a set of regulations given to the royal household about the year 1526, by Cardinal Wolsey; in which it is said, that "when the

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(*q*) The Life of Wolsey, by his Gentleman-Usher Cavendish, seems first to have been published by the author, soon after the Cardinal's decease; it was next printed in 1667; and lastly, in 1706. See Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 128. Stow has given an account of the Cardinal's Chapel, *verbatim*, from Cavendish. *Survey of London*, edit. 1618, p. 137.

(*r*) Burnet, though he denies, in his History of the Reformation, part i. p. 11, that Henry was ever intended for the Church, yet allows that he was better educated than any other prince had been for many ages; and that he was "a good Musician, as appears by two whole Masses which he composed"; but adds, that "he never wrote well, but scrawled, so that his hand was scarce legible."

(*s*) Chron. iii. 806.

King is on journies or progresses, only six singing boys, and six Gentlemen of the Choir, shall make a part of the royal retinue ; who daylie in absence of *the residue* of the Chapel, shall have a Masse of our Ladie before noon, and on Sondaies and holidaies, Masse of the daie, besides our Lady-Masse, and an Anthempne in the afternoon: for which purpose, no *great carriage* of either vestiments or bookes shall require (*t*)."

It is generally allowed that Henry could not only perform the Music of others, but was sufficiently skilled in Counterpoint to compose the pieces that go under his name (*u*). To be able to sing a part in the full pieces of the time, was thought a necessary accomplishment in this age, not only for a private gentleman (*x*), but a prince. Sandoval, in his Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth (*y*), tells us, that " he was a great friend to the science of Music, and after his abdication, would have the Church-officers only accompanied by the Organ, and sung by fourteen or fifteen Fryers, who were good Musicians, and had been selected from the most expert Performers of the order. He was himself so skilful, that he knew if any other singer intruded, and if any one made a mistake, he would cry out, such a one is wrong, and immediately mark the man. He was earnest too, that no seculars should come in ; and one evening, when a Contralto, from Placentia, stood near the desk with the Singers, and sung one verse with them eminently well, before he could sing another, some of the barbarians ran, and told the Prior to turn him out of the Choir, or, at least, bid him hold his tongue."

" The Emperor understood Music, felt, and tasted its charms: the Fryers often discovered him behind the door, as he sate in his own apartment, near the high altar, beating time, and singing in part with the performers ; and if any one was out, they could overhear him call the offender names, as *Redheaded Blockhead*, &c. A Composer from Seville, of my own acquaintance, continues his Biographer, whose name was Guerrero (*z*), presented him with a book of Motets and Masses ; and when one of these Compositions had been sung as a specimen, the Emperor called his confessor, and said, see what a thief, what a plagiarist, is this son of a —! why here, says he, this passage is taken from one Composer, and this from another, naming them as he went on. All this while the Singers

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(*t*) "ORDINAUNCES made for the Kinges Household and Chaumbers." Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. K. 48. fol. For this information I am obliged to Mr. Warton's *History of Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 158.

(*u*) See an Anthem in Boyce's collection. He was likewise author of a Motet, of which Dr. Hayes of Oxford. is in possession of a genuine copy, in which the first Movement is in a measure wholly different from a Score of the same composition that has been lately printed.

(*x*) See *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 22, 133. First Edit. published by Dr. Harrington, of Bath; himself an excellent judge of Music, and Composer of several Catches that are justly admired for their humour and contrivance.

(*y*) *Historia de ta vida del Emperador* Carlos Quinto *por el meastro don Fray* Prudencio *de* Sandoval, *su Coronista, Obispo de* Pamplona. *Fol.* 1614.

(*z*) Not *Gucriño,* as he is called by Bonet. *Hist. de la Musique.*

stood astonished, as none of them had discovered these thefts, till they were pointed out by the Emperor (*a*)."

Brantome (*b*) tells us, that " both Charles the Ninth, and his brother Henry the Third, in imitation of their father, used frequently to quit their places at Mass, in order to join the choirmen in performing the service at their desks ; and were able to sing either the Treble or Countertenor very correctly. Charles was very fond of these singers, particularly of M. de Laurens, who had a very fine voice. His successor also sung very well, but was pleased with a different kind of music." The French historians speak of the attachment to church music, of several of their sovereigns, from the time of Pepin and Charlemagne, to the monarchs just mentioned, many of whom used to put on a surplice, in order to sing with the canons, and chanters, by profession.

The favourites of unfortunate princes, in turbulent and convulsive times, are generally involved in the calamities of their patrons, particularly, if, from a principle of affection or gratitude; they manifest a zeal for their service: but it is somewhat remarkable, that in the short space of twenty-nine years, the favourite musicians of three Queens upon the same island, should fall sacrifices to suspicion and vengeance.

Mark Smeaton, a musician, in the service of Anne Bullen, and groom of her chamber, was executed May 12th, 1536, (*c*). Thomas Abel, who taught music and grammar to Queen Catharine, wife to Henry the Eighth, having written a treatise, *De non dissolvendo* Henrici & Cathirinæ *Matrimonio*, was hanged and quartered, July 30th, 1540. And David Rizzio, secretary to Mary Queen of Scots, was murdered in her presence, March 9th, 1565 (*d*).

(*a*) This passage is so curious, that I shall here give it in the original.
" *Era muy amigo de la Musica, y que le dixessen los oficios en Canto de Organo contal, que no cantessen sino Frayles, que si bien eran catorze o quinze los Musicos, porque se avian llevado alli los mejores de la orden, conocia, si entre ellos cantava otro, y si erravan dezia: fulano erro, y en tanto los conocia, y queria, que no cantassen siglares entre ellos que unas visperas vino un contra alto de Placencia muy bueno yllegose al facistol con los Cantores, y Canto con ellos un verso muy bien: pero no torno, a cantar el segundo porluego vino uno de los barbaros corriendo, y dixo al Prior, que echasse aquel Canto fuera del Coro, y affi si le vuo de dezir que calasse. Y entendia la Musica, y sentia, y gustava della, que muchas vezes les escuchavan Frayles detras de la puerta, que salia de su aposinto al altar mayor, y le veyan llevar el compas, y cantar a consonancia con los que cantaven en Coro, y si alguno si errava dezia consigo mismo. O hideputa bermejo, que a quel erro, o otro nombre semejante. Presentole un Maestro de Capilla de* Sevilla. *que yo conoci, que se dezia* Guerrero, *un libro de Motetes que el avia Compuesto. y de Missas, y mando que cantassen una Missa por el, y acabada la Missa embio a llamar al Confessor, y dixole: O hideputa que sotil ladron es esse* Guerrero, *que tal passo de fulano, y tal de fulano hurto: de que quedaron lodos los Cantores admirados, que ellos no lo avian entendido hasta que despues lo vieron.*" Segunda parte, *p.* 828. § vii.

(*b*) *Tom.* ix. p. 459.

(*c*) "Sineaton was prevailed on by the vain hope of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession: for they never dared to confront him with her." Hume's *Hist. of Eng.* Hen. VIII. chap. v. "The Queen said he was never in her chamber, but when the King was last at Winchester; and then he came in to play on the *Virginals*. She said, that she never spoke to him after that, but on Saturday before May-Day, when she saw him standing in the window, and then she asked him, why he was so sad? He said it was no matter: she answered, you may not look to have me speak to you, as if you were a nobleman, since you are an inferior person. No, no, Madam, said he, a look sufficeth me." Burnet's *Hist. of the Reform,* vol. i. book iii. p. 199.

(*d*) Hume, who seems to treat this transaction with more reason, philosophy, and candour, than any other historian among his countrymen, says: "The favourite was of a disagreeable figure, but was not past his youth; and though the opinion of his criminal correspondence with queen Mary might seem of itself *unreasonable,* if not *absurd,* a suspicious husband could find no other means of accounting for that lavish and imprudent kindness, with which she honoured him." *Hist. of Eng.* Eliz. chap. ii. 1st edit. p. 466.

With respect to this last, it need only be remarked, that this assassination was no proof of guilt ; for so ferocious, savage, and vindictive were the times, and so frequent the plots, conspiracies, and murders, that if the death of each individual who was treacherously slain, had been entered in the kalendar of Scotland, it would have been as crowded as the rubric of the Romish church (*e*). If, however, we compare the frail and suspicious character of these domestic ΑΟΙΔΟΙ, with that of the philosophical and conscience-keeping Bards of the Trojan times, who were a sort of domestic chaplains, or musical *Dragons,* perhaps peculiarly qualified for their employment, we shall find a great degeneracy in their manners and morals. It has already been related in the First Book (*f*), that when Ægisthus wanted to corrupt Clytemnestra, he was obliged to put to death the Bard that Agamemnon had left as her *Duéno,* by leaving him in a desert island (*g*).

At the time that Henry had determined to emancipate himself and the nation from Papal restraints and usurpations, passion, perhaps, operated more than reason; and a regular and general plan of Reformation, so far from being digested, seems never to have been in meditation, during his life time; at least, with respect to ecclesiastical Music, no other change was made than that of applying it to English words.

The alterations, according to Burnet, which the Bishops, who were appointed to examine the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, made in the Mass, " were inconsiderable, and so slight, that there was no need of reprinting, either the Missals, Breviaries, or other offices; for a few erasures of the Collects in which the Pope was prayed for, of Thomas à Becket's office, and the offices of other Saints, whose days were, by the King's injunctions, no more to be observed, with some other deletions made, that the old books did still serve (*h*)."

Collier (*i*), tells us, that Archbishop Cranmer himself first adjusted the translation of the Litany to a Chant. In a letter, written by this Prelate to Henry the Eighth, 1545,* which is, preserved in the Paper-office, he tells his Majesty, that according to his Highness's commandment, he had translated into the English tongue, certain processions to be used upon festival days. " The judgment whereof I refer wholly to your Majesty, and after your Highness has corrected it, if your Grace, commands some devout and solemn note to be made thereunto (as is to the procession which your Majesty has already set forth in English) (*k*), I trust it will much excitate and stir the hearts, of all men to devotion and

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(*e*) The controverted point of Rizzio having been the author of the Scots Tunes which go under his name, will be discussed hereafter, when *National Music* comes to be considered.

(*f*) P. 152.

(*g*) *Odyss.* I 265, *& seq.*

(*h*) *Hist. Reform.* vol. i. p. 294.

(*i*) *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 206.

(*k*) This parenthesis alludes to the Prayers, Processions, and Litanies, which the King had translated into the English tongue, the preceding year, and sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the use of his province; with an order for their being said and *sung* in all Churches, which is preserved in Burnet. *Hist. Reform.* vol. i. p. 331 and *Collect.* Book iii. Ns. xxviii.

* Cranmer's translation was published on 27th May, 1544.

goodness. But in my opinion, the Song that shall be made thereunto, would not be full of Notes, but as near as may be, for every syllable a note, so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly, as be in the *Mattins,* and *Even-Song, Venite.* The Hymns *Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis,* and all the *Psalms* and *Versicles*: and in the Mass, *Gloria in Eccelsis, Gloria Patri,* the *Credo,* the *Perfice,* the *Pater Noster,* and some of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus.* As concerning the *Salve festa dies,* the *Latin* note, as I think, is sober and distinct enough. Wherefore I have travel'd to make the verses in *English,* and have put the *Latin* note unto the same. Nevertheless, those that be cunning in Singing, can make a much more solemn Note thereto, I made them only for a proof, to see how English would do in a Song."

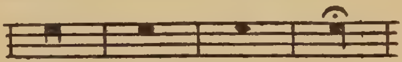
But the whole English Cathedral service, including the Preces, Prayers, and Responses, were set to musical Notes and first published in 1550, by JOHN MARBECK, Organist of Windsor. The premature reforming zeal of this Musician, nearly made a martyr of him, in the time of Henry the Eighth. He had indeed, the honour of being condemned to the stake, with three other persons, who were burnt for Heresy, but was pardoned by the intercession of Sir Humphry Foster (*l*).

His notation of the English Cathedral service was published under the following title.

The Booke of Common-Praier, Noted. 1550
Imprinted by Richard Grafton, Printer to the Kinges Majestie,
cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

As this book is become very scarce, I shall present the reader with a considerable extract from it.

" In this Booke is conteyned ſo muche of the Order of Common Prayer as is to be ſong in Churches: wherein are uſed only theſe iiii. ſortes of Notes



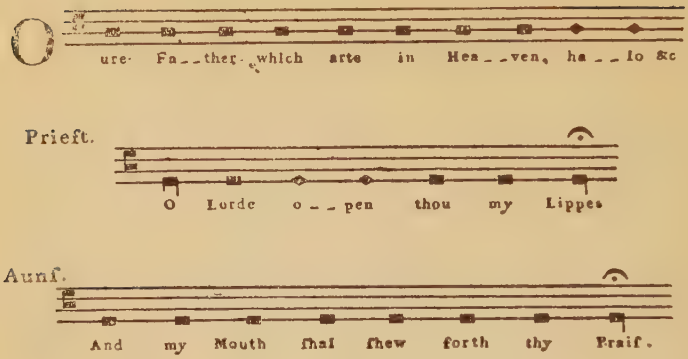
The firſt Note is a ſtrene Note. (a) and is a Breve. The ſecond is a ſquare Note, and is a Semy-Breve. The III a- Pycke and is a Mynymme. & where there is a Prycke by the ſquare Note, that Prycke is half as muche as the Note that goeth before it. The iiii· is a Cloſe, and is only uſed at the end of a Verſe."

(*a*) Strained, or stretched out: perhaps from its being the longest Note, used in Chanting. Junius makes Strene and Strain synonimous.

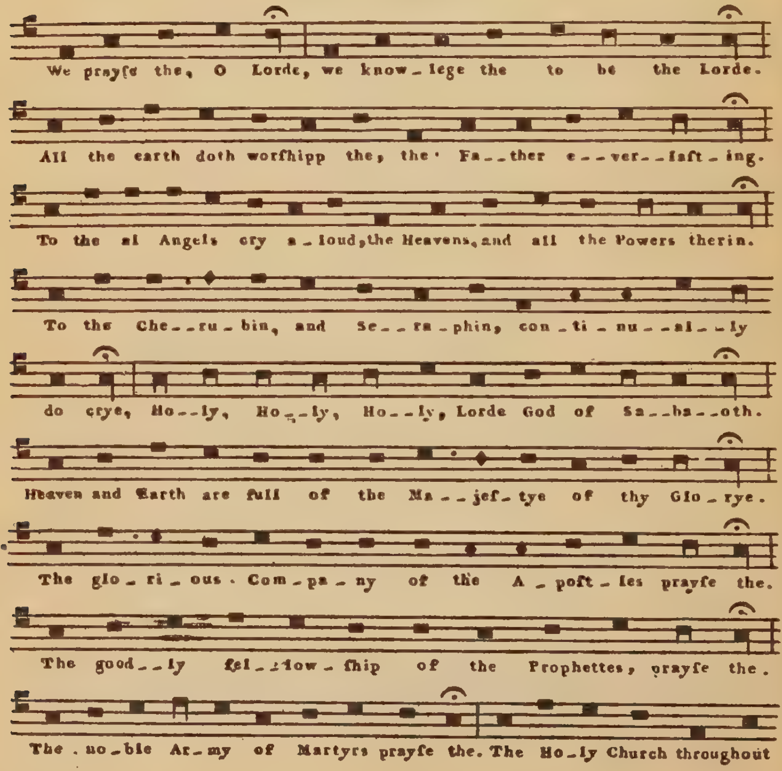
(*l*) Fox, in his *Acts and Monuments,* and Burnet, *Hist. of the Reform,* give a circumstantial detail of the troubles in which Marbeck was involved, on account of religion.

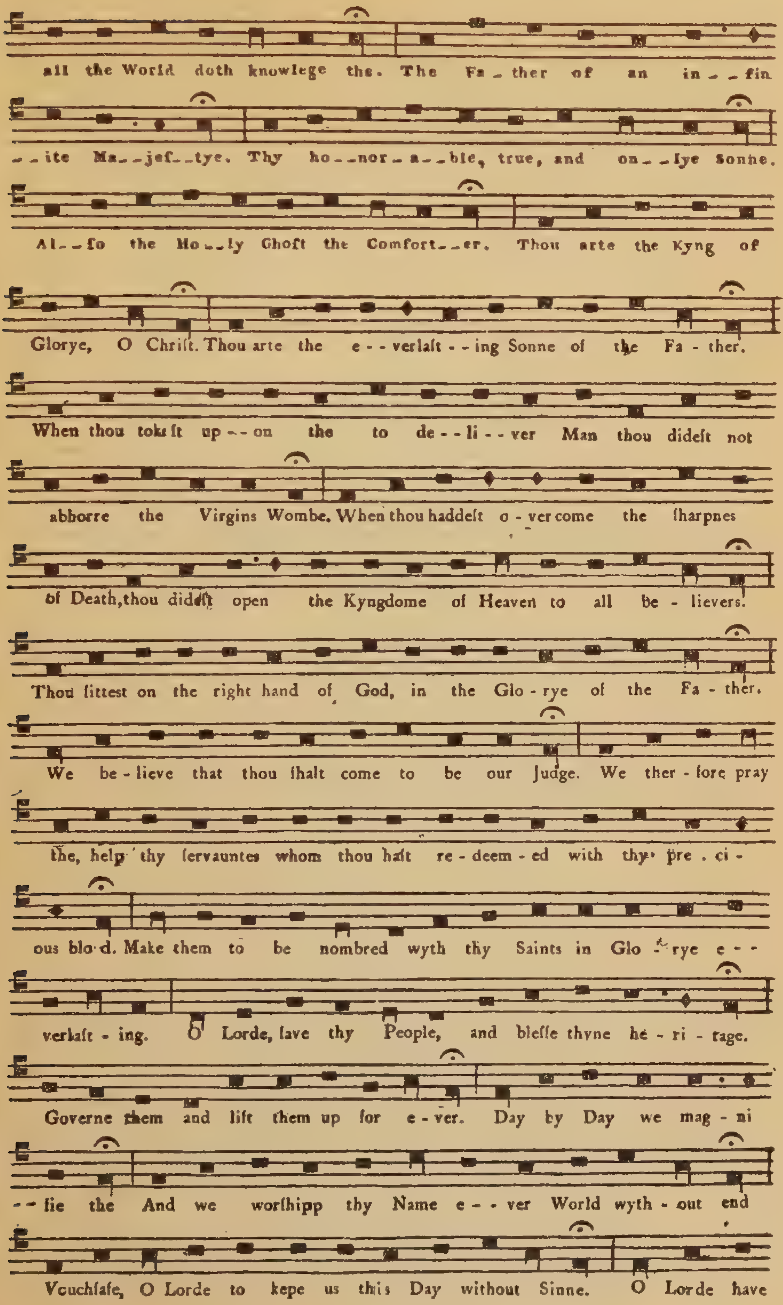
Mattins.

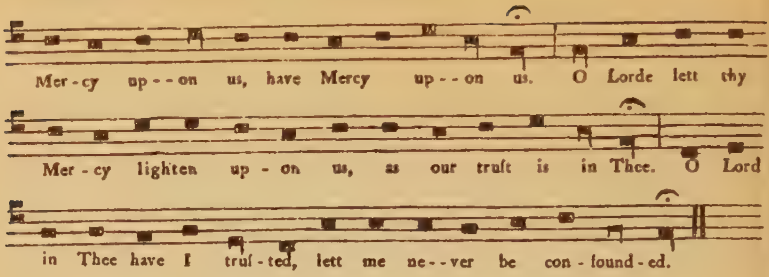
The Quere with the Prieſt.


O
ure Fa_ther which arte in Hea_ven, ha_lo &c
Prieſt.
O Lorde o_pen thou my Lippes
Aunſ.
And my Mouth ſhal ſhew forth thy Praiſ.

Te Deum Laudamus.

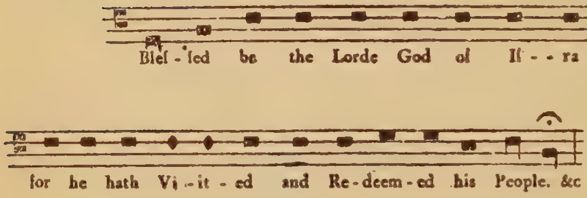

We prayſe the, O Lorde, we know_lege the to be the Lorde.
All the earth doth worſhipp the, the Fa_ther e_ver_laſt_ing.
To the al Angels cry a_loud, the Heavens, and all the Powers therin.
To the Che_ru_bin, and Se_ra_phin, con_ti_nu_al_ly
do crye, Ho_ly, Ho_ly, Ho_ly, Lorde God of Sa_ba_oth.
Heaven and Earth are full of the Ma_jeſ_tye of thy Glo_rye.
The glo_ri_ous Com_pa_ny of the A_poſt_les prayſe the.
The good_ly fel_low_ſhip of the Prophettes, prayſe the.
The no_ble Ar_my of Martyrs prayſe the. The Ho_ly Church throughout


all the World doth knowlege the. The Fa - ther of an in - - fin
- - ite Ma - - jeſ - - tye. Thy ho - - nor - a - - ble, true, and on - - lye Sonne.
Al - - ſo the Ho - - ly Ghoſt the Comfort - - er. Thou arte the Kyng of
Glorye, O Chriſt. Thou arte the e - - verlaſt - - ing Sonne of the Fa - ther.
When thou tokeſt up - - on the to de - - li - - ver Man thou dideſt not
abborre the Virgins Wombe. When thou haddeſt o - ver come the ſharpnes
of Death, thou diddeſt open the Kyngdome of Heaven to all be - lievers.
Thou ſitteſt on the right hand of God, in the Glo - rye of the Fa - ther.
We be - lieve that thou ſhalt come to be our Judge. We ther - fore pray
the, help thy ſervauntes whom thou haſt re - deem - ed with thy pre - ci -
ous blo d. Make them to be nombred wyth thy Saints in Glo - rye e - -
verlaſt - ing. O Lorde, ſave thy People, and bleſſe thyne he - ri - tage.
Governe them and lift them up for e - ver. Day by Day we mag - ni
- - fie the And we worſhipp thy Name e - - ver World wyth - out end
Vouchſafe, O Lorde to kepe us this Day without Sinne. O Lorde have

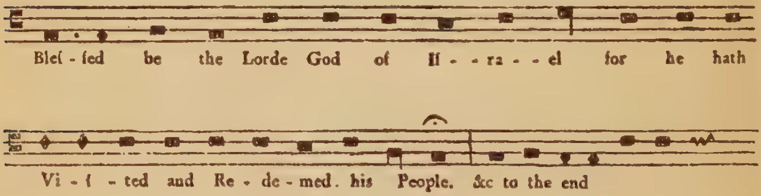

Mer-cy up--on us, have Mercy up--on us. O Lorde lett thy
Mer-cy lighten up-on us, as our truſt is in Thee. O Lord
in Thee have I truſ-ted, lett me ne--ver be con-found-ed.

After the Second Leſſon one of theſe that follow.

BENEDICTUS DOMINUS.


Bleſ-ſed be the Lorde God of Iſ--ra--el
for he hath Viſ-it-ed and Re-deem-ed his People. &c

The ſame Chant repeated to the end.


Bleſ-ſed be the Lorde God of Iſ--ra--el for he hath
Vi-ſ-ted and Re-de-med. his People. &c to the end

In this manner the whole Morning and Evening Service, as it is now Chanted, is ſet; except the Litany. At the end is the Name of JOHN MERBECKE.

At this time, the Plain-Song of the Romish church in the chants of the principal Hymns and Responses, remained nearly the same, as may be seen in comparing the *Te Deum laudamus*, and other parts of the cathedral service, in this publication, with the Missals, Graduals, and Antiphonaria of those times. The chant to the *Te Deum*, as published by Meibomius (*m*), from a copy nearly as ancient as the hymn itself, and another example of the same Canto Fermo, given by Glareanus (*n*), in 1547, correspond exactly with that which was retained by Marbeck, at the time of

(*m*) *Antiquæ Mus. Auct. Sept. Amst.* 1652. *Vide Præf. Lectori benevolo.*

(*n*) *Dodecad.* p. 110.

the Reformation: as the *Mode,* the *Dominant,* and *Medius,* are all the same; nor is the least deviation discoverable, except where the different number of syllables in the translation required it, and which affect the melody no more, than those slight changes which happen in the *manner* or *use* of any two choirs in singing the same chants, or even in adjusting different stanzas of any song to the same tune (*o*).

Marbeck was admitted in 1549, to the degree of Bachelor in Music, at Oxford, according to Anthony Wood (*p*), who erroneously calls him *James* Marbeck: he is honourably mentioned by Bale, because he had been persecuted by the Catholics, and his name is omitted by Pitts, for the same reason.

It seems as if we may safely conclude, that the chief part of such portions of Scripture, or hymns of the church as have been set by English musicians to Latin words, were produced *before* the Reformation, or, at least, in Queen Mary's time; that is, before the year 1558, when Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, by which time a school of counterpoint was formed in this country, that was equal, at least, to that of any other part of Europe. A reason, however, may be assigned for the choral music of every Christian country, aproaching perfection by nearly equal strides.

Before the Reformation, as there was but *one* religion, there was but *one* kind of music in Europe, which was Plain Chant, and the discant built upon that foundation; and as this music was likewise *only* applied to *one* language, the Latin, it accounts for the Compositions of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, Flanders, and England, keeping pace with each other, in style and excellence. All the arts seem to have been the companions, if not the produce, of successful commerce; and they will, in general, be found to have pursued the same course, which an admirable modern Historian has so well delineated (*q*): that is, *like Commerce*; they will be found, upon enquiry, to have appeared first in Italy; then in the Hanseatic towns; next in the Netherlands; and by transplantation, during the sixteenth century, when commerce became general, to have grown, flourished, matured, and diffused their influence, in every part of Europe.

If this were a place to illustrate such an idea, it would be easy to shew, that ecclesiastical music in the middle ages, was all derived from the Papal chapel, and court of Rome; that counterpoint was first cultivated for their use; that it travelled thence to the Hanseatic towns, and the Netherlands, where the affluence, which flowed from successful commerce, afforded encouragement and leisure for its cultivation; till about the middle of the sixteenth century, when, by the general intercourse which traffic and the new art of printing introduced, all the improvements in harmony, which had been made in Italy and the low Countries, were

(*o*) *A review of the Cathedral service,* was published by Edward Lowe, in a similar manner, at Oxford, 1664; and, as more than a hundred years have elapsed since any book of this kind has appeared, it seems as if another were now wanting.

(*p*) *Fasti Oxon.*

(*q*) *Hist. of Charles the Fifth,* vol. i. sect. 1.

communicated to every other part of Europe; which not only stimulated the natives to adopt and imitate them, but to improve and render them more different, by their own Inventions and Refinements.

We are now arrived at the Reformation, and middle of the sixteenth century; a period which seems favourable for closing this Book, already more bulky than the first. My original intention was, to comprise the whole work in two books; but I soon discovered, with some degree of shame and mortification, that to have bestowed no more pages on *modern* Music, concerning which we have so much *certain* information, than upon the *ancient,* of which, so little can now be even *conjectured,* would be like allowing one volume in a History of England, to the Heptarchy, and only one to all subsequent times.

At first, imagining that there would be no need of compression, and, indeed, not seeing the whole compass of my subject, I ransacked antiquity for whatever materials it could furnish, relative to the music of the Greeks and Romans, of which the effects have been so splendidly described, and which have long remained, and, it is to be feared, ever will remain, Enigmas to all who have the misfortune to be born too late for the Strains of Swans and Sirens. When I quitted these enquiries, to survey the rest of my labours, I saw " Alps on Alps arise," which it was impossible to ascend without great pain and perseverance; however, as only one could be assailed at a time, I still was obliged to work in detail at particular parts, without bestowing much attention on the *whole*: and in this manner a second Book has been produced. If I committed an error, in allotting too many pages of my work to the ancient Music, it would have been ill-corrected, by bestowing too few on the modern. Thus, as one error produced a Second Book, before the completion of my design, so will a Second produce a Third; which, soon after the close of the first, appeared inevitable, unless, all proportion of the whole, to its parts, had been sacrificed.

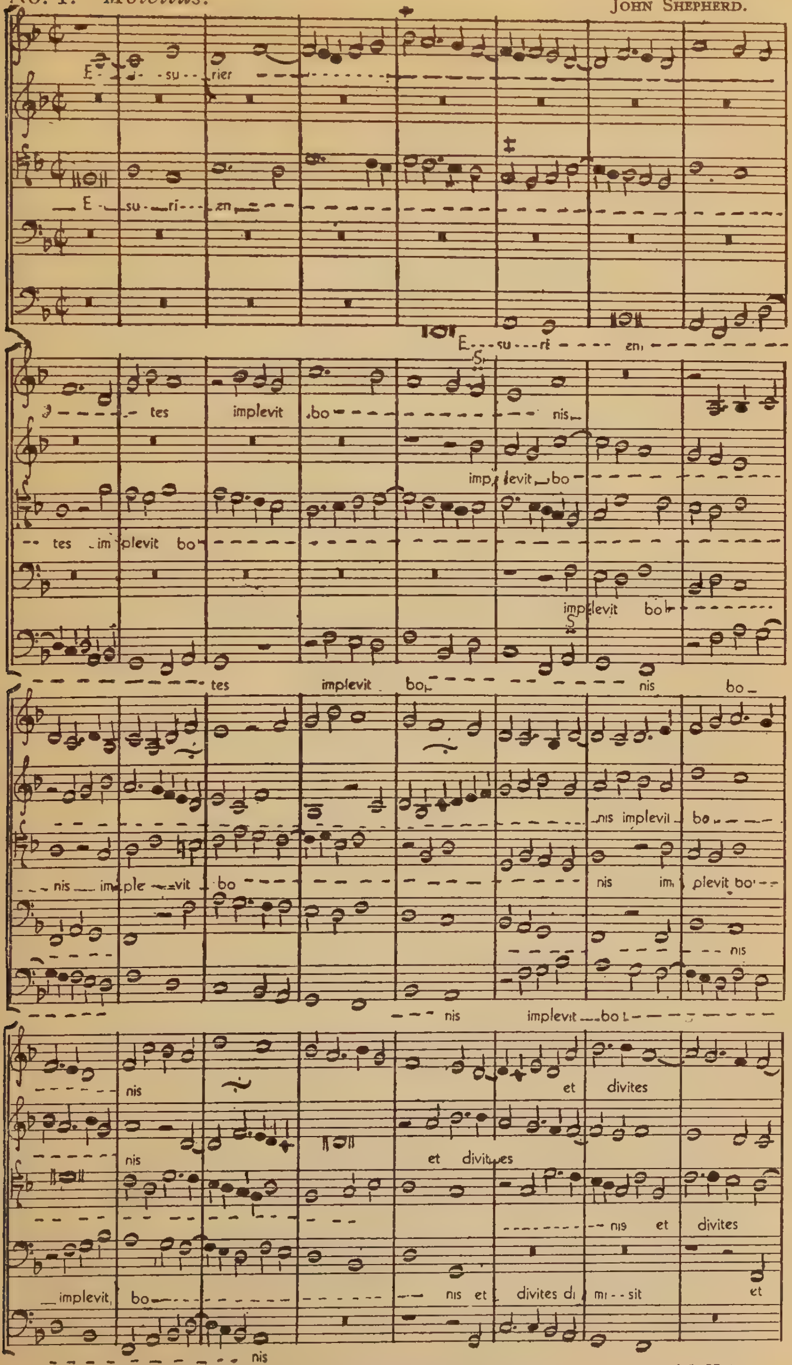
It has never been my wish, or intention, to be always in the *Press;* or to keep memory and reflection on the rack, at the expence of every moment of leisure for enjoyment or amusement. My industry, in this undertaking, has not been stimulated by profit, and the reputation of an author becomes daily less alluring, as reflection shews it to be more uncertain. Yet, a repugnance to abandoning, unaccomplished, an enterprize, for which such pains and expence have been bestowed in procuring materials, would be still an incitement to new efforts, though every other should fail.

This apology, for the amplification of my original plan, seems due to my first subscribers. I have been obliged, extremely against my inclination, to depart from the letter of my Proposals; but as it has been done with no selfish or sinister views, my wish being only to render my work more worthy the honour of their patronage, I venture to hope, that no great moral turpitude will be found in the addition, at some future time, of a THIRD BOOK.

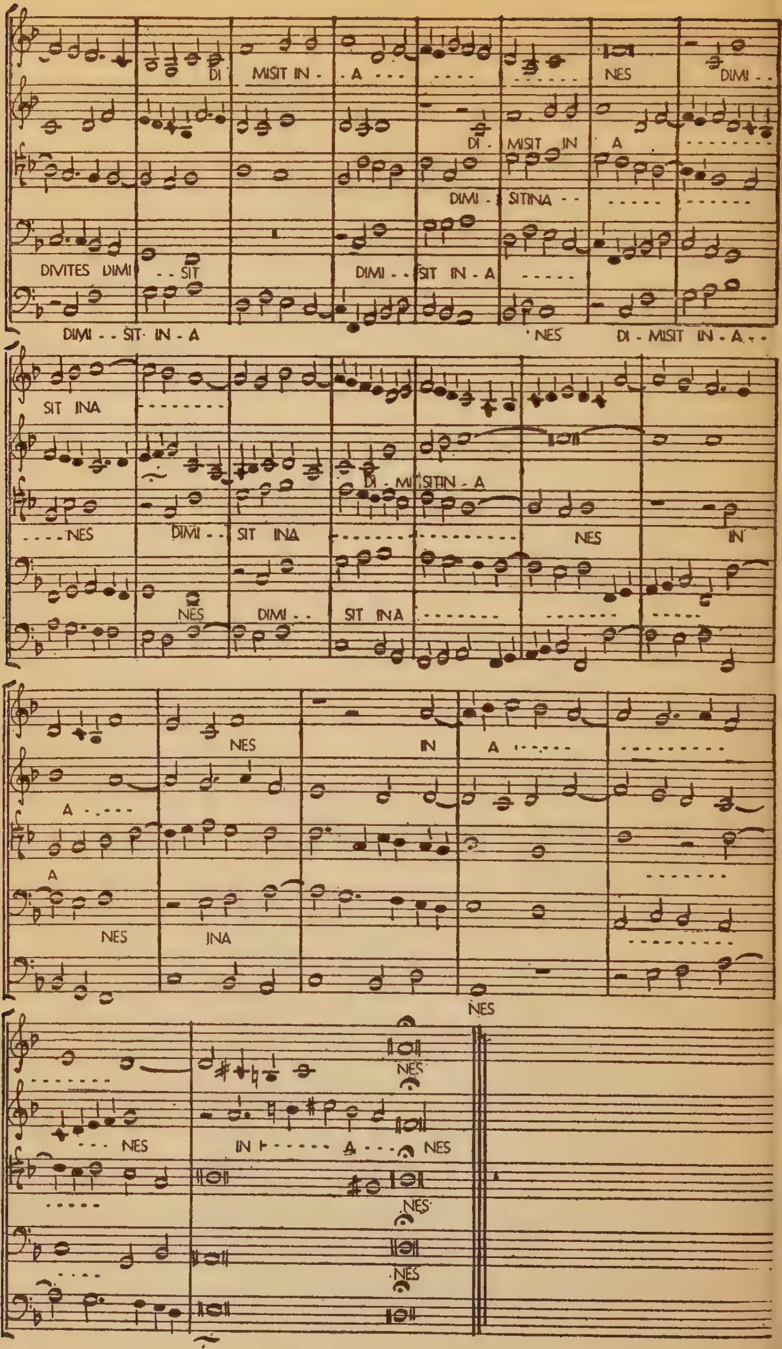
END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

No. I. *Motettus.*

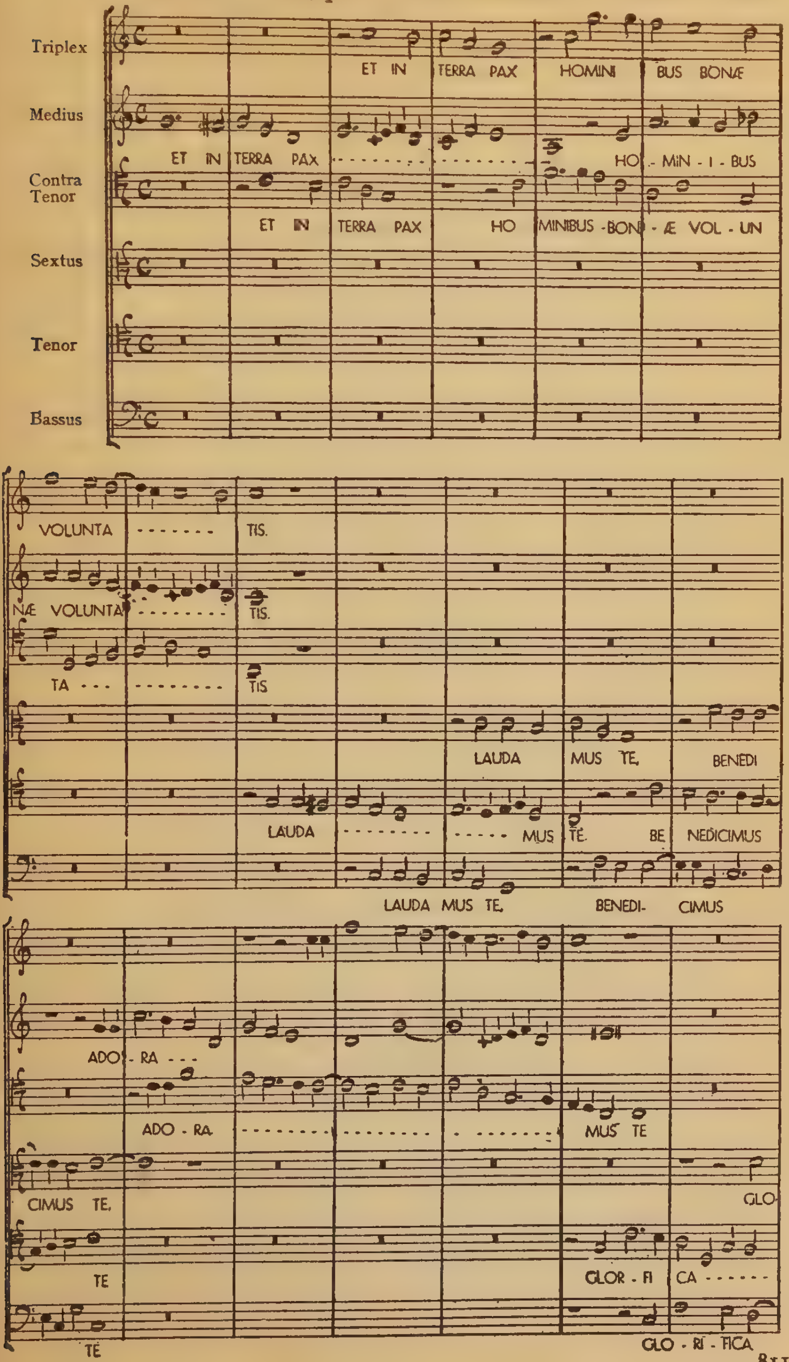
JOHN SHEPHERD.

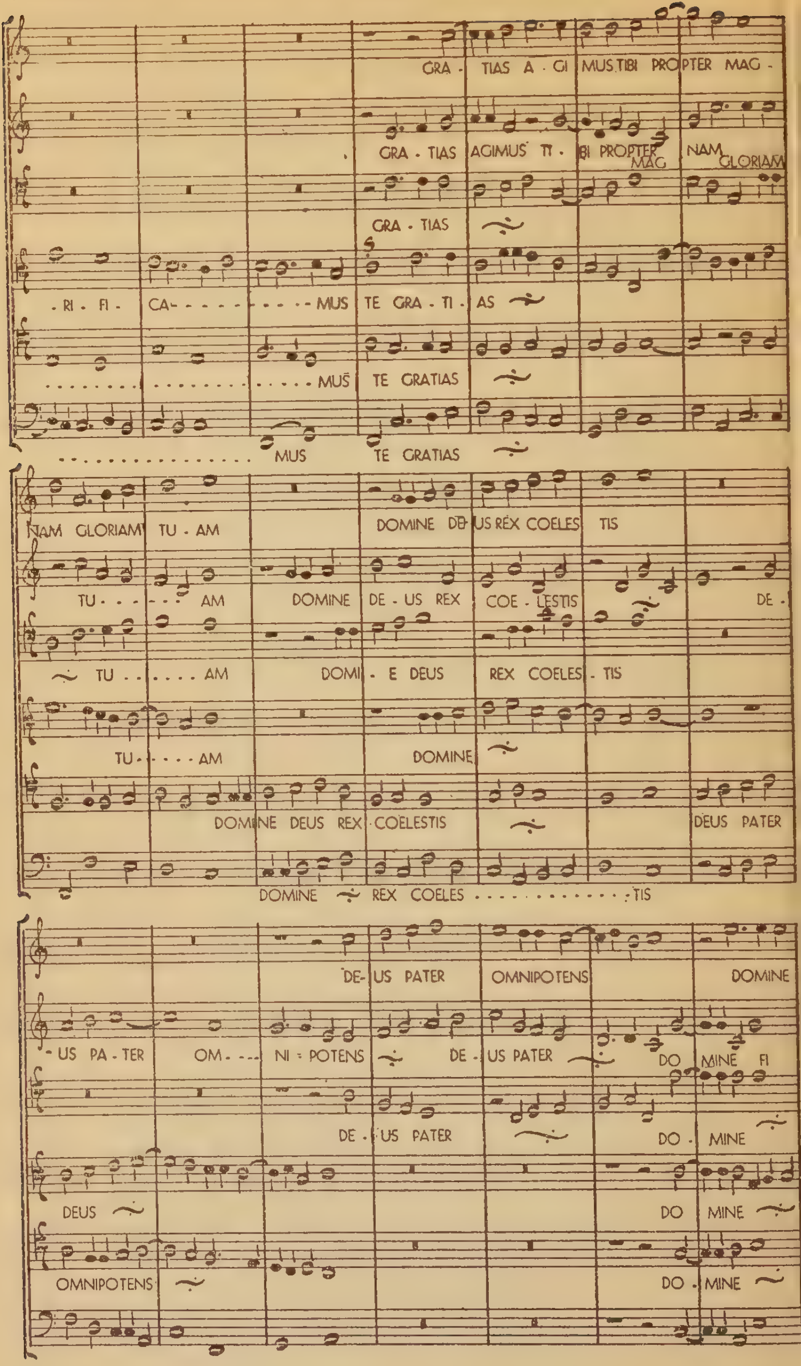

E-su-rier
E-su-ri-en
E-su-ri-en
tes implevit bo-nis
imp-levit bo
tes im-plevit bo
imp-levit bo
tes implevit bo
nis
bo
nis im-plevit bo
nis im-ple-vit bo
nis im-plevit bo
nis
nis implevit bo
nis
et divites
nis
et divites
nis et divites
implevit bo
nis et divites di-mi-sit
et
nis

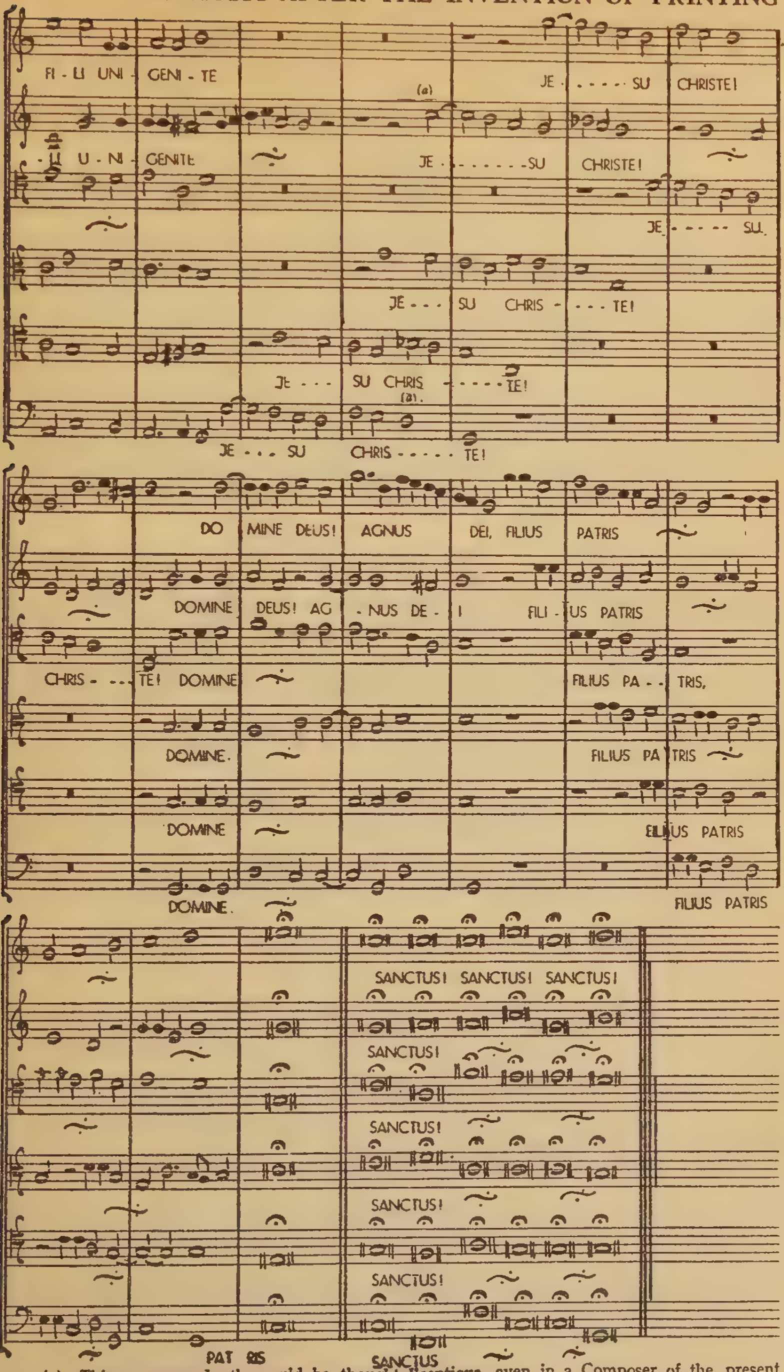
† This is another instance of a mere Appoggiatura being written as an essential Note.
‡ The unprepared 7th here, is unusual, and unpleasant.


DI
MISIT IN - . A
NES
DIMI
DI - MISIT IN A
DIMI - SITINA
DIVITES DIMI - - SIT
DIMI - - SIT IN - A
DIMI - - SIT IN - A
NES
DI - MISIT IN - A
SIT INA
DI - MI SIT IN - A
NES DIMI - - SIT INA
NES
IN
NES DIMI - - SIT INA
NES
IN A
A
A
NES INA
NES
NES
IN A NES
NES
NES
NES

No. II. The opening of Dr. Tye's Mass, *Euge Bone*, from the antient Choral Books, preserved in the Music School at Oxford.

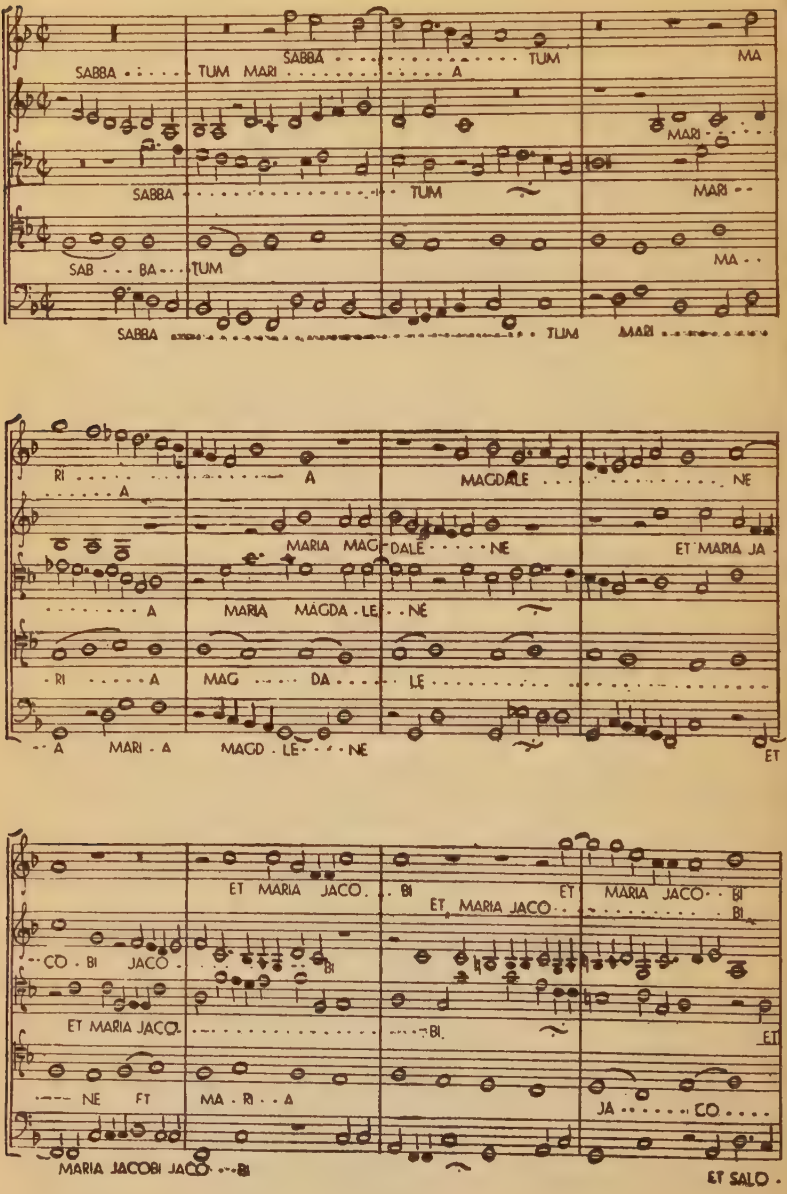

Triplex
Medius
Contra Tenor
Sextus
Tenor
Bassus
ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINI BUS BONÆ
ET IN TERRA PAX HO - MIN - I - BUS
ET IN TERRA PAX HO MINIBUS - BON - Æ VOL - UN
VOLUNTA TIS.
NÆ VOLUNTA TIS.
TA TIS
LAUDA MUS TE. BENEDI
LAUDA MUS TE. BE NEDICIMUS
LAUDA MUS TE. BENEDI- CIMUS
ADO - RA
ADO - RA MUS TE
CIMUS TE. GLO
TE GLOR - FI CA
TE GLO - RI - FICA

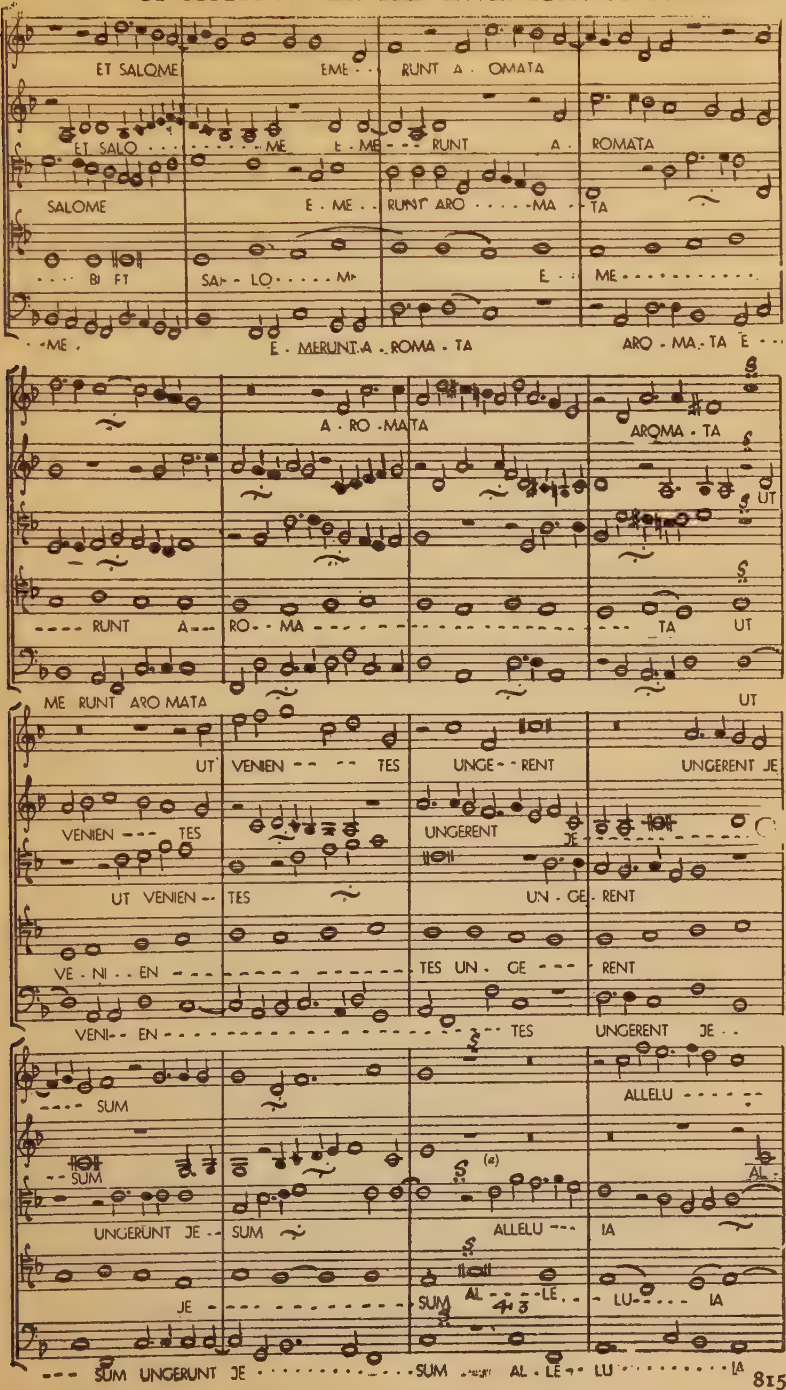

GRA - TIAS A - GI MUS TIBI PRO PTER MAG -
GRA - TIAS AGIMUS TI - BI PROPTER MAG NAM GLORIAM
GRA - TIAS
- RI - FI - CA- - - - - - - - - - - MUS TE GRA - TI - AS
. . . . MUS TE GRATIAS
. . . . MUS TE GRATIAS
NAM GLORIAM TU - AM DOMINE DE - US REX COELES TIS
TU - - - - - - AM DOMINE DE - US REX COE - LESTIS DE -
TU - - . . . . . AM DOMI - E DEUS REX COELES - TIS
TU - - - - - AM DOMINE
DOMINE DEUS REX COELESTIS DEUS PATER
DOMINE REX COELES . . . . TIS
DE- US PATER OMNIPOTENS DOMINE
- US PA - TER OM - - - - NI - POTENS DE - US PATER DO MINE FI
DE - US PATER DO - MINE
DEUS DO MINE
OMNIPOTENS DO - MINE

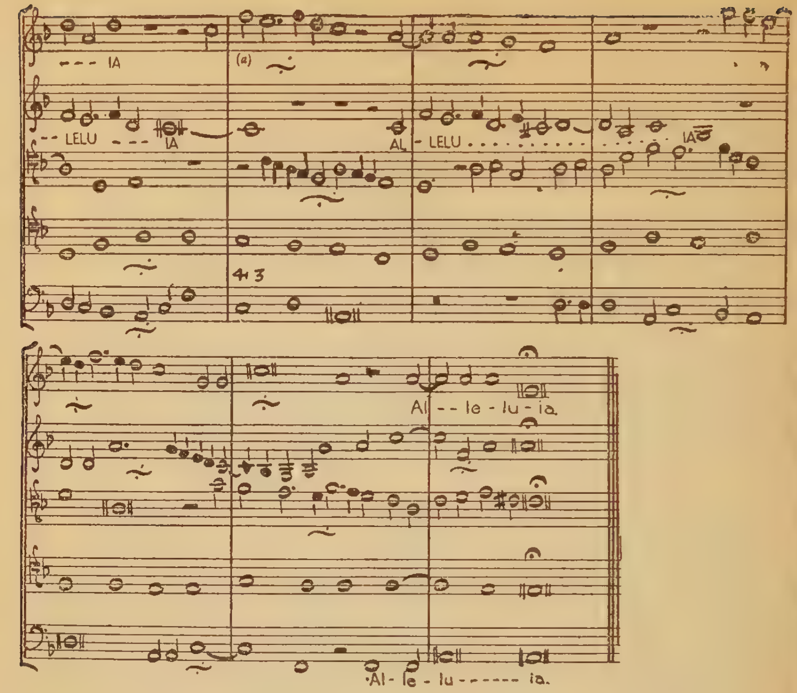

FI - LI UNI - GENI - TE
JE - - - - - SU CHRISTE!
(a)
- LI U - NI - GENITE
JE - - - - - - - SU CHRISTE!
JE - - - - - SU.
JE - - - SU CHRIS - - - - TE!
JE - - - SU CHRIS - - - - TE!
(a).
JE - - - SU CHRIS - - - - - TE!
DO MINE DEUS! AGNUS DEI, FILIUS PATRIS
DOMINE DEUS! AG - NUS DE - I FILI - US PATRIS
CHRIS - - - TE! DOMINE FILIUS PA - - TRIS,
DOMINE. FILIUS PA TRIS
DOMINE FILIUS PATRIS
DOMINE. FILIUS PATRIS
SANCTUS! SANCTUS! SANCTUS!
SANCTUS!
SANCTUS!
SANCTUS!
SANCTUS!
PAT RIS
SANCTUS

(*a*) This unprepared 7th would be thought licentious, even in a Composer of the present times.

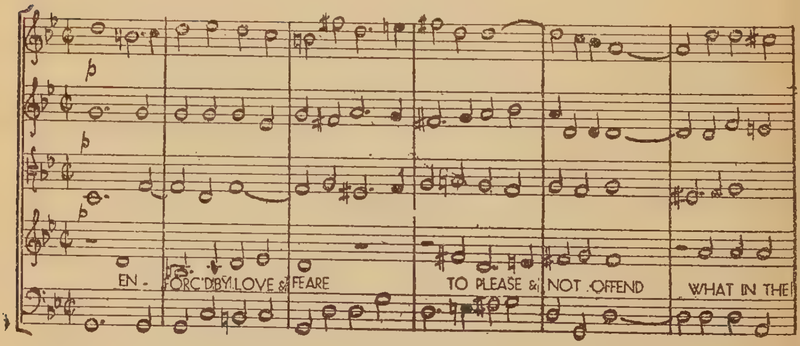
No. III. Robert Johnson. From the MSS. of Ch. Ch. Oxon.


SABBA . . . TUM MARI SABBA . . . A TUM MA
MARI
SABBA . . . TUM MARI
SAB . . . BA . . . TUM MA . .
SABBA . . . TUM MARI
RI . . . A MAGDALE . . . NE
. . . A MARIA MAGDALE . . . NE ET MARIA JA
. . . A MARIA MAGDA . LE . . NE
. RI . . . A MAG . . . DA . . . LE . . .
. . A MARI . A MAGD . LE . . . NE ET
ET MARIA JACO . . BI ET MARIA JACO . . ET MARIA JACO . . BI
. . CO . BI JACO . . . BI BI
ET MARIA JACO . . . . BI ET
. . . NE ET MA . RI . . A JA . . . CO . . .
MARIA JACOBI JACO . . BI ET SALO .

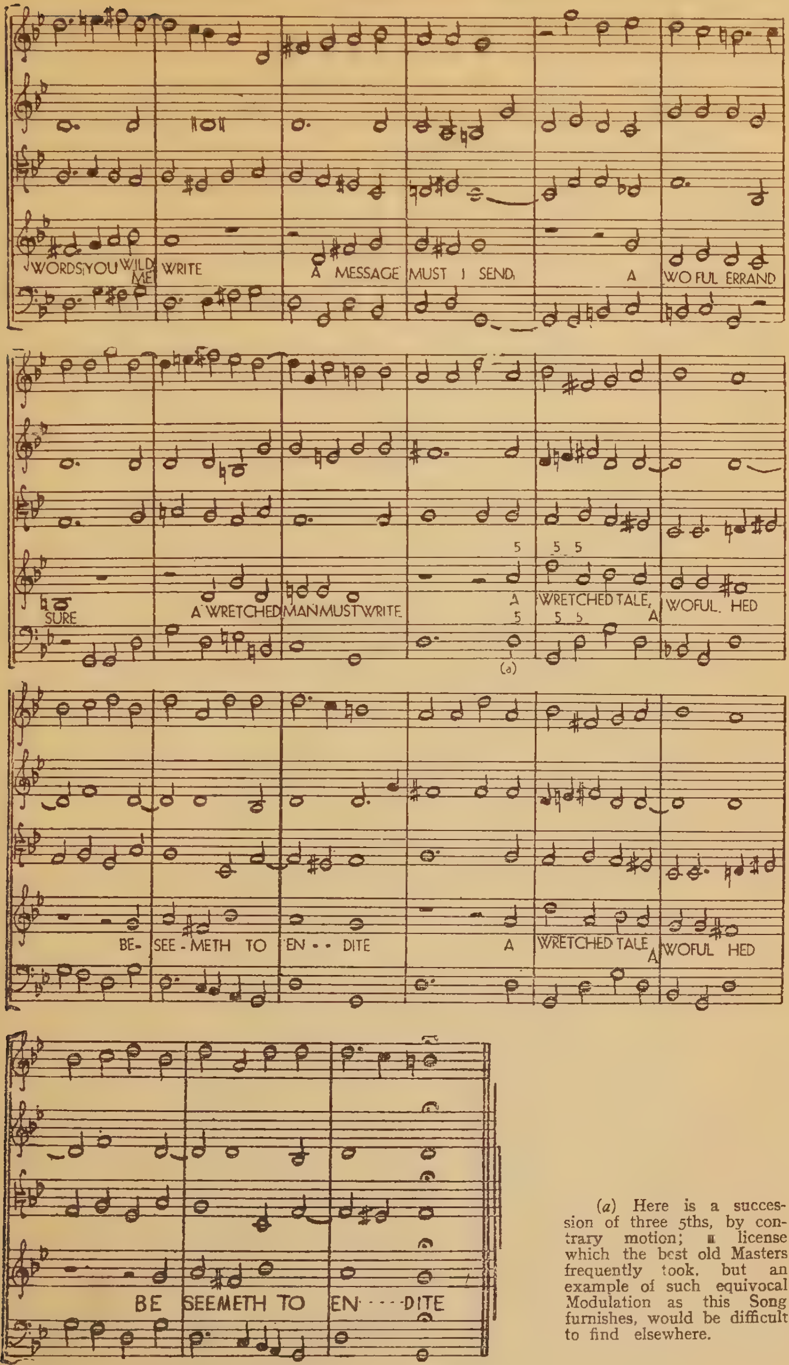

ET SALOME EME - - RUNT A - OMATA
ET SALO - - - - - - - - - ME E - ME - - - RUNT A - ROMATA
SALOME E - ME - - RUNT ARO - - - - - MA - - TA
- - - - BI ET SAL - LO - - - - - ME E - - ME - - - - - - - - - - -
- - ME - E - MERUNT A - ROMA - TA ARO - MA - TA E - - -
A - RO - MA TA AROMA - TA
UT
- - - - RUNT A - - RO - - MA - TA UT
ME RUNT ARO MATA UT
UT VENIEN - - - - TES UNGE - - RENT UNGERENT JE
VENIEN - - - TES UNGERENT JE - - - - - - - - - - - - -
UT VENIEN - - TES UN - GE - RENT
VE - NI - - EN - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - TES UN - GE - - - RENT
VENI - - EN - TES UNGERENT JE - -
- - - - SUM ALLELU - - - - - -
- - SUM (a) AL -
UNGERUNT JE - - SUM ALLELU - - - IA
JE - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - SUM AL - - - - LE - - - LU - - - - - IA
4 3
- - - SUM UNGERUNT JE - - - - - - - - - - - - - - SUM AL - LE - - LU - - - - - - - - - - IA


- - - IA
(a)
- - LELU - - - IA
AL
- LELU . . . . IA
4 3
Al - - le - lu - ia.
Al - le - lu - - - - - - ia.

No. IV. Song. Set by Robert Parsons.


EN - FORC'D BY LOVE & FEARE
TO PLEASE & NOT OFFEND
WHAT IN THE

(*a*) The unprepared 4ths here, and below, seem to be taken as Appoggiaturas.


WORDS, YOU WILD ME WRITE
A MESSAGE MUST I SEND,
A WO FUL ERRAND
SURE
A WRETCHED MAN MUST WRITE
5
A
5
5 5
WRETCHED TALE,
5 5
A
WOFUL HED
(a)
BE- SEE - METH TO EN - - DITE
A
WRETCHED TALE
A
WOFUL HED
BE SEEMETH TO EN - - - - DITE

(*a*) Here is a succession of three 5ths, by contrary motion; a license which the best old Masters frequently took, but an example of such equivocal Modulation as this Song furnishes, would be difficult to find elsewhere.

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by Felix Salzer

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Heinrich Schenker's great contribution to musical theory was his discovery of fundamental principles of tonal organization, continuity and coherence. In the realm of theory, he was the first to take the decisive step of defining these organic forces of the musical language—in particular, the tonal functions and relationships which form both the generative and cohesive forces of great music.

Felix Salzer, in expanding and newly formulating many of Schenker's ideas, has embarked upon a systematic approach. He uses Schenker's concept of chord functions as a basis to differentiate sharply between chord grammar (or ordinary labeling of chords) and chord significance; and he shows that the function rather than the ordinary label of a given chord is significant for musical understanding, since two chords, even if grammatically identical, may serve entirely different functions. Such analysis shows the true meaning of a chord or succession of chords in a phrase, a section, or in a musical work as a whole.

Further distinctions between chords of structure and chords of prolongation, harmonic and contrapuntal uses, and, above all, the concept of musical direction provide effective tools for the analysis of music. Starting with simple examples and clear definitions, this basic work will train the reader acquainted with the principles of harmony not only to hear successions of tones, melodic lines, and progressions of chords, but also to understand their structural coherence and significance. It will further show him that works of the most divergent styles and periods may present the same basic principles of structure and continuity, and that they are structurally related on the basis of a common musical language.

"One of the most important contributions to musicology in our time," George Szell. "STRUCTURAL HEARING is a thoughtful and provocative contribution to the fields of music theory, aesthetics and criticism, and performance. Mr. Salzer is to be congratulated on having helped us take a long step out of the Dark Ages," Norman Lloyd (Juilliard School of Music), in NOTES. "What impresses me most is that he [Salzer] seems to pave the way toward a real link between composer and theorist. I am convinced that this book will prove a highly important contribution to the literature on music theory," Professor Nicolai Lopatnikoff, Dept. of Music, Carnegie Institute of Technology. "An exhaustive exposition of the theories of Heinrich Schenker, and for soundness and comprehensiveness it is never likely to be improved upon in its own sphere," Ernest Newman, THE TIMES [London].

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